THE ANNUAL REGISTER,

OR A VIEW OF THE

HISTORY, POLITICS, AND LITERATURE

For the YEAR 1798.

LONDON:

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MVSEVM
BRITAN
NICVM

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PREFACE.

IT has been juſtly obſerved, that the moſt extenſive and inveterate wars have generally been thoſe, not of ambition, but of opinion. In our days, a new principle of war has ariſen, much more extenſive in its influence and effects than any difference of opinion on any ſubject: for, never yet was there any doctrine, whether merely ſpeculative or religious, ſo general, as a love of property and a diſpoſition to plunder.

The trouble, which this new principle occaſions to the annaliſt, will readily be perceived by our readers, in peruſing the Hiſtory of Europe; comprehending, alſo, the effects of European principles, paſſions, and projects, in Aſia, Africa, and America, and their re-action on our quarter of the world. It is not an eaſy matter to arrange, into any tolerable order or ſhape, ſo great a variety of counſels and actions, going on at the ſame time in ſo many different parts of the globe; to give to each its juſt poſition and proportion; and, on the whole, to form a picture that may not be over-loaded and confuſed, but ſuch as may be contemplated without diſtraction, and with ſome degree of both pleaſure and advantage.

advantage. The candid reader, when he reflects on this, will find an excuſe for the omiſſion of ſome things, which, perhaps, he might have wiſhed to ſee recorded in our narrative, rather than under the head of State-Papers, and detached Occurrences; and alſo for the brevity with which ſome ſubjects are treated, in order to make room for others of equal or greater importance.

We never expected nor deſired that our work ſhould be particularly palatable to any faction or party; but we confeſs our aſtoniſhment to underſtand, that any inſinuations ſhould have been made, that in our late volumes there is a leaning towards principles of democracy.

It is an odious thing for men to ſpeak of themſelves, but it ſometimes becomes neceſſary. Is there a greater diſpoſition manifeſted in the Annual Regiſter to maintain the claims of human nature, than to diſplay and forwarn mankind of the dreadful dangers of anarchy? What is the inference which remains uppermoſt on the mind, on a peruſal of the account given in the volume for 1794, of the ſeries of circumſtances that involved the revolution and diſaſters of Poland—and to which, though obvious, we deemed it even our duty, in theſe times, particularly to call the attention of the reader? Is it not this—that the liberty and well being of the people are intimately and eſſentially connected with a juſt degree of power in the hands of a monarch? With regard to the grand queſtion, of peace or war, it is maintained, "That it would become the wiſdom of

of intelligent legiſlators, of all nations, to baniſh all ideas of attacks on one another, and to bend their united efforts againſt the common enemy of all: a ſpirit of innovation and plunder:" and "That that nation will ſhew the greateſt wiſdom, as well as magnanimity, which ſhall make the firſt advance towards univerſal pacification, on the principles of reaſon and juſtice." But it is alſo acknowledged, "that it would be very unſafe, and is not to be expected, that any one nation ſhould throw aſide its arms, and truſt merely to the mantle of juſtice, while all or any of its neighbours ſhould ſtill wear the coat of mail and helmet."*

It does not appear to us to become the annaliſt, to place himſelf in a dictatorial chair, and indulge in reflections and exclamations, whether in accuſation or defence of any party. If we are ſometimes tempted to depart from this chaſteneſs, it is, our readers will perceive and acknowledge, in favour of the great maſs and lower claſſes of the people, whoſe intereſts, by all parties, at leaſt when in the actual poſſeſſion of power, are too apt to be neglected. The apparent indifference and coldneſs of our manner will not, certainly, be in uniſon with the heated imaginations of the more zealous of our contemporaries. A time, however, will come, and probably it is at no great diſtance, when naked truth will be more regarded than the heightened colourings of party zeal and the animoſity of faction.

* See p. 15.

It

It muſt be admitted that the turn of mind, or bent, of the annaliſt, will, without any obtruſion of his own opinions, appear, even from his ſelection of certain facts and circumſtances, in preference to others. Whatever may be thought of our views in general, we do not, in the leaſt, fear to be contradicted, when we ſay, that, in moderation of political ſentiment, and an equal reſpect for the prerogatives of the crown and the intereſts and rights of the people, the laſt are not behind the firſt volumes of this annual production.

Our volume, for 1799, is in ſuch a ſtate of forwardneſs, as to promiſe, with certainty, publication in the courſe of January next, or very early in February. We are deſirous, as much as poſſible, to unite the chronological order with that of cauſe and effect, rather than part the hiſtory of the year into different volumes, and under different periods of time, by reſuming ſubjects often imperfectly developed and underſtood, when early publication is the principal object.

THE

THE ANNUAL REGISTER, For the YEAR 1798.

THE HISTORY OF EUROPE.

CHAP. I.

Reflections on the Treaty of Campo-Formio.—Notwithstanding the Suspension of Hostilities between France and Austria.—The Maritime Power of Great Britain confirmed and increased.—The British Ministry, however, renew their Negociations for Peace.—An Official Note, for this Purpose, sent to the French Minister for Foreign Affairs.—The Answer to this.—Reply of the British Ministry to that Answer.—The Directory insist on a definitive and separate Treaty of Peace with England.—Ministers appointed for the Negociation, by the Directory, on the Part of France.—Their Instructions.—Lord Malmesbury, the Commissioner for Negociation, on the Part of England, arrives at Lisle.—His Proposals for Peace.—Previous Requisitions of the French Commissioners.—Declined by Lord Malmesbury.—Farther and preremptory Demands of the French Commissioners.—Which, however, they endeavour to soften.—The British Plenipotentiary requires from the French the whole of their Plan for Pacification at once.—Application by the French Plenipotentiaries, for this Purpose, to the Directory.—Procrastination on the Part of the Directory.—Charge of Insincerity and Procrastination against the British Ministry.—Remonstrances by Lord Malmesbury.—His Lordship authorized to treat only on the Principle of reciprocal Compensation.—Last Conference between Lord Malmesbury and

the French Commiſſioners.—The Negociation broken off.—Lord Malmeſbury returns to London.—Reflections.

THE affairs of Europe, during the ſummer and autumn of 1797, from the Orkneys to the Straits of Gibraltar, and the Rhine, to the Mediterranean and Atlantic Ocean, moved in an ellipſe, of which the two focuſes were Liſle and Udina.

The armiſtice and ſubſequent negociation, between France and Auſtria, was naturally followed by a negociation alſo between France and Great Britain.

The principal ally of this country, whoſe co-operation was the moſt powerful, and generally the moſt to be depended on, had been compelled, by the irreſiſtible urgency of circumſtances, to detach himſelf from the connection he had formed, under the perſuaſion, that the union of England and Auſtria would, as in times paſt, prove an equipoize to the power of France. He would willingly, at the period that put a ſtop to hoſtilities between him and the French republic, have been able to include, in the ſubſequent negociations for peace, the only aſſociate on whoſe fidelity he could place a ſolid reliance, and whoſe power had proved the fundamental ſupport of the coalition while it laſted; but he was preſſed by the neceſſity of coming to a ſpeedy concluſion with a victorious enemy, whoſe policy it was, to treat ſeparately with all the parts of the formidable confederacy, which he had, through fortunate concurrences, been able to reſiſt. Great Britain had no ſhare, therefore, in that treaty, by which ſo many ceſſions were made to France; nor is it probable, that they would have been made, could Great Britain have had that opportunity of interpoſing, which the French negociators were ſo careful to prevent.

By the ſuſpenſion of hoſtilities with Auſtria, France was now at liberty to turn its attention entirely to the means of bringing Great Britain to its own terms; but, notwithſtanding that it was now become the ſole enemy remaining, of the many that had firſt entered into the coalition, experience daily proved that its enmity alone was more to be dreaded than that of all the other members. Its ſtrength appeared to augment, inſtead of being diminiſhed by the prodigious exertions and reſources it had diſplayed in the courſe of this extenſive war, ſuſtained chiefly through its perſevering ſpirit and immenſe opulence. Both its navies and armies had been gradually on the increaſe; never had its marine been ſo formidable, nor the victories obtained by its fleets more conſpicuous. The three great maritime powers of Europe, France, Spain, and Holland, had proved inferior to the conteſt; and the empire of the ſeas, which they had propoſed, and ſtrangely hoped, to wreſt from Great Britain, ſeemed more firmly confirmed than ever, by the defeats they had met with, ſo much againſt their expectation, and what they had confidently deemed the chances in their favour.

The Britiſh miniſtry was, in the mean time, either deſirous, or, what is more probable, as has ſince appeared, aſſumed only an appearance of being deſirous, to put an end to a war, to which the public had long

long teſtified an averſion; but policy required, evidently, that the intereſts of Europe ſhould be conſulted collectively, and not conſigned to ſeparate negociations between France and each power in particular. Fortune having ſeconded the republican arms in ſo unprecedented a manner, the only method of preventing the exorbitant pretences and demands, reſulting from an uninterrupted torrent of ſucceſſes, was to form an unanimous concurrence, among thoſe who had ſuffered from them, in the means of procuring an equitable ſettlement; ſuch as might ſecure general tranquillity, and preſcribe boundaries to that ambitious and enterprizing diſpoſition, which is ſo commonly the offspring of uncommon good fortune

The opinion of the political world ſeriouſly recommended the adoption of ſuch meaſures, without which the arrogance and pretenſions of France would ſubmit to no limits, and become intolerable to all its neighbours. Its vaſt extent and central poſition gave it advantages that could only be counterbalanced by the union of thoſe powers that bordered upon it. Their diſunion would, as it always had done, expoſe every one of them to be treated as a dependent, and compel them to accept of the beſt conditions that could be obtained, for the ſake of living in peace: The preſent depreſſion of thoſe neighbouring powers had not, it was obſerved, deſtroyed their natural ſtrength, it had only ſuſpended it. Ill management and inſincerity had been the real and efficient cauſes of the diſaſters that had befallen the enemies of France, much more than its own proweſs and conduct. Allowing both to have been great, neither an adequacy of talents nor of reſolution had been wanting in their antagoniſts. It was by employing uncommon expedients, that France had been enabled to call forth ſo many latent abilities, and it was by imitating the precedents it had ſet up for attack and defence, that a ſucceſsful oppoſition would be made to its arms, irreſiſtible only for want of being encountered with the like weapons. This, it was aſſerted, might have been done with facility, and without deviating into thoſe exceſſes that had accompanied the revolution. An organization of their military ſtrength, on the French plan, would, it was confidently affirmed, have given, to the powers engaged in the conteſt with France, all thoſe advantages from which it had derived ſuch an invariable continuance of ſucceſs. To the unſkilful management of their military concerns, when the inſincerity of the different members of the coalition was added, men of penetration quickly diſcerned the inefficacy that would accompany their oſtenſible efforts againſt the common enemy. Though ſolitary and forlorn, to uſe the expreſſion of his antagoniſts, and deſervedly abandoned to the deſtiny which was generally thought to await him, he ſtill continued, in his own words, one and indiviſible; and, goaded by deſperation, ſummoned into action thoſe faculties and reſources that had lain concealed, in the ignominious indolence of which he accuſed the former government, active only in the ſyſtem of domeſtic oppreſſion, and unworthy of being truſted with the means of rendering a people potent and formidable.

Sentiments of this nature, manifeſted without diſguiſe, ought, it

was ſaid, to have rouſed the adverſaries of the revolution to a ſimilitude of thoſe exertions to encounter its defenders in the field, which theſe had adopted with ſo much ſucceſs; and to act, at the ſame time, with that unfeigned confidence in each other, without which alliances are ſo pernicious to thoſe that make them, by inducing each of the contracting parties to throw the burthen upon his aſſociate, and not unfrequently to impede the progreſs of the common cauſe, by unſeaſonable jealouſies.

A ſimilitude of exertions, however, on the part of the allies, was not, in reaſon, to be expected. For neither were the chiefs firmly united among themſelves; nor was there ſuch a fermentation, and ardour of mind, among the maſs of their armies, or people. The enthuſiaſm of liberty, imbibed at firſt by the army, at the time when that enthuſiaſm was in its greateſt purity, and ſtrength, reacted, as we have ſeen, on the maſs of the people, ſtaggered by the enormities of liberty run mad, and kept the public councils firm in the cauſe of the republic. Though the directory was, in reality, a manifeſt oligarchy, it was obliged to aſſume the ſpirit, with the cloak, of popular freedom. The animating breath of liberty, degenerating, it is true, often into unjuſtifiable, and even horrid, exceſs, yet nouriſhed a race of heroes, and ſharpened the inventions of men, as well as their courage. Many circumſtances co-operated with the French that were independent of the minds of Frenchmen, but there were others, in their favour, plainly to be traced to the national ſpirit, rouzed, and formed, by the preſent form of their government. The freezing of the rivers of the north; the drying up of thoſe of the ſouth; the death of the empreſs of Ruſſia; the ſucceſſion of Paul I. at ſo critical a time; the private views, and, perhaps, capricious whims, and paſſions, that detached one member from the coalition after another: all theſe, and other, accidents, no doubt, contributed to the ſucceſs of the republic. But the genius and bravery of Carnot, Jourdan, Pichegru, Moreau, Joubert, and Buonaparte, with even thouſands of others, from the private ſoldier to the commander-in-chief: theſe advantages were not accidental. On the whole, France exhibited, at this juncture, the advantage of one compacted power over a confederation of many, the triumph of a free over leſs animating forms of government; and the inefficacy of pecuniary wealth when oppoſed to phyſical reſources, genius, and valour. Yet theſe ſplendid qualities did not entitle their poſſeſſors, who were, on many occaſions, only the tools of vile and unprincipled upſtarts, to the higheſt glory, which conſiſts in the uniform purſuit of juſt and noble ends, by an uniform courſe of juſt, noble, and heroic conduct.

The period of acting in cordial concert being now paſt, and the pacifications that had taken place having put an end to the coalition, it now remained to ſettle affairs between France and the only power that continued in arms againſt it, ſo as to bridle the lawleſs diſpoſition of the former, and ſet ſuch limits to its acquiſitions, as might not leave them too extenſive for the tranquillity of its neighbours.

With theſe profeſſed views, which were founded on the concurrent ideas of

of impartial politicians, the Britiſh miniſtry thought it incumbent on them to renew their endeavours to bring about an accommodation, which now appeared to the world to promiſe more facility in the accompliſhment than had been experienced in the preceding negociations. The preliminaries already agreed upon had removed the principal difficulties, and the intereſts that would come into diſcuſſion were not apparently of a nature to prove eſſentially obſtructive to the main buſineſs, which it was to be preſumed, both parties had equally at heart.

Conformably to theſe ſentiments an official note was ſent to the French miniſter for foreign affairs, intimating a willingneſs to enter into a negociation for the re-eſtabliſhment of peace, and for the regulation of preliminaries, to be definitively arranged at a future congreſs. This note was ſigned by lord Grenville, and dated the firſt of June.

The anſwer, which was returned, by order of the directory, expreſſed an equal inclination to pacific meaſures, but ſignified, at the ſame time, a deſire that negociations ſhould at once be ſet on foot for a definitive treaty. The reaſon they alleged for preferring it to a congreſs was, that the proceedings of the latter would be tardy, and the reſult, of conſequence, remote; ſuch a method muſt, neceſſarily, therefore, militate againſt the acceleration of a buſineſs which both parties had in view to terminate with the leaſt poſſible delay.

This, doubtleſs, was a plauſible pretext for declining any other than a definitive treaty with Great Britain in particular, without admitting the diſcuſſions of any of the general intereſts of Europe. The directory was anxiouſly intent upon giving the law to England as it had done to other countries, and was deſirous, for that purpoſe, to remove all obſtructions that muſt have ariſen from a junction of the common intereſts of its allies together with its own. This would have formed a competition of ſuch magnitude, as to have renewed a multitude of thoſe difficulties which they had ſo fortunately ſurmounted, by confining every treaty to one party alone. It was not ſurpriſing, therefore, that they ſhould expreſs their averſeneſs to a propoſal, which would have taken from them the advantages of which they hoped to make ſo much uſe in the negociations with the Britiſh miniſtry, while treating with it excluſively of all other interference.

The reply to the directorial anſwer contained an expreſſion that engaged their particular notice. It purported, that the ſigning of preliminary or definitive articles, would neceſſarily depend upon the progreſs and turn of the negociations. This was conſtrued, by the directory, as an evaſion of the poſitive aſſent they deſired to the propoſal of treating definitively. In order, therefore, that no conſent, on their part, to any other mode of treating, ſhould be pleaded by the Britiſh miniſtry, they took particular care, in tranſmitting the paſſports for the expected miniſter, to ſpecify that he was to be furniſhed with full power to negociate a definitive and ſeparate treaty.

Another circumſtance, at which the directory took exception, and of which they teſtified a formal diſapprobation, was the choice made

of lord Malmeſbury for a miniſter plenipotentiary. They dreaded his abilities, and acuteneſs of penetration, and explicitly ſignified that another choice would have augured more favourably for the happy iſſue of the buſineſs in queſtion.

The miniſters appointed by the directory were, Latourneur, lately one of their colleagues, Maret and Pleville, perſons of known abilities, and in whom they repoſed full confidence. Nevertheleſs, as it was foreſeen that the diſcuſſions would involve a multiplicity of matters, on which it would be neceſſary for the directors themſelves to beſtow the moſt minute deliberation, the inſtructions to the French negociators reſtricted them to a punctual conformity with thoſe they had received, and enjoined them to render a progreſſive account of their tranſactions to the directory, for its final deciſion on every particular, as it occurred in the courſe of negociation. The eyes of the republican party, and of the military, were peculiarly fixed upon the conduct of government on this important occaſion, and it behoved the ruling powers to conſult the opinions of both, with particular caution not to deviate from them. The former were ſolicitous that no conceſſions ſhould be made in anywiſe favourable to the intereſts of royalty, or its partiſans, either in France, or even its proximity, could they poſſibly be obviated. The latter were no leſs anxious that the vaſt acquiſitions made by their valour ſhould be retained, and that, after ſo many victories, the fruits of their exploits ſhould not be thrown away. This was the language explicitly ſpoken by the zealous adherents to the commonwealth, and by the army at large, and they were both too numerous, too powerful, and too firmly united in ſentiments and intereſts, to be diſobliged with impunity.

Lord Malmeſbury arrived at Liſle, the place fixed for the negociation, in the beginning of July. His firſt interview with the French miniſters was upon the ſixth of July, and on the eighth he put into their hands the plan of the pacification, drawn up by the Britiſh miniſtry. In addition to the ſtipulations uſually particularized on ſuch occaſions, and to ſuch terms as neither party would object to, it demanded, from Spain, a ceſſion of the iſland of Trinidad, and from the Batavian republic a ceſſion of the cape of Good Hope, Cochin, in the Eaſt Indies, and its poſſeſſions in the iſle of Ceylon. On theſe conditions an entire reſtitution would be made, on the part of Great Britain, of all that it had taken from France, and its allies, in the courſe of the war. In conſideration of which it required that the prince of Orange's property ſhould be reſtored to him, or an equivalent in money be allowed, and that France ſhould engage to procure for him, at the general peace, a compenſation for the loſs of his offices, and dignities, in the United Provinces. Thoſe, alſo, who, on account of their attachment to the Orange family, or to the former government, had ſuffered in their property, or been impriſoned, or baniſhed, ſhould be releaſed, and at liberty to return to their country, and reſide there, and to enjoy their property, on ſubmitting to the eſtabliſhed government. The queen of Portugal ſhould alſo be included in this treaty, without being

ing ſubjected to demands of any kind on the part of France.

In anſwer to theſe propoſals the Britiſh plenipotentiary was informed by the French miniſters, that previouſly to the entering upon the main buſineſs, it would be neceſſary for a full and unequivocal recognition of the French republic, that the king of Great Britain ſhould henceforward deſiſt from aſſuming the title of king of France. Monarchy having been totally aboliſhed by the French, they could no longer permit any claim, though merely nominal and inconſequential, to remain in the poſſeſſion of any prince, and therefore expected and required that it ſhould be relinquiſhed by the Britiſh monarchs in future.

A requiſition of this nature had long been in the contemplation of the republican party, and indeed of a numerous part of the French in general, eſpecially of thoſe who profeſſed themſelves warm and zealous for the honour and dignity of their country. The aſſumption of the title of king of France, was, they ſaid, an indignity, the ſubmitting to which, by their former monarchs, was inexcuſable, and rendered their memory infamous. The nation fully and legally convened, having adjudged the crown to Philip of Valois, the competitor of Edward the Third of England, the claims of this prince were of courſe invalidated, and it was equally unjuſt and abſurd in that Engliſh monarch and his ſucceſſors, to inſiſt upon a right which neither arguments nor force were able to maintain. But on a ſuppoſition that ſuch a claim were defenſible, it reſted ſolely on the right of deſcent. In this caſe, allowing that the poſterity of Edward the Third was entitled to the French crown, it did not follow that ſuch a right was veſted in the poſſeſſors of the Engliſh crown, otherwiſe than as the neareſt deſcendants of that prince. The people of England would not ſurely have the vanity to conſider France as an appendage and heir loom to the crown of England, and to inſiſt that in the ſucceſſion to the one the right of ſucceeding to the other was included. Nothing ſhort of ſo extravagant a ſuppoſition could be brought to ſupport the claims of the preſent royal family of Great Britain to the title of king of France. When the Engliſh nation, at the opening of this century, ſettled their crown upon the houſe of Hanover, they paſſed over the birth-right of more than twenty claimants, who were nearer in blood to the Stuarts. While this family exiſted, it certainly was the neareſt repreſentative of the Plantagenets, of which line was Edward, the primitive claimant. It had been the avowed principle of the Engliſh, ever ſince the acceſſion of the Hanoverian family to their throne, that their title to it was founded on the act of parliament that adjudged the ſucceſſion to them, in excluſion of all other competitors, however nearer a kin to the dethroned family. This title, therefore, could not include rights that were merely hereditary. It could not of conſequence beſtow the title of king of France, which birth alone could confer, and in virtue of which only, the kings of England had worn it until the reign of George the Firſt.

Theſe arguments were looked upon by the French as unanſwerable. All parties, even the ſtaunch-eſt royaliſts, concurred in aſſerting their propriety. Long before the re

volution, the French were wont to expreſs their ſurpriſe that in the many treaties between France and England, the abolition of this title had not been ſtipulated. This neglect, as they ſtyled it, of a duty which was due to the French nation, they aſcribed to the meekneſs and imbecility of their former rulers: and it was, they now ſaid, unbecoming the ſpirit and greatneſs of the people of France, to be governed any longer by ſo baſe and ſcandalous a precedent.

In anſwer to the allegations that were urged on this ſubject by the French plenipotentiaries, it was obſerved by lord Malmeſbury, that the uſe of this title had been freely allowed to the kings of England for ſeveral centuries, without producing inconvenience, or giving offence. To inſiſt on its abolition, after having ſo long ſubſiſted, was to cavil about a mere word, and create difficulties where none exiſted. It could not affect the dignity, the ſecurity, or the importance of the French republic. Such titles had in fact never been conſidered in any other light, than as memorials of former greatneſs, and not as pretenſions to actual power. The multiplicity of titles aſſumed by the kings of Naples and Sardinia, were quoted by him as examples exactly in point. But all the arguments and precedents, adduced by lord Malmeſbury, were loſt upon the French plenipotentiaries. They treated this matter with as much ſeriouſneſs and gravity, as if it had been of the higheſt importance, and the converſation relating to it, ended without any deciſion. It may, however, be preſumed, from the warmth with which the public in France expreſſed their expectation that this title would be ſuppreſſed, that the demand of the French plenipotentiaries will again be renewed, and inſiſted upon with unyielding obſtinacy, whenever another negociation takes place.

The next ſubject, agitated on this occaſion, was the reſtitution of the ſhips taken by the Engliſh at Toulon, or an equivalent for them, and thoſe that had been deſtroyed. The French plenipotentiaries grounded this demand on the declaration made by lord Hood, when he took poſſeſſion of Toulon, which was, that theſe veſſels were taken in truſt for the king of France, as peace, they ſaid, was to be re-eſtabliſhed, the king of England, by acknowledging the republic, admitted that the ſovereignty attributed by him at the period of the ſeizure of Toulon, to the perſon ſtyled Lewis the Seventeenth, exiſted in the French government: he ought therefore to reſtore the ſhips, which were held only as a depoſit until the ſettlement and recognition of a ſovereign and legal authority.

Lord Malmeſbury objected to this demand, as likely to defeat the main object of the negociation. Conſidering the great advantages that France had already obtained, and the conceſſions that Great Britain was willing to make, in order to reſtore peace, this demand ought in equity to be withdrawn. But this reaſoning proved of no avail, the French plenipotentiaries telling him, that they were poſitively bound by their inſtructions to inſiſt upon a compliance.

The third demand of the French plenipotentiaries, was a renunciation on the part of England, of all the mortgages it had upon the Netherlands in conſequence of the money

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lent to the emperor: declaring that they ſhould not conſider themſelves bound to anſwer any mortgage on account of money advanced to him, for the purpoſe of carrying on the war againſt them. Lord Malmeſbury's reply was, that the ceſſion of the Auſtrian Netherlands to France by the emperor, ſtanding charged with all their incumbrances, the meaning of thoſe words was obvious, and the exception which they required, ought to have been ſtated in their treaty with him, and not reſerved for a negociation with Great Britain.

To this reply, the French plenipotentiaries oppoſed their inſtructions, which, it ſeems, enjoined them to inſiſt upon abſolute compliance with all their requiſitions. Conformably to this principle, they ſignified to lord Malmeſbury, that the directory had eſtabliſhed it as an indiſpenſible preliminary of the negociation for peace with England, that it ſhould engage to make an entire reſtitution of all the poſſeſſions it had taken, not only from France, but from Spain and the Batavian republic. They required him to accede to this propoſal, and if not ſufficiently authoriſed to do it, to diſpatch a meſſenger to the Britiſh court, in order to procure the neceſſary powers. The argument on which they chiefly dwelt, for this peremptory requiſition, was that the treaties between France and its Spaniſh and Batavian allies, reſpectively guaranteed to each other the territories they poſſeſſed previouſly to the war.

This poſitive and unqualified requiſition was repreſented to them by lord Malmeſbury, as tending to a direct and abrupt termination of all treaty. It amounted to an explicit declaration that unleſs Great Britain conſented to reſtore all the conqueſts it had made over all its enemies, no negociation ſhould take place. Such a demand precluded all room for treating, as it deprived England at once of all the means of negociation, by ſetting up the principle of all ceſſion on one, and no compenſation on the other. A peace on ſuch conditions would not be heard of in England. If ſuch therefore were the determination of the directory, the negociation was at an end, and it only remained for Great Britain to perſevere in oppoſing with an energy and ſpirit proportioned to the exigency, a war that could not be terminated without yielding to ſuch diſgraceful terms.

Unwilling to break off the negociation in ſo abrupt a manner, the French plenipotentiaries endeavoured to ſoften the harſhneſs of their propoſals, by aſcribing them to the neceſſity they were under of punctually adhering to their inſtructions. They added, however, that notwithſtanding this declaration, they were perfectly diſpoſed to pay due attention to whatever might be propoſed on the part of England, provided it were not incompatible with the engagements they had formed with their allies.

In conſequence of this declaration, which materially qualified the former, lord Malmeſbury, after informing the Britiſh miniſtry of the propoſals made by the French plenipotentiaries, and procuring directions on the ſubject, ſtated to them the frivolous and illuſory arguments, of which they grounded the motives for demanding an entire reſtitution of all the Britiſh acquiſitions during the war, previouſly to a negociation for peace. It was notorious

torious, he obſerved, that both Spain and Holland, ſo far from being deſirous of a war with England, were compelled by France to engage in it againſt their own wiſhes, as they were duly apprehenſive that they undertook, without means to ſupport it, a conteſt in which they had nothing to gain and much to loſe. It could not, therefore, be doubted, that the directory, if pacifically inclined, could readily procure from thoſe powers, their conſent to the terms propoſed by the Britiſh miniſtry, or could at leaſt take into conſideration the plan of a pacification tranſmitted from England, without refuſing at once to treat previouſly to a reſtoration of all that France and its allies had loſt, on the pretence of being pledged to each other for the recovery of thoſe loſſes. This plan having clearly detailed the conditions on which Great Britain was inclined to treat, and theſe conditions having been at once rejected by a ſweeping claim on the part of the French government, it was not fitting or reaſonable, and could not therefore be expected, that any freſh propoſals ſhould originate with the Britiſh miniſtry. It was now incumbent on the directory in its turn to bring forward plainly and without reſerve the whole of what they intended to aſk, and not in detached and ſeparate parts, which muſt neceſſarily retard the progreſs of the buſineſs in agitation.

Theſe repreſentations being founded in ſtrict propriety, drew from the French plenipotentiaries an indirect acknowledgement of their conſidering them as ſuch, and a promiſe too of tranſmit them to the directory; they engaged at the ſame time to apply to them for ſuch a plan of pacification as had been required by the Britiſh miniſtry, which, after producing its own, had an evident right to expect another in return on the part of the French government.

A fortnight elapſed after this engagement from the French miniſters. Lord Malmeſbury earneſtly preſſing them, in the mean time, to move with greater ſpeed in a buſineſs of ſuch importance: they attributed the delay to the neceſſity under which the directory lay, of conſulting the allies of France in this conjuncture, and of declaring to them, that unleſs they meaned to continue the war, they muſt releaſe France from its engagements, in order, to enable it to meet the propoſals of England.

Whatever truth there might be in this allegation, it was become neceſſary to account, in ſome manner, for the procaſtination of an affair at which the public in France was earneſtly ſolicitous to ſee the concluſion. The partiſans of the directory attributed the delay to the backwardneſs of the Britiſh miniſtry, to accede to reaſonable terms, and their endeavours to weary out the patience of the directory into improper conceſſions. The directory itſelf did not appear averſe to inculcate ſuch a perſuaſion. In a meſſage to the council of five hundred, it inſinuated that the heads of the coalition, vanquiſhed and reduced in good earneſt to ſue for peace, when a treaty to that end was nearly brought to a concluſion, had ſuddenly fallen off, and thrown as much delay into the negociations, as they had before ſhewn anxiety for their acceleration. This change in their diſpoſition the directory imputed to the hopes which they had lately conceived, that through the failure

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of its finances, the government of France was on the point of a general diſſolution, and that from want of pay, a diſperſion of its armies was at hand.

An inſinuation of this nature was evidently pointed at the Britiſh miniſtry, and clearly implied a charge of their purpoſedly retarding the buſineſs of the negociations at Liſle. This being ſo contrary to fact, and throwing ſo much undeſerved odium upon the conductors of the treaty on the part of England, lord Malmeſbury was directed to clear up the point to the ſatisfaction of the public. He demanded, accordingly, an explanation of the directorial meſſage from the French plenipotentiaries, ſolemnly calling upon them to declare to the world, that if the accuſation was levelled at the manner in which the negociation at Liſle had been conducted, on the part of England, it was totally deſtitute of foundation, and a wide deviation from what they knew to be real truth; which was, that if any blameable delay had ariſen, it was imputable to the French government itſelf, and not to the Britiſh miniſtry.

The French plenipotentiaries admitted, without heſitation, the truth of lord Malmeſbury's remonſtrances. The words to which he alluded in the meſſage, were not, they ſaid, intended for England, but for the court of Vienna: and they formally aſſured him, that they were ready to do full juſtice to the zeal and expedition with which he had acted throughout the whole of the negociation, and had unremittingly laboured to accelerate it. This teſtimony they certified he might depend on their confirming to him, in the name of the directory, as ſoon as they had made them acquainted with the explanation that he required. This preciſe and unequivocal diſavowal of any deſign to fix an imputation of delay on the Britiſh plenipotentiary and his conſtituents, was the more neceſſary and ſeaſonable, that the private agents of the directory were exerting themſelves to perſuade the public, that the Britiſh government was not ſincere in its profeſſions for peace, and had ſent over a miniſter to act oſtenſibly the part of a negociator, but whoſe miſſion was merely calculated to quiet the minds of the Engliſh, and to appeaſe thoſe murmurs that filled the nation, and began to render the adminiſtration apprehenſive of the conſequences.

The vigour with which lord Malmeſbury urged the plenipotentiaries to preſs the determinations of the directory, was probably loſt upon theſe in the multiplicity of affairs more nearly intereſting to them at this critical period. It was now verging towards the end of Auguſt, and the parties that were preparing for the ſcenes that were daily expected, had no inclination to attend to any other occupation. This may ſerve to account, in ſome meaſure, for the dilatorineſs with which the negociation proceeded. Nor was it ſurpriſing, that, uncertain what fate awaited them, the directors confined their ſolicitude to themſelves.

The French plenipotentiaries had promiſed to ſolicit the directory for freſh inſtructions; but none had yet arrived: this promiſe was made on the twenty-third of July, and it was now the twenty-eighth of Auguſt. In the conferences between lord Malmeſbury and the French plenipotentiaries during the intermediate

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ſpace, nothing deciſive had, of courſe, been tranſacted. The intelligence brought, upon this day, announced farther delay. They informed him, that the anſwer from the Batavian republic to the application of the directory, had been ſo unſatisfactory, that it had been returned, in hope of procuring a more favourable one. The veracity of this information ill accorded, however, with the influence exerciſed by the directory over the councils of the Batavian government, and with the well known wiſhes of the people in the ſeven provinces to recover a ſituation of tranquillity.

In the midſt of theſe doubts and uncertainties happened thoſe extraordinary events at Paris, known by the name of the revolution of the eighteenth Fructidor, (September the fourth,) of which we have above given ſome account. One of its conſequences was the recall of the French plenipotentiaries at Liſle, and the replacing them by two others, Trailhard and Bonnier Dales. In the very firſt conference with theſe, which was on the fourteenth of September, it appeared clearly, that the negociation muſt ſhortly be at an end. They begun it by ſignifying to lord Malmeſbury, that they had it in charge from the directory, to demand of him, whether he was inveſted with ſufficient powers for reſtoring to the French republic, and its allies, all the poſſeſſions taken from them, by England, in the courſe of the war? To this queſtion they alſo required an anſwer that very day. Many arguments were uſed, by the French plenipotentiaries, to prove the propriety of their demand; they intimated, at the ſame time, that the negociation could not proceed until an appoſite anſwer had been given. But the whole of this proceeding appeared ſo abrupt and peremptory, that lord Malmeſbury, after referring them to the anſwer he had given to that queſtion, two months before, when it had been put to him by the former plenipotentiaries, declared again, in poſitive terms, that he was authorized to treat on no other principle than that of reciprocal compenſation. He accompanied this anſwer with ſuitable remarks on the impropriety of their inſiſting upon the pacific intentions of the directory, while, inſtead of taking up the negociation in the point where their predeceſſors had left it. They were commiſſioned to fling it back to the point from which theſe had ſtarted, notwithſtanding he had been told, that the directory was occupied in bringing over the allies of France to coincide in the principles he had propoſed to be adopted in the negociation between both parties.

The reſult of his conference, and of the written notification by lord Malmeſbury, in confirmation of what he had ſpoken, was, that the French plenipotentiaries ſignified to him, that, as he had not the neceſſary powers to agree to the reſtitutions required from England, they were charged by the directory to enjoin him to depart in twenty-four hours for England, in order to procure ſuch powers. The note, containing this diſmiſſal, was dated the ſixteenth of September.

Deſirous, however, to prevent, if poſſible, the total rupture of the negociation, lord Malmeſbury, after demanding a paſſport, and intimating that no other anſwer than this could be expected to ſuch a notification, ſtill gave them to underſtand,

ſtand, that in order to obviate all miſconſtructions in a caſe of ſo great importance, he was led, by their pacific aſſurances, to think, that it would be more ſatisfactory for both parties to meet once more. A meeting took place accordingly, wherein, without ſtooping for ſolicitation, he afforded them every opening, conſiſtent with his dignity, to recall the violent ſtep they had taken; but they did not ſeem diſpoſed to retract, and pleaded the poſitive orders of the directory for what they had done. This was the laſt conference with the French miniſters; and lord Malmeſbury left Liſle early the next morning, eighteenth of September.

If the queſtion of peace or war had come to be decided by the two nations, faithfully repreſented in their reſpective councils, the private policy of their reſpective rulers would have been ſoon overborne, and all diplomatic obſtacles would have been ſurmounted. But the art of negociation has hitherto conſiſted in a kind of addreſs and artifice, not very properly called ability; firſt, in diſplaying a zeal for peace; ſecondly, in diſplaying of the oppoſite party in an oppoſite light, and, finally, in working up national prejudice, for the purpoſe of perſevering in unadjuſted contention. The *ſine qua nons* of acquiſitions or conceſſions, are, in general, but covers for the ſecret views of the contending governments. It had been fortunate, perhaps, if the Britiſh parliament had, on the motion of Mr. Pollen, on the 11th of April, 1797, adopted the ſpirit of his propoſition. It might have given additional force to the councils of France, to command peace from their own executive government; and the directory, or the republican party, on ſeeing the baſis on which peace was propoſed, might have dropped their anxiety, if not reſentment, for the ſuppoſed ſupport given by the Britiſh government to the loyaliſts. In fact, the ſpeeches of ſeveral members of the French legiſlature, on ſundry occaſions, and particularly that of the ſelonious expedition againſt Wales, ſhew, that kindred minds were not wanting in the national councils of our neighbours. It were well for mankind, and alſo the individual happineſs and glory of nations, if they, who are at the head of their affairs, would adopt the ſentiments, and ſpeak on all occaſions the language, of juſtice and conciliation. From ſparks of generoſity, each tending to kindle each into a flame, the happieſt conſequences might not unreaſonably be expected.

Had the matters in diſpute, in the conferences at Liſle, been to be ſettled by deputies from all nations, orders, and claſſes of men intereſted in the iſſue of the conteſt or by the genius and repreſentative of human nature, not partial to one nation, but equally concerned for the welfare and honour of all, ſome ſuch reaſoning would, doubtleſs, have been uſed, as the following: "In the preſent period of intercourſe among nations, extended beyond all example; when the progreſs of navigation and commerce, the eſtabliſhment of poſts and packets, and the art of printing, communicate and interchange every diſcovery that is made in the four quarters of the world, and unite the nations by ſuch a reciprocity of wants and redundancies, and by ſo many ſympathies of a ſocial and intellectual kind; the

proſperity of the one is the proſperity of the other, and the proſperity of the whole conſiſts in one common ſtock, the inviolability of private property and public credit. This is the grand chain by which the general order, among individuals and nations, is ſuſtained and improved. When the right of property is violated by robbery, tyranny, and the deſtructions of war, civil ſociety is arreſted: it is finally diſſolved, and man returns to his original ſtate of war, among the beaſts of the field.

"The gradations of civil ſociety are marked by the peculiar characters of the wars which have diſtinguiſhed its progreſs; and which may be divided into wars of chivalry, wars of conqueſt, wars of religion, wars of the balance of power, wars of commerce, and, laſtly, the war of the rights of men. The fury of this laſt will be beſt repreſſed, by oppoſing to it the barrier of the rights of nations; which rights equally demand, in each, the protection of property.

"All civilized nations, notwithſtanding the paſſions, the jealouſies, and contentions, of different ſtates, are drawn daily into a more intelligible reciprocity of intereſts. The antipathies of nations, and their religious quarrels, have ceaſed. The ties that unite them have been ſtrengthened. By letters, commerce, and modern finance, kingdoms are happily led into a ſpecies of provincial intercourſe. But, on the contrary, while this external intercourſe is cloſer than ever, in times of peace, and not wholly interrupted, even in war, the bonds of internal union are every where ſlackened: and this, at the preſent moment, is the characteriſtic of the ſtates of Europe, that, even while they are at war againſt each other, they are in fermentation within themſelves. A due regard to property, public credit, and the rights of nations, is the only principle, in the preſent luxurious and ſceptical age, that can impoſe reſtraints on both external and internal convulſion. It is the intereſt of all nations to baniſh, for ever, all ideas of ſubjugation and conqueſt, and to unite, on the principles of mutual benevolence and juſtice, for repelling the progreſs of anarchical revolution. They will find partizans in all who poſſeſs, and all who are ambitious of acquiring property.

"Monteſquieu has ſhewn that the ſpirit of laws, under all the varieties of government, is one and the ſame: the effort of human reaſon, which, under every calamity and revolution, has hitherto preſerved to the human race their civil and political exiſtence. Had Monteſquieu lived in theſe times, he would have diſcovered the ſpirit of a new law, corroborative of his own; a new ſecurity for the order of civilization. That ſecurity is the ſpirit of the law of public credit: a principle which has found, in the very medium by which the intercourſe of mankind is carried on, a power, which, united with the ſpirit of juſtice, reſulting from legal inſtitutions, ſeems to ſuſtain the political order of the world. The revolution and independence of America, the intercourſe of Aſia with Europe, and, above all, the efforts of England in the laſt war, and of France in this, would have diſplayed, to his penetrating mind, that great principle in the livelieſt colours: a principle, by means of which England and France, without allies, alternately

ternately defeated the greateſt hoſtile combinations. But public credit, which lent to the Engliſh miniſters, in the American war, the ſum of one hundred and twenty millions, and to France, in the preſent, millions of millions, beyond calculation, muſt have drawn thoſe reſources from ſome quarter in which they actually exiſted. Our great luminary of civilization, therefore, in proſecuting his inveſtigation, would have diſcovered the ſecret: which is, that public credit is but one power, which embraces, as far as commerce and finance are concerned, the whole circulation of property. This truth is as remote from vulgar comprehenſion as it would be for a country-dealer to conceive, how the ſecurity of his village-tranſactions ſhould be connected with the credit of the ſtate upon the Royal Exchange: but, national misfortune is a convincing reaſoner. Events have taught the proprietors of Europe, that, though the preſſure of the ſums ſpent in war be immediately local, this preſſure, by re-action, is ultimately ſenſible in every quarter. The ſame preſſure falls, in the end, on the manufacturer and labourer; who, in proportion as they become more and more enlightened, will be ſenſible how much they ſuffer by the devaſtations of war; and, in their reluctance to labour for waſte, impoſe reſtraints on thoſe rulers, who would, on light and frivolous pretences, interrupt the courſe of peace. In this manner, as knowledge advances, the connection of ſelf-intereſt, with the inviolability of property and public credit, may be expected to unite and harmonize the nations."

It would become the wiſdom of enlightened legiſlators, to baniſh all ideas of attacks on one another, and to lend their united efforts againſt the common enemy of all: a ſpirit of innovation and of plunder.

It muſt be owned, that it would be very unſafe, and is not to be expected, that any one nation ſhould throw aſide its arms, and truſt merely to the mantle of juſtice, while all or any of its neighbours ſhould ſtill wear the coat of mail and helmet: yet, it is the duty of all governments, as the intereſt of all nations, to pay homage to the principles of reaſon and juſtice, on which alone a general ſyſtem of political power is to be founded; and that nation will ſhew the greateſt magnanimity, as well as wiſdom, that, on theſe principles, ſhall make the firſt advance towards univerſal pacification.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

Predominancy of the Republican Party in France.—Influence of this on Peace with Auſtria, and War with England.—Avowed Deſign of the Republic to invade, and even conquer, England.—Approved and applauded by all Parties.—Emiſſaries employed by the French, in different Countries, to ſow the Seeds of Diſcontent, and Revolt from their reſpective Governments.—Interference of the French in the Affairs of Switzerland.—French Troops enter into the Province of Bazle.—French Party in Switzerland.—And Malcontents in all the different Cantons.—Preparations of the French Republic for the Invaſion of Switzerland.—Conjectures concerning the Motives that were at the Bottom of theſe.—Diviſions among the Cantons.—Popular Decree of the Supreme Council of Berne.—Admitting the principal Towns and Diſtricts into a Participation of the Legiſlature.—This Precedent adopted by Five other Cantons.—Yet Jealouſies ſtill prevail, and Diſtractions.—Solemn Oath taken by the Five United Cantons to defend their Country to the laſt Extremity.—Yet a Number of French Partizans, even in the Senate of Berne.—In which a Majority declares for entering into a friendly Negociation, and making conceſſions to the French.—Heroic Patriotiſm of Steiguer.—Adopted by all the noble Youth of Berne.—Yet the Mode of Treaty and Conceſſion ſtill purſued by the Supreme Council.—Artifices of the French General, Le Brune.—Negociations between the Swiſs and French—Who inſiſt on a Revolution in the Swiſs Government.—Indignation of the People of Switzerland.—The Senate of Berne ſend Notice to the Swiſs General that he was at Liberty to Attack the Enemy.—Treacherous Correſpondence of certain French Partizans with the French General.—Who ſurprizes the Swiſs Army in the Night.—Perfidious Practices of Le Brune.—The Cities of Fribourg and Soleure fall into the Hands of the French.—The Retreat of the Swiſs Army.—Which makes ſome reſolute Stands.—Orders iſſued by the Government of Berne for a general riſing of the People.—Obeyed.—Conſequences of that riſing.—The armed Multitude diſſolve the eſtabliſhed, and appoint a proviſional Government.—Deciſive Battle between the Swiſs and French.—Surrender of Berne.

THE republican party, in France, had acquired ſuch an acceſſion of ſtrength, and energy, in conſequence of the events that marked, in ſo ſtriking a manner, the eighteenth of Fructidor, September fourth, 1797, that its audacity and enterprizing ſpirit were in a great meaſure revived. They had, during ſome of the preceding months, lain, as it were, dormant and ſuſpended, through the endeavours of the more moderate

moderate among them, to introduce a ſyſtem of tranquillity into the management of public affairs abroad as well as at home, and to calm that reſtleſs diſpoſition which led them to create and foment endleſs agitations wherever their power or their influence extended. But thoſe events gave a new turn to the politics of France. The rulers of the republic, no longer thwarted by the formidable oppoſition that had ſtood in the way of the vaſt deſigns they had in contemplation, reſolved now to purſue them with additional vigour.

The negociations for peace, between Auſtria and the republic, were undoubtedly accelerated by theſe events. They had been protracted from the middle of April 1797 to the middle of October. This procraſtination was attributed, by the zealous republicans, to the obſtacles that aroſe on the part of the Auſtrian negociators, who relied upon a great change of circumſtances in their favour through the intrigues of the numerous adherents to the royal cauſe, that had lately been promoted to places of power in the republic, and ſome of whom were at the head of the oppoſition to government, and made a conſpicuous figure as members of the legiſlature in both councils.

But all the expectations they had formed, from the abilities and influence theſe agents of the royal party had acquired, and were daily increaſing, vaniſhed at once by this ſudden downfal of their chiefs. It overthrew all the ſchemes which theſe had been framing with ſo much diligence and induſtry, ſince the election of the new third, in the month of June, in full confidence that, aided by the multitude of their partizans throughout France, they would maintain the ground which they had gained, until the ſeaſon arrived of another election of a third part of the legiſlative body; when they doubted not of compoſing altogether ſo clear a majority, that no legal impediments could ariſe to the deſigns they had ultimately in view. This victory of the republicans may be reaſonably ſuppoſed to have influenced the pacification concluded at Campo-Formio: hence alſo the determination of the ruling party, to break off the negociation with England, againſt which, now that it was deprived of its Auſtrian ally, they preſumed they ſhould be able to carry on as ſucceſsful a war as they had done with the other members of the coalition.

In the ſolemn audience, given to Berthier and Mongé, the former one of their generals, the latter one of their commiſſaries in Italy, the project of an invaſion of England was explicitly avowed. They were ſent, by Buonaparte, with the definitive treaty of peace between the emperor and the republic, which they formally preſented to the directory, on the firſt day of November. They both made remarkable ſpeeches on this occaſion: the general expatiated on the victories obtained by the French armies in Italy; the commiſſary dwelt on the triumphant ſituation of the republic, which had cruſhed all its enemies, of whom one only now remained. This enemy was England, of which Mongé compared the politics to thoſe of Philip of Macedon, the father of Alexander. That prince had undermined the liberty of the Grecian republics through bribery and corruption: by ſimilar means, Eng-

land was labouring to ſubvert the liberties of France. The Engliſh government and the French republic could not, he thence inferred, ſubſiſt together. "Deſtroy therefore, he ſaid, a government which has corrupted the morals of the whole world, but preſerve a nation to which Europe is indebted for ſo great a degree of its illumination. Do not oppreſs a country that has given a Newton to the univerſe. Preſerve a people highly reſpectable for their patriotiſm, and worthy of a better government: raiſe them to the dignity of a a free people; complete that liberty of which they are ſo fond, and reſtore them to their natural virtues: let the Engliſh people exiſt with glory; let them be the rivals of the French nation: let them both eagerly concur in ſpreading new lights, and bringing the human mind to perfection: let there be no other rivalſhip between them, than who ſhall moſt contribute to the happineſs of the world."

He concluded this remarkable diſcourſe by hinting that France would ſpread the flame of liberty to Greece, to Egypt, and even to the deſerts of Arabia. This, indeed, was, in the uſual ſtrain of moſt of the ſpeeches pronounced on public occaſions throughout France. The emancipation of all nations, from tyranny, was a promiſe which they conſtantly held out, as a ſanction to all their enterprizes, and as a motive which was to juſtify whatever they had done, and ſtill intended to do.

Lareveillere, at this time, preſident of the directory, confirmed, in his anſwer to Mongé, the ſentiments and aſſertions he had advanced, particularly thoſe relating to England, to which he attributed the evil diſcords and the calamities that France had ſuffered, and againſt which the republic ought now to direct its laſt blows.

Throughout the whole of theſe effuſions of republican zeal, the determination to make a terrible example of England, to uſe their own phraſe, was evidently apparent. Conqueſt was a word familiar to them, in ſpeaking of this country, and even extermination was occaſionally uſed. They conſidered, in fact, all their ſucceſſes as preparatory to this their laſt and greateſt exploit. It was repreſented to all Frenchmen as an act of neceſſity, for the preſervation of the republic, and as an atchievement that would crown France with glory, with riches, and with the command of the whole world.

An object of this nature, the accompliſhment of which was, at the ſame time, deſcribed as within reaſonable hope, filled the imagination, not only of the multitude, but alſo of the ſuperior claſſes, with the moſt flattering ideas. The overthrow of Carthage by the Romans, and the conqueſt of England by William the Norman, were cited as caſes in point; and as proofs of the practicability of ſuch an attempt. In the keeneſt deſire for its ſucceſs, all deſcriptions of people, and it may ſafely be affirmed that all parties, moſt eagerly concurred, without exception of republicans or of royaliſts. The ancient animoſity of the French ſeemed, on this occaſion, to revive with additional heat. The former of the parties juſt mentioned conſidered the Engliſh as meanly jealous of French freedom, and apprehenſive that its acquiſition would enable France to attain a decided ſuperiority over England, in arts, in commerce, and in all improvements. The latter looked

looked upon the aſſiſtance afforded by England to the royal party, as proceeding from no other motive than a mercenary expectation of being rewarded, on the reſtoration of the Bourbon family, with the donation of ſome of the French iſlands, and tranſmarine poſſeſſions, and with ſome commercial advantages in France itſelf. While both theſe parties concurred in aſcribing the moſt ſelfiſh motives to England for its interference in the affairs of their country, it was not ſurpriſing that the long-rooted antipathy of the natives of France to thoſe of England, ſhould ſuperſede the conſideration of the detriment accruing to the royal cauſe, from the ruin of the Engliſh, even in the royaliſts themſelves. National pride would preſer, to what they might hope would only prove a temporary depreſſion of their party, the permanent fame and aggrandizement reſulting to France from ſo vaſt an atchievement as the conqueſt of England.

Ideas of this kind pervaded, at this period, the whole maſs of the French nation, and wonderfully contributed to preſerve the ſpirits of the public, amidſt the difficulties and hardſhips that were felt by all claſſes. It was therefore the chief policy of the government to inculcate the firmeſt perſuaſion, that the ſubjugation of this country was an object ſeriouſly in their contemplation. This was done accordingly, and an emulation was thereby excited that viſibly operated throughout the whole community; though it may juſtly be doubted, whether the directory were not, in the mean time, intimately convinced of the impracticability of ſuch an undertaking at the preſent juncture, even allowing that it were at all practicable. The circumſtances of the Britiſh nation were ſuch, at this time, as to diſcourage every idea of invaſion. Its fleets were more numerous than at any paſt period, and manned with officers and ſeamen who had carried victory and terror into every part of the globe. The two recent deſeats of the Spaniſh and Dutch fleets were preſent in the memory of all the people in Europe, and had entirely ſunk the ſpirit of thoſe two nations. They could not avoid noticing, at the ſame time, that, while they were compelled, by the importunities, and almoſt the threats, of the French government, to venture out of their harbours, and riſk an engagement with the Britiſh ſquadrons awaiting them, the French themſelves kept cloſe in their own ports, and left their allies to encounter all the danger. But, excluſive of its navy, Great Britain was in a ſtate of the moſt formidable preparation, at home, againſt any foreign attack. The nation was firmly united in a determination to oppoſe all invaders. The moſt violent in their diſapprobation of miniſtry, and their averſeneſs to the war, ſtill retained that laudable attachment to their country, which will always induce true patriots to ſide even with the worſt miniſters againſt an invading enemy, however fair and plauſible in his pretences and promiſes to deliver them from domeſtic oppreſſion. The conduct of the French to thoſe people who had received them with open arms had, however, proved ſo contrary to the expectation of theſe, that their good faith was no longer to be relied on, and none were inclined to give them admittance, but thoſe who were utterly unable to reſiſt them.

Completely aware of this diſpoſition in all the people of Europe, the directory was now convinced that force alone was the inſtrument to be henceforward employed for procuring an entrance to the French, into thoſe countries that were not ſubject to ſtrangers, and whoſe inhabitants, from long and hereditary habits of obedience, were attached to their native princes. Such were unwilling to change their condition, and eſpecially to transfer their allegiance to a people of whoſe yoke all thoſe on whom it had been impoſed, made heavy complaints, and which, even their warmeſt adherents in thoſe countries they had revolutionized, did not find ſo light as their fidelity to French principles entitled them to expect.

Influenced by theſe motives, the heads of the republican party adopted that ſyſtem which had hitherto made the baſis of all thoſe plans on which they had acted moſt ſucceſsfully. This was, to ſow the ſeeds of diſcontent, at their reſpective governments, among thoſe claſſes that had moſt to get by confuſions and changes. Theſe being obviouſly the idle, the unprincipled, and the unemployed; it was principally among theſe the French emiſſaries were directed to exert their endeavours to excite diſſatisfaction at their rulers, and their modes of governing, together with a deſire of imitating the example ſet them by the people of France. Here they were told, that every man, without exception, was on the cleareſt level with his richeſt and higheſt neighbour, and had as good a chance of riſing to honours and preferments, through his courage and abilities, as any individuals whatſoever, however diſtinguiſhed by their birth, their family connections, and their opulence.

As it was by holding out theſe allurements to the French themſelves, that the founders of the republic had compaſſed their object; and as they had employed them, with ſimilar ſucceſs, in thoſe parts of Europe, where they had now eſtabliſhed their power, they reſolved to purſue the ſame courſe in thoſe countries of which the proximity ſeemed to invite their next exertions of this kind. Having ſucceeded in the Auſtrian Netherlands, in the Seven Provinces, in Savoy, and in a large portion of Italy, they indulged the hope of being no leſs ſucceſsful in a country which lay as near to them as any, but of which the principal inhabitants had hitherto, by much prudence and perſeverence, preſerved its independence, amidſt a variety of endeavours, inceſſantly exerted by the French, and their partizans, to introduce the principles that brought about the revolution, and, thereby, to overthrow the eſtabliſhed government.

This country was Switzerland, to which the French revolutioniſts had long caſt a wiſhful eye, as an acquiſition, that would eminently contribute to ſtrengthen their cauſe. Until the monarchy of France was deſtroyed, the alliance ſubſiſting of old between it and the Swiſs cantons ſtill continued; but, on its deſtruction, in 1792, the republican party, full of reſentment, at the zeal diſplayed by the Swiſs, in favour of the royal cauſe, was not long in manifeſting the intentions they harboured reſpecting that people. While the fate of the French republic remained uncertain, it refrained

ſtrained from direct attempts to breed confuſions in Switzerland; but, as ſoon as fortune had declared ſo deciſively for France, that no doubts could be entertained of its capacity to reſiſt all foreign enemies, the convention began to aſſume a tone of authority and preſumption in all matters relating to Switzerland, that ſtruck the cantons with the deepeſt alarm. It did not pretend to a direct aſſumption of power; but embarraſſed their proceedings by interfering in them as a party concerned, and liable to be affected by their conduct. On this pretext, there were few caſes of importance wherein they did not repreſent themſelves materially intereſted, and claim, on this ground, the right of participating in their cognizance and deciſion.

After laying aſide, for the preſent, the deſign it had ſo explicitly and ſo loudly proclaimed, of invading England, but of which it ſtill made a ſtrong avowal, the directory came to a determination of turning its arms to Switzerland. It began by cauſing violent complaints againſt the head of the canton of Berne, to be inſerted in the official publications of the French government. Several of its moſt active agents were ſecretly diſpatched into that and other cantons, in order to reconnoitre the diſpoſitions of the inhabitants in general, and to propagate among them thoſe political doctrines which they had already found means to ſpread throughout a conſiderable portion of that nation.

The Swiſs were, in the mean time, explicitly accuſed of having been officially inſtrumental in ſeconding every intrigue within their reach, to the detriment of the republic; particularly, of giving open and conſtant encouragement to the emigrants of all deſcriptions, whether prieſts or nobles, in military or civil employments: the more violent theſe appeared againſt their country, the more favourable was their reception, and the more reſpectful their treatment. Theſe denunciations filled the papers, publiſhed under the authority, or the auſpices, of the ruling powers, and were looked upon as preludes and intimations of their ſubſequent intentions relative to the governments of Switzerland.

The directory proceeded at length to an open avowal of its hoſtile determinations, by inſiſting peremptorily on the expulſion of the Britiſh envoy to the Swiſs cantons, Mr. Wickham. The pretence for this inſulting meaſure was, that he had, under a fictitious name, ſupported, with Engliſh money, the intrigues and machinations carried on between the French in Switzerland and their aſſociates in France; one of the conſequences of which was the ſeduction of general Pichegru from his allegiance, and his entering into a conſpiracy againſt the republic. This charge was grounded upon the diſcoveries which, they alleged, had been made in a ſecret correſpondence that had been intercepted by general Moreau.

The canton of Berne, alarmed at ſo unprecedented an aſſumption of dictatorial authority over a free ſtate, ſent a remonſtrance to the directory: but thoſe who brought it were treated with that haughtineſs which had of late characterized the French government in its intercourſe with foreign ſtates. They were ordered to leave France; and they returned to Switzerland, fully con-

vinced, that the directory harboured the moſt hoſtile deſigns againſt their country.

In the mean time, Mr. Wickham informed the government of Berne, that he had received letters of recall. This happily terminated the difference, and put it out of the directory's power to proceed to thoſe extremities which might have been the reſult of a refuſal to diſmiſs the Britiſh miniſter. But though the moderation and prudence that dictated this meaſure preſerved, for the preſent, this canton, and the others in its alliance, from a rupture with France, it was obvious, that the latter was determined to ſeize the firſt pretext that offered, to break with the Helvetic body.

In order to provoke it to active reſentment, by ſome ſtep too arrogant to be borne by a high ſpirited people, the directory gave orders to its troops on the frontiers of Switzerland to take poſſeſſion of that part of the territory of Baſle which was ſubject to the juriſdiction of the cantons. This was a poſitive contravention of a treaty, by which this territory was ſecured to them. Unwilling to come to an open quarrel, notwithſtanding this outrageous violation of their rights, they had recourſe to pacific negociations, hoping thereby to put an end to all pretences for complaint on the part of France. But the revolutionary ſpirit that had now ſpread from thence into the bordering parts of Switzerland ſoon lighted up a flame that they were not able to extinguiſh.

The canton of Berne had long been a peculiar object of averſion to the French republicans. Its government was a pure and a lofty ariſtocracy. It had even, at the firſt breaking out of the revolution, undiſguiſedly and warmly eſpouſed the cauſe of the unhappy Lewis XVI. and explicitly forbidden the Swiſs in the ſervice of France from manifeſting any good will to his opponents. On the fatal tenth of Auguſt, the Swiſs guards acted an open and deciſive part in his favour. On many other occaſions this canton, which was the moſt extenſive, populous, and rich of any, and poſſeſſed a commanding influence over them all, had exerted its utmoſt power, in oppoſition to the views of the French republicans, as far as it conſiſted with the rules of neutrality.

But, excluſive of the enmity of theſe, a party ſubſiſted, both in this and the other cantons, notoriouſly inimical to the ariſtocratical forms of government eſtabliſhed in moſt of them. This party had made a ſilent progreſs ever ſince the meeting of the firſt national aſſembly, the conſtruction of which, as being a mixture of the commons as well as of the nobles of France, it applauded as the wiſeſt ſyſtem of government. Theſe democratic ideas were highly offenſive to the ruling families in Switzerland, and ſeveral of their abettors were ſeverely puniſhed for avowing and endeavouring to diſſeminate them among their countrymen. It was not ſurpriſing, for this reaſon, that the French republicans, whoſe conſtitution was a pure democracy, ſhould conceive ſo violent a hatred to the ariſtocracies prevailing in Switzerland, and determine to overthrow them on the firſt opportunity.

Elated with the humiliation of the houſe of Auſtria, the ſubjugation of Italy, and the erection of ſo many republics on the ruins of monarchical

narchical or ariſtocratical governments, the directory thought the period was come for revolutionizing, in the ſame manner, the countries of which the Swiſs confederacy conſiſted. Beſides the general motive of gratifying their reſentment, and extending their power, they were farther ſtimulated by the preſſing requeſts of the numerous malcontents in the different cantons, who repreſented the enterprize as attended with little difficulty, from the divided ſtate of the country, and the zeal and vigour with which they would be ſeconded by the multitude of their adherents.

Emboldened by theſe repreſentations, and ſtill more by the ſecurity derived from the pacification with Auſtria, againſt the oppoſition they would certainly have experienced on the part of that power, they now earneſtly prepared for the invaſion of Switzerland. The intentions of the directory did not long continue ſecret; but the Swiſs, relying on their native bravery, and on the numbers of their countrymen expert in the uſe of arms, and trained in foreign ſervices, were confident that, in caſe of an attack, they would meet it with ſo formidable a maſs of reſolute and experienced ſoldiers, that the French would be incapable of forcing an entrance into Switzerland

But there were others who eagerly adviſed them not to wait till the approach of the French, but on the contrary to march immediately into France with all the ſtrength they were able to collect. The population of Switzerland could eaſily furniſh an immenſe army of hardy, courageous, and well diſciplined men. Nothing was, at the ſame time, more probable, than that, the moment they ſhewed themſelves on the frontiers of France, they would be joined by multitudes: their high reputation for valour, the long and ſincere friendſhip ſubſiſting between the French and the Swiſs, the certainty that theſe could poſſibly have no other motive for entering France than to aſſiſt the royal cauſe; theſe conſiderations, added to the deteſtation in which numbers, neutral as to the form of government, ſtill held the preſent rulers, on account of their obſtinate continuance of the war, againſt the repeated wiſhes of the nation for peace, would, in a few days, ſwell their numbers to ſo deciſive a ſuperiority to thoſe of the oppoſite party, that it would neceſſarily become intimidated, and willing to compromiſe matters. But, were hoſtilities to take place, the likelihood of ſucceſs, on the ſide of ſo immenſe a force, ought to encourage them to proceed with the moſt unſhaken vigour: the ſmalleſt advantages would decide a great deal. Nothing but terror contained multitudes; if that were removed, or only diminiſhed, inſurrections againſt the tyranny exerciſed by government over all thoſe whom they in the leaſt ſuſpected of diſaffection, would quickly multiply, and the republican party be brought into greater danger than it had ever yet experienced.

Theſe ſurmiſes were not ill founded. The prodigality of treaſure, and the profuſion of blood, of which the directory ſeemed to take no account, when engaged in any undertaking on which their hopes and wiſhes were keenly ſet, had deeply diſguſted the generality of people. The republicans themſelves diſapproved of the readineſs with which the directory plunged ſo precipi-

tately into quarrels with the ſurrounding nations, as if it were not poſſible for the fortune of war to change in favour of the enemies of the republic.

But, ſecure in the attachment of the different armies, and eſpecially of their commanders, the directory was irrevocably intent on the reduction of Switzerland. Their partiſans gave out every where, that, next to England, no country contained ſo much of the money and treaſure, exported from France by the emigrants, as the thirteen cantons: but their opponents no leſs firmly averred, that this undertaking was principally founded on the neceſſity of finding employment for that prodigious maſs of fighting men in France, who were become unfit for any other occupation, and without the help of which government was well known to dread its inſtant annihilation. Some political ſpeculators aſſerted, at the ſame time, that the directory did not venture on a proceeding of ſuch magnitude as the conqueſt of Switzerland, without having previouſly obtained the countenance of the Imperial court, to which the republic of Venice had been ſacrificed, chiefly for the purpoſe of being ſuffered, without moleſtation or hindrance, to fill up this part of the French plan of European politics.

The artifice and machination uſed by the French government, on this occaſion, was of more ſervice to them than upon any preceding one. As a vaſt proportion of the Swiſs nation was originally of French extraction, theſe, for the moſt part, zealouſly eſpouſed the cauſe of a people from which they gloried to be the deſcendants. They originated chiefly from the refugees of France, driven from their country by the perſecution of thoſe who profeſſed the reformed religion, after it had been aboliſhed by the revocation of the edict of Nants, by Lewis XIV. in 1685. As theſe refugees did not come empty handed to Switzerland, they were very favourably received; and, as numbers of them were individuals of conſiderable property, they ſoon acquired, and tranſmitted to their poſterity, great influence and weight in that country. It was among theſe the intereſts of France found the moſt active and able ſupporters.

In addition to theſe, many there were who pretended to be emigrants of the royal party, but in fact were emiſſaries and ſpies, ſent by the directory to inſpect, and to give them notice of all that paſſed in Switzerland. Through their ſecret inſtigations, ſeveral places adopted the ſyſtem firſt uſed in France, at the commencement of the revolution: they iſſued publications, complaining of grievances, and attributing them to imperfections in the form of government, recommending alterations, and intermixing their performances with praiſes of the French; precedents in the like matters. This practice having continued a long time, before the projected attempt from France, without being repreſſed, emboldened the malcontents to ſpeak without reſtraint: but they now went ſuch lengths, that the ſecret council of Berne, in the territory of which canton theſe places were ſituated, ſent commiſſaries to put a ſtop to their proceedings; but they diſcovered, on their arrival, that it would be dangerous to carry their orders into execution. The malcontents had formed ſo ſtrong a party, that they openly

openly bade defiance to the commiſſaries, at whoſe doors they threw inſulting hand-bills, and red caps, hinting thereby their determination to abide by revolutionary principles. As the commiſſaries did not dare to reſent this affront, the audacity of the malcontents increaſed, and they gave the French to underſtand, that their enemies in Switzerland were wholly ſpiritleſs, and that the whole country was ripe for a revolution.

The part of Switzerland wherein the French began their military operations, was the country of Vaud, bordering on that part of France formerly called Franche Comte. A large diviſion of the French forces marched thither, towards the cloſe of December, 1797. This country was become the receptacle of all the malcontents in the thirteen cantons. Here they firſt ſet up the ſtandard of open reſiſtance, and held, on the 7th of January, 1798, an aſſembly of the repreſentatives of that diſtrict, elected according to the French plan. Theſe ſent a formal deputation to Paris, to teſtify their devotion to the republic of France, and to claim its aſſiſtance againſt the enemies of their liberty. Theſe enemies were the reſidue of their countrymen, but particularly the cantons of Berne, Zurich, Lucerne, Freibourg, and Soleure, the moſt conſiderable members of the Helvetic body, and thoſe that acted the moſt decided part on this important occaſion.

As ſoon as they were apprized of the movements of general Menard, who commanded the French troops that had made the irruption into the country of Vaud, they muſtered a force fully ſufficient to cope with that under his command; but they unhappily placed at the head of their military, a man totally unqualified for ſuch a ſtation. His name was Veiſs, and he was reputed a ſkilful officer; but he was a warm admirer of the French, and little diſpoſed to act againſt them with requiſite energy. He ſuffered them to debark from the Lake of Geneva, on the territory of Switzerland, without reſiſtance, and retired before them without ſtriking a ſingle blow. In conſequence of this feeble conduct, he was diſmiſſed, and general Erlach, a man of unſuſpected attachment to his country, and an excellent officer, was appointed to ſucceed him.

In the mean time, the aſſembly, held by the malcontents in the country of Vaud, ſolemnly demanded of the cantons, the abolition of what they ſtyled the oligarchy, abſolute equality of rights for all the inhabitants of Helvetia, the formation of a better conſtitution, full toleration and religious liberty, and that the whole of Switzerland ſhould be formed into one political body.

The aſſembly was prompted to make theſe demands, by the advantageous poſition of the French in the country of Vaud. It was in the complete occupancy of general Lebrune, who had ſeized on all the military magazines of ſtores and proviſions, and put the whole country under contributions, from which neither the friends nor the foes of the French were exempted.

Theſe hoſtile proceedings ſtruck the Swiſs diet, aſſembled at Arau, with the deepeſt alarm. The ſituation of Switzerland was the more critical, that the members of the diet were divided in their opinions what meaſures to adopt. Of the thirteen cantons, five were deciſively

ſively for a vigorous oppoſition to the French, and eight as obſtinately againſt it. Of the former opinion, was the canton of Berne, once the head and leader of the Helvetic confederacy, but now, through the intrigues of France, deprived of its former influence, and abandoned by all but the four cantons of Fribourg, Soleure, Zurich, and Lucerne. Theſe, however, were the principal; and, had they remained firmly united, it was confidently believed they would have been able to withſtand, ſucceſsfully, all the attempts of the French to reduce them.

The ſupreme council of Berne, intimidated by the powerful aſſiſtance ſent by the directory to the ſupport of the malcontents, readily granted their demands. But this did not prevent the eruption of hoſtilities. An affray happened, in which a French ſoldier was killed. General Menard, who commanded the French, thought proper to conſtrue this into a declaration of war, and immediately put his forces in motion. In order to obtain a reconciliation, the ſupreme council directed that thoſe who had ſlain the French ſoldier ſhould be delivered up to the general, with whom they entered into negciations. They were in a great meaſure impelled to theſe conceſſions, by the apprehenſions ariſing from the conduct of Marigaud, the French envoy, who not only fomented the diſcontents of the opponents to government, but demanded the releaſe of ſome people who had been arreſted for treaſon, claiming them as allies of France.

But conciliatory meaſures were loſt upon him, and he ſtill perſiſted in his treacherous practices. Nor did the negociation anſwer the end which they had propoſed. Finding, therefore, that the conteſt muſt be decided by the ſword, the government of Berne reſolved previouſly to ingratiate itſelf with the public, by taking a ſtep, which, as it had long been deſired by the people at large, they doubted not would render them popular, and unite all parties in the common defence of their country. In this expectation they paſſed a decree, by which the principal towns and diſtricts in the canton were empowered to elect fifty members to ſeats in the ſovereign council. They took them accordingly in the beginning of February, and the precedent was immediately adopted by the cantons of Zurich, Fribourg, Lucerne, Soleure, and Schaffhauſen. Happy it would have been for Switzerland, had this meaſure been taken long before. It now came too late. The numerous emiſſaries of France, ſcattered over all Switzerland, eaſily perſuaded the people that their rulers had condeſcended to take this ſtep, not through patriotiſm, but apprehenſion, that the country would no longer ſubmit to their monopoly of power, and ſhortly compel them to reſign it. This ſurmiſe being well founded, the jealouſies entertained of them ſtill ſubſiſted, and the government was ſtill diſtracted by parties that finally wrought its deſtruction.

The ſovereign councils of Berne, in order to give an example of firmneſs, on this critical emergency, publiſhed, on the laſt day of January, 1798, a declaration, in which the members perſonally bound themſelves, by a ſolemn oath, to defend their country to the laſt extremity. Nor were the five cantons that ſided with this one, in the leaſt backward

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to employ all the means in their power, and to incur every danger for the ſame purpoſe.

But, notwithſtanding theſe appearances of a fixed determination to oppoſe the French, they had a number of partiſans, even in the ſenate of Berne itſelf. Some approved of their ſyſtem of equality, and were not averſe to admit of a pure democracy, thinking thereby to ſatisfy all parties: others hoped, by entering into a friendly negociation, to prevail upon them to deſiſt from hoſtile meaſures, and to conclude a pacification upon equitable terms. Actuated by theſe motives, and deſpairing, at the ſame time, to reſiſt an enemy, who had overcome ſo many more powerful opponents, the majority declared for conciliatory meaſures, and thought it more prudent to make the conceſſions required by the French, than to exaſperate them by a refuſal. Thoſe who differed from the majority, aſſerted, that the real views of the French were to deſtroy the liberty and independence of Switzerland, and to rule it as a conquered country, under the pretext of ameliorating its conſtitution. It was, therefore, the duty of the Swiſs nation to imitate its brave anceſtors, and to contend for its freedom as they had done, by diſplaying a manly reſolution to ſhed the laſt drop of their blood, rather than ſubmit to be their ſubjects: the people of Switzerland, it was boldly affirmed, were deſirous to come forward, and preſerve their country from a foreign yoke, and even reproached their governors for not calling upon them for their ſupport, in ſo juſt a cauſe, and when they ſhewed themſelves ſo ready and eager to venture their lives in its defence. Such was the language of the reſolute minority headed by the intrepid Steiguar. His eloquence carried ſuch energy and conviction, that a determination was formed to collect the whole maſs of the Swiſs nation, able to bear arms, and with it to fall immediately upon the French. But this bold reſolution, ſuggeſted and taken up in the heat of patriotic enthuſiaſm, ſoon gave way to the repreſentations of the more timorous, whoſe advice, enforced by ſuperior numbers, brought the heſitating aſſembly back to the ſubmiſſive meaſures at firſt adopted.

Stung with indignation at the corruption or the puſillanimity of his degenerate countrymen, as he did not ſcruple to expreſs himſelf, the brave and dauntleſs Steiguar threw up his civil functions, and repaired to the army, commanded by Erlach, reſolved to ſhare the deſtiny of his friend, and, in his own words, to periſh, ſooner than give up the honour of his country.

The example of this venerable old gentleman had a remarkable influence on the youths of all the reputable families in the canton of Berne. They followed him to the army, full of the ſame ſpirit that animated him, and alike determined not to ſurvive the ſubjugation of their country. A farther conſequence of this patriotic determination was, that it excited numbers, in all claſſes, to imitate them. The reinforcements procured by theſe means to the army of general Erlach, rendered it ſo conſiderable, that, juſtly relying on the bravery and loyalty of thoſe of which it conſiſted, he warmly ſolicited the permiſſion to attack the French without any farther delay.

Still, however, the timidity that preſided over the Swiſs councils, could

could not be overcome by theſe proofs of national courage and patriotiſm. Treaty and conceſſion appeared preferable to all other methods of terminating the difference with France. A negociation, accompanied with an armiſtice, was accordingly opened with general Brune, the ſucceſſor to Menard, in the command, and whoſe ſecret partiſans among the Swiſs, gave him out as a man of the ſtricteſt integrity, and particularly inclined to pacific meaſures.

But the truth was, that inſtead of harbouring thoſe peaceable intentions ſo induſtriouſly attributed to him, his principal end in negociating, was to gain time ſufficient for reinforcements to arrive, before he carried his ultimate deſigns into execution. The Swiſs army, commanded by Erlach, appeared ſo ſtrong, and well ordered, and ſo reſolutely diſpoſed, that he did not think it altogether ſafe to attack it, till his own had received the additions that were to be made to it from the French armies in Italy.

The negociations were carried on in the mean while, preciſely in the ſtyle and manner peculiar to the French, ſince the extraordinary ſucceſſes every where attending their arms. They poſitively inſiſted on ſuch new arrangements in the Swiſs government, as amounted to a total change of their conſtitutions, and a ſubſtitution of another on the plan of their own. They required alſo the expulſion of thoſe individuals inimical to their deſigns, and finally demanded a large pecuniary contribution.

Exaſperated at ſuch requiſitions, the people of Switzerland publicly teſtified their averſeneſs to comply with them. Multitudes crowded from all parts of the country to the city of Berne, with offers of ſervice, and requeſting to be led againſt the French. Such was the ſpirit and determination of the numbers that were now under arms, that the ſenate was unable to deny their requeſt. Notice was accordingly ſent to general Erlach, that he was at liberty to attack the enemy on the expiration of the armiſtice, on the ſecond of March. This deciſion of the ſenate, which took place on the twenty-ſixth of February, was immediately communicated to the French general, by his ſecret partiſans. He prepared, in conſequence, to anticipate the attack intended, and to fall upon the Swiſs army, when it ſhould be totally unprepared.

The more ſecurely to compaſs this point, he propoſed new conferences for the ſettlement of differences. His partiſans ſupported this propoſal, as preferable to the danger attending hoſtilities, and as the more eligible, that a refuſal might enable the French to accuſe the Swiſs of not being ſincere, in expreſſing their deſire for an accommodation. Theſe arguments prevailed, and the authority given to general Erlach was withdrawn, contrary to the ſenſe of a large proportion of the ſenators. Theſe, however, continued to make ſuch urgent and convincing remonſtrances on the impropriety of recalling this authority, that it was again renewed on the firſt of March. This being the very eve of the day, when the armiſtice expired, the French faction, in the ſenate, dreading the conſequence to their friends, exerted themſelves ſo effectually, that the powers granted to the Swiſs general were again repealed, as inconſiſtent with

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the pacific negociations now on foot.

The French general loſt not a moment in profiting of this backwardneſs in the Swiſs councils, to adopt deciſive meaſures. He aſſailed, by ſurprize, the Swiſs army during the night of the firſt of March. Though attacked unawares, the Swiſs defended themſelves with ſo much bravery, that the French would have been repulſed, had not treachery come to their aſſiſtance. An officer, high in command in the Swiſs army, abandoned his charge, and fled: this ſudden deſertion ſpread univerſal alarm and diſcouragement. The Swiſs army retreated to Fribourg, which it was forced to evacuate. Here the French were guilty of great enormities. Mr. Verrer, avoyer of this place, a man of the moſt reſpectable character, was one of thoſe who fell in fighting for his country. After ſhamefully mangling his dead body, they fixed his head on a pike, and carried it about the city, to terrify all thoſe who dared to make any reſiſtance.

The city of Soleure fell into the hands of the French at the ſame time as Fribourg: but the taking of Soleure was attended with peculiar circumſtances of deceit and perfidy on the part of the French. General Shawenburg, who commanded that diviſion of their army which was marching againſt that place, ſent word to the Swiſs officers, at the head of the forces ſtationed in the proximity of that city, to abſtain from hoſtilities, as a ſuſpenſion of arms had been agreed on between general Le Brune, and the cantons that oppoſed him. It was not, however, without difficulty and much conſultation, that credit was given to this meſſage. The bad faith of the French, and their talents for deception, were ſtrongly urged; but their ſolemn and reiterated aſſurances of veracity, were finally prevalent, and the Swiſs troops retired to reſt in ſeparate quarters. A few hours after, the French fell upon the Swiſs; who thus ſuddenly attacked, when they thought themſelves in ſafety, were unable to reſiſt the multitude of their aſſailants, and were either ſlain, or made priſoners.

The conſequence was, that another body of Swiſs troops, which haſtened to the defence of Soleure, on hearing of this diſaſter, finding it impracticable to withſtand the immenſe ſuperiority of the French, retreated, after a valiant reſiſtance, and the city of Soleure was compelled to ſurrender. Nothing could more undeniably prove the dread entertained by the French of the ſuperior valour of the Swiſs, than the uncommon pains they took to deceive and circumvent them by every artifice they were able to deviſe, in order to put them off their guard; and yet the French were full fifteen thouſand ſtrong, and the force collected for the defence of Soleure, did not exceed twelve hundred men, who had the courage, nevertheleſs, to make a moſt obſtinate reſiſtance.

After they had been defeated at Fribourg by ſuperiority of numbers, but more through the treachery of one of their principal officers, the Swiſs troops loſt all confidence in their commanders. The French were not wanting in ſpreading diſunion and diffidence among them, by raiſing, through their emiſſaries, miſtruſt and ſuſpicion of every man, whoſe abilities and patriotiſm they dreaded,

dreaded. By means of their ſcandalous inſinuations, and by diſtributing money to the peaſantry, the cantons that had remained neutral, were prevented from moving to the aſſiſtance of thoſe that had taken up arms againſt the French.

The Swiſs army continued, in the mean while, to retreat, not, however, without making ſome very reſolute ſtands. The third and fourth of March were marked by deſperate engagements, wherein, notwithſtanding they were hopeleſs of victory, the Swiſs fought like men reſolved to make the victors pay dear for it. Struck with their invincible courage, and fearful of its conſequences, the French general employed, with additional activity, the baſe means he had found ſo efficacious. His ſecret agents at Berne, excited the inhabitants to a general inſurrection againſt the government, by perſuading them, that they were betrayed by their rulers, and by circulating a report, that the ſenate at Berne had ſold the canton, with its people and reſources, to the French directory, for the term of five years. Seduced by this abſurdity, the furious populace fell upon the arſenal, which was entirely pillaged, and the whole city and neighbourhood thrown into diſorder and confuſion. Aware of his incendiary practices, the Swiſs officers were particularly careful to prevent any communication between the French and Swiſs ſoldiery: but he took advantage of a high wind, to throw from the top of a ſteeple ſeditious papers, which were blown into the Swiſs camp, that lay cloſe to leeward, and produced conſiderable deſertions.

The defeat of general Erlach, and the loſs of Fribourg and Soleure, with the popular diſcontent and inſurrection, induced the government of Berne, in hope of recovering its authority, and reconciling all parties, to iſſue orders for a general riſing of the people in arms, for the defence of the ſtate. The orders were obeyed; but, when the people were collected and armed, they inſiſted on the immediate diſſolution of the government, and the appointment of a proviſional one. This took place accordingly, and was notified to the French general, with offers to diſband the Swiſs troops, provided he would reſrain from hoſtilities, and confine himſelf to the poſts in his poſſeſſion. But theſe conceſſions were not ſatisfactory; and he farther demanded, that Berne ſhould receive a French garriſon. The proviſional government did not ſeem averſe to this propoſal, but the people heard it with indignation, and multitudes reſolved inſtantly to march to the aſſiſtance of the remaining part of the Swiſs army. It was joined accordingly by conſiderable numbers of their countrymen, whom the proviſional government could not reſtrain from the determination they had taken to march againſt the French, and, however inferior in number, to have one trial more, for the preſervation of their country. The rapid advance of the French ſoon brought both parties, after three ſevere actions, to a deciſive battle, under the walls of Berne. It was fought with the courage and deſpairacy of men, who were reſolved not to ſurvive the ruin of their country. The ſlaughter was great on both ſides: but ſuperior multitudes prevailed, and the Swiſs were entirely defeated. In this battle periſhed, among other brave patriots, the illuſtrious

luſtrious Steiguar. He fell, as he had often declared it to be his determination, fighting againſt France, for the liberty of Switzerland. He was accompanied in his fall by the whole of that body of young men of reputable families, that followed him to the camp, when he renounced his place in the ſenate. They would accept of no quarter, and fought till they were ſlain to the laſt man. Numbers of them were youths under fifteen. Such heroiſm, at ſo early an age, while it reflected the higheſt honour on their country, could not fail to excite the deepeſt regret at their untimely fate, not only in their own country, but in all Europe.

The loſs of this battle decided, at once, the fate of Switzerland. It began early in the morning of the fifth of March, and was followed by the reduction of the city of Berne, in the evening. The terms of the capitulation granted to it were ill obſerved by the French ſoldiers, who pillaged the inhabitants, and were guilty of many exceſſes.

The unfortunate remains of the vanquiſhed army, enraged at their defeat, which they imputed to treaſonable practices on the part of their commanders, thought themſelves juſtifiable in wreaking upon them their ſevereſt vengeance. The brave, but unhappy, general Erlach, was ſacrificed to their fury, together with ſome of his principal officers. To complete the ſyſtem of treachery and deceit, purſued by the agents of the French government in relation to Switzerland, thoſe members of the former government, who had diſplayed the greateſt zeal and energy for the preſervation of their country, and were moſt noted for their hoſtility to France, were marked for deſtruction by its ſecret emiſſaries, who perſuaded the credulous multitude, that they were the enemies to public freedom, and ought to be made examples of, for its eſtabliſhment and ſecurity.

CHAP. III.

Conſequences of the Fall of the Canton of Berne.—High Spirit of the democratical Cantons.—Five of theſe enter into a League for Self-defence and recovering the general Liberty of Switzerland.—Secured in the Poſſeſſion of their Country by a Treaty of Peace with the French General Schauenburgh.—Switzerland conſidered and treated by the French as a conquered Country.—Character of the Swiſs, national and individual.—Brief Recapitulation of the Cauſes of their Riſe and Fall.—Motives and Views of the French Government, in the Reduction of Switzerland.—Argument by which the French attempted to juſtify all their Meaſures.

THE fall of the canton of Berne was followed by that of the other cantons attached to its fate by a cloſer connection than that which formed the Helvetic union. This connection aroſe from the ſimilitude of their governments, which were chiefly ariſtocracies, and which the maſs of the people did not incline to ſupport with the ſame energy they would probably have done, had they participated in the ſovereignty. This was remarkably evinced by the vigorous reſiſtance which the ſmaller cantons unitedly made to the French, who found it more difficult to reduce theſe than the larger. The reaſon was, that they were democracies, and animated of courſe with that high ſpirit which uſually actuates men who are conſcious of their perſonal freedom and conſequence. While Berne and its aſſociates were publicly aſſenting to the mandates of the French, and accepting of the forms government thoſe thought proper to impoſe upon them, the cantons of Glani, Schwitz, Un, Appenzel, Zug, and Underwalden, entered into a league for their reciprocal defence, and the recovery of the general liberty of Switzerland. This reſolute determination was carried immediately into the moſt active execution. They muſtered the ſtouteſt and braveſt men of their reſpective diſtricts, and came down from the mountainous country they inhabited, to the intent of animating, by their preſence, the people of the plains to join them, and reaſſume their liberty. The heroiſm of theſe brave highlanders could not however prevail upon their countrymen to ſecond their efforts, for the common cauſe. Partly through fear, and partly through indifference, they remained inactive, and refuſed to liſten to their repeated ſolicitations to embrace the opportunity given them by this ſudden and unexpected inſurrection in their favour, of again meeting their enemies in the field, and wreſting from them the dominion which they had ſo unjuſtly uſurped over their country, and exerciſed with ſo much arrogance.

But

But neither entreaties, nor menaces to conſider them as enemies, produced any effect. Undaunted, nevertheleſs, at this unfriendly reception, the inſurgents determined to proſecute the plan they had formed, which was, to aſſault the city of Lucerne; and, after carrying it, to proceed to Zurich, which, having reduced, they propoſed to attack Arau, the ſeat of the new directory and legiſlature appointed by the French, and to ſeize upon theſe, as enemies to their country, and adherents to its foes.

Had theſe intrepid aſſociates been duly ſupported, they would, in all likelihood, have brought the French into much danger, if they had not effected their expulſion. They had certainly timed their undertaking very judiciouſly: the French troops were quartered at a diſtance from theſe places, and ſpread aſunder in the cantons of Soleure, Fribourg, Berne, and did not ſuſpect that any inſurrection in the leſſer cantons would be aſſiſted by the junction of the greater, where their own partizans were ſo numerous, and where the ſpirit of the people ſeemed wholly depreſſed, by the ſubjection to which they were now reduced.

Proceeding upon their plan, the inſurgents marched to Lucerne, of which they made themſelves maſters, on the laſt day of April. Here they had ſome hopes, that, ſeeing them begin ſucceſsfully, their countrymen might be thereby induced to lay aſide their fears, and join them. But inſtead of a junction, they met with a decided oppoſition from them. The French having collected the forces neareſt at hand, moved immediately to the aſſiſtance of Zurich, which was menaced by the inſurgents. The inhabitants of this city were now ſo completely revolutionized, and devoted to the French, that they took up arms in their defence, and eſſentially contributed to the defeat of the inſurgents, who, diſappointed in their expectations, evacuated Lucerne, and withdrew to a poſt of great ſtrength, where they made a ſtand, and held a conſultation, what meaſures were the moſt adviſable in their preſent circumſtances.

The French had taken an advantageous poſition, and were now in great force, their troops arriving hourly from every quarter. They had, by a forced march, ſurprized the town of Zug, where a large body of the inſurgents laid down their arms. The remainder diſheartened by their ill ſucceſs, and ſtill more by the ſpiritleſs dereliction of their countrymen, thought it moſt prudent to ſecure themſelves by a retrograde movement to their ſtrong poſts in the mountains, and there to maintain their ground till an accommodation had taken place. General Schauenberg, who had ſufficiently experienced their valour, did not heſitate to come into their propoſals for a treaty, and conſented to one, wherein it was ſtipulated, that he ſhould leave them unmoleſted in the poſſeſſion of their country, and that none of his troops ſhould come within their boundaries.

The fact was, that notwithſtanding the repreſentations of the French to their own advantage, they had ſuffered ſeverely in the divers actions with the inſurgents, who retreated rather from deſpair of aſſiſtance on the part of their countrymen, than in conſequence of abſolute defeat. Thouſands of the French fell in theſe encounters, the narratives of which, in the diſpatches of

their generals, deſcribe the Swiſs inſurgents as fighting with extraordinary and aſtoniſhing bravery.

But the treaty agreed on between the aſſociated cantons and general Schauenberg was highly diſpleaſing to the directory, who commiſſioned the general to deviſe ſome pretext, and find ſome means, of breaking it, in order to take poſſeſſion of the refractory cantons before the enſuing winter. A pretext was found in the edicts, publiſhed by the aſſembly at Arau, impoſing a civic oath of fidelity to the new conſtitution, upon all the Swiſs cantons. As this oath was extremely repugnant to the ideas of ſeveral, they refuſed to take it. The French general, on pretence of this refuſal, employed the ſevereſt threats againſt the refractory, and terrified moſt of them into unconditional ſubmiſſion.

But the canton of Unterwalden remained unintimidated, and inflexible; on which, Schauenberg, on the eighth of September, attacked it with an immenſe force; and, after being repulſed on that day, notwithſtanding the ſuperiority of his numbers, penetrated into it on the next. The ſtand made by the inhabitants was truly heroic, and worthy of their anceſtors. Reſolved not to ſurvive the ſubjugation of their country, they met the French like men who ſought to die. Young and old, women and children, threw themſelves into the thickeſt of the fight, content to periſh together, with as many as they could deſtroy of the enemy. The French being ten times, at leaſt, ſuperior in number, reſiſtance was vain. Though ſome thouſands of thoſe were ſlain, a much greater number of the unhappy Swiſs was ſacrificed to the vindictive rage of the enemy. Excluſive of thoſe who fell in the fight, they eagerly ſought for victims to their ſavage revenge in all that remained. They purſued them into their houſes, and even churches, and maſſacred, without mercy, all that were found, ſparing neither ſex nor age: after which, they ſet fire to their habitations, and deſtroyed their very cattle.

In the midſt of theſe cruelties and devaſtations, about two hundred men, of the canton of Schweitz, who were on their march, to join their confederates of Unterwald, did not arrive till late in the day, when the town of Staaz, the adjoining villages, and the whole country, was in flames. Seeing what had befallen their countrymen, they unanimouſly reſolved to die, in revenge of their death. They inſtantly ruſhed upon the French, and, after ſlaying thrice their own number, were all cut off, to the laſt man.

The Gallo-Helvetic aſſembly, at Arau, decreed a day for public rejoicing throughout all the cantons. They congratulated general Schauenberg on this maſſacre of their countrymen. Their only regret, they ſaid, was, that they themſelves had not had an active hand in this finiſhing blow to rebellion.

From the time when the canton of Berne, and thoſe united with it in oppoſing the French, were obliged to ſubmit to them, theſe had been buſily employed in altering the conſtitutions of thoſe cantons, and introducing their own. In all theſe changes the French gave out, that they had no other end in view than to eſtabliſh a ſyſtem of independence and liberty for the people of Switzerland.

zerland. It was indeed in expectation of such an establishment, that so many of the Swiss themselves had espoused the cause of the French, and acquiesced in the reforms they had proposed. But after the institution of a directory and legislature, precisely on the French plan, when the members of this new constitution proceeded to the exercise of acts of sovereignty, and to assert their independence, they were given to understand, that their powers did not extend so far as they had imagined, and that in whatever transaction France was concerned, however remotely, they were to submit to its direction. In virtue of this pretence, the French commissary-general, who was invested with almost dictatorial power, by the directory, seized, on his arrival in Switzerland, upon all the treasures and stores of every denomination belonging to the state.

A depredation of so enormous and insulting a nature roused the legislative body from the torpid confidence it had placed in the good faith of the French. It immediately resolved to assert the liberty and independence openly acknowledged by the French government, by spiritedly reclaiming the immense property these had laid their hands upon in so fraudulent and injurious a manner. The seal of the Helvetian republic was accordingly affixed over that of the French commissary: but it was instantly broken by his orders, and he sent them formal notice, that their authority did not reach beyond the administration of their domestic concerns, and that the property which had been seized, belonged to the French, by the right of war.

The conduct of the commissary was fully vindicated by the French government, which published an explicit avowal, that it did not consider Switzerland as politically independent of France, which was entitled, by conquest, to a directing interference in its affairs. The Swiss were haughtily reminded, in this publication, that they were a conquered nation, and held their present liberties from the gift and at the option of France. The treasures, fallen into the hands of the French, had been destined for the support of their enemies, and ought in justice, for that reason, to be considered as a lawful prize. It was, at the same time, more consistent with humanity, as well as good policy, to employ them in maintaining the French troops in Switzerland, than to suffer those to be quartered on the burghers and peasantry. The influence exercised by France over the Helvetic body was necessary for its preservation. It was a protective and not an oppressive influence. Without it the Helvetic nation would relapse into that humiliating situation of domestic dependence of the many upon the few, from which the arms of France had released it.

These reasonings did not prove satisfactory to the Helvetic legislature. Its indignation was farther excited by the researches made in virtue of the orders issued for that purpose, into all the depositories of effects appertaining to the public. This measure was still more aggravated, by declaring them appropriated to such uses as the French executive power should determine. But the resentments of the public rose to the highest pitch, when they beheld the treasures of the state, the accumulations of good manage-

ment and frugality, during a long courſe of years, taken from their lawful poſſeſſors, and tranſmitted to France. This was viewed, by all parties, as a robbery committed by France upon Switzerland. It was not exerciſing the right, but the barbarity of a cruel conqueror, intent upon the ſpoliation and ruin of the vanquiſhed.

Thus fell, after a partial ſtruggle, wherein a very ſmall proportion of its ſtrength was exerted, the moſt reſpectable republic at that time exiſtent in Europe. It had ſubſiſted near five hundred years, in the almoſt uninterrupted enjoyment of domeſtic peace and liberty. Several of the cantons were, it is true, under an ariſtocratic government; but the mild and equitable conduct of thoſe, in whom the power of the ſtate reſided, was ſo conſpicuous and undeniable, that their authority might truly be ſaid to have been paternal. This was the light in which it was conſidered by all the impartial world. Their relations with other countries were, at the ſame time, accompanied with ſo much honour and good faith, that none of their neighbours ever had occaſion to complain of them. They were neither ambitious nor quarrelſome, and ſought only their own ſafety, without the leaſt idea of encroaching on the poſſeſſions of others. Their private character perfectly correſponded with their public. Honeſt, ſincere, brave, and open, they ſeldom failed to conciliate the benevolence and the eſteem of the natives of every country in Europe, where it happened to be their lot to travel, or to reſide in military, or in other ſtations. Their courage and their fidelity were equally acknowledged by all nations, and no people more readily found employment either in armies or domeſtic ſituations. Though not celebrated for brilliancy of wit, none exceeded them in ſound underſtanding and ſolid ſenſe; and they were no leſs noted for the decent ſimplicity of their manners.

Europe was univerſally ſurprized that a people ſo judicious and intelligent, both in their public and private concerns, ſhould have been perverted by the illuſions of their volatile neighbours, and renounced their domeſtic peace and proſperity, for innovations, which could not, even in their moſt ſucceſsful lengths, have bettered their condition, as individuals, or their proſperity, as a nation. Nor was it leſs aſtoniſhed, that, when the real deſigns of France upon Switzerland became evident and notorious, they did not immediately unite to repel the French, having ſuch examples on every ſide of the conſequences attending a confidence in their promiſes, and of the deſpotic yoke they had laid on every people that had ſided with them.

No people were furniſhed with more effectual, nor readier means to repel a foreign invaſion. Switzerland, at this period, was reputed to contain nearly three hundred thouſand men, that had borne arms in the ſervice of various European powers. Though numbers of theſe were doubtleſs elderly, and paſt the age of action, yet the majority were fencible men, and every way fit for the defence of their country. This alſo was fortified by nature in ſuch a manner, that it might eaſily have been rendered inacceſſible in moſt parts, had the inhabitants been true to each other, and acted with their uſual prudence, as well as with unanimity.

nimity. This plainly appeared, by the vigorous reſiſtance of the leſſer cantons, after the reduction of the greater.

As the Helvetic republic roſe and flouriſhed through concord, inſpired by common oppreſſion, ſimplicity of manners, and a ſpirit of religion invigorating every ſentiment of nature and virtue; ſo its fall is as clearly to be traced to internal diſunion and diſcord, to luxury that invited corruption, and to that degrading philoſophy that ſcarcely admitted any other than ſelfiſh and ſenſual gratification.—Yet political independence, in the regions of the Alps, is one day to be revived; its roots are ſtill cheriſhed by the national elements; and the breath of heaven has charge of its ſeeds.

The poſſeſſion of ſuch a country, as Switzerland, was certainly an object of the higheſt temptation to a people ſo ſituated as the French. They well knew that all the powers of Europe hated them as much as when they had deſtroyed the monarchy, and beheaded the king, and that they now had more reaſon to fear them than at any former period. They were no leſs perſuaded that the treaties of peace they had concluded with the princes, who had formed the coalition, were compulſory upon theſe, and would be diſregarded the moment they could break them with impunity. The exceſſes committed by their troops in the empire, had alienated the people of Germany; and the German princes themſelves, of the inferior claſs, were convinced that the French, in their arrangements with the ſuperior powers, would ſacrifice them to their convenience. All theſe conſiderations had brought much odium upon the French, who naturally thence concluded, that, were they to experience a reverſe of fortune, they would again be aſſailed by thoſe powers on whom they had impoſed conditions of peace, either diſgraceful or diſadvantageous; and that, were a ſecond coalition to ariſe, which would, in all likelihood, happen, they would find it much more difficult to be encountered than the firſt. Their enemies, taught by dear-bought experience, would take more effectual meaſures; the countries they had ſubdued and revolutionized would no longer be retained in a ſubjection to them, palliated by the name of freedom and alliance; but, in reality, more oppreſſive than the dominion of thoſe princes, whoſe obedience they had ſhaken off, allured by expectations which they now ſaw were ill-founded.

Foreſeeing the probability of ſuch events, and that they would be reduced to act upon the defenſive, they determined to add to their frontiers a tract of country that would ſecure them more powerfully than ever againſt that enemy, whom they dreaded more than any other continental power. That enemy was Auſtria, whom they juſtly enough ſuſpected of lying in wait to cancel thoſe agreements that had been made only through compulſion. Switzerland, when duly revolutionized, which they did not deſpair of accompliſhing, would form an inexpugnable barrier againſt both him and the empire, were he to prevail upon it to join him in wreſting from France its acquiſitions on the left ſide of the Rhine.

Such were the motives that induced the government of France, to compaſs, at all hazards, the poſſeſſion of Switzerland, and to employ every means for that purpoſe,

however ignoble and iniquitous. The ſooner that object was attained, the greater would be the facility of reconciling the minds of the Swiſs to a change of their condition, by treating them with lenity: which, after plundering it in the firſt place, they propoſed to do afterwards; and convincing them in time, that, excepting the obligation of adhering to France, againſt its enemies, they ſtill remained their own maſters, in every arrangement relating to their domeſtic affairs.

But excluſive of this proſpect, which was in ſome meaſure diſtant, there were objects nearer at hand to ſet their activity in motion. By executing their deſigns upon Switzerland, they anticipated ſimilar events that might be in agitation among their enemies, and ſecured at once the numerous party already formed there in their favour, and which would ſupply their armies with ample reinforcements. They would become maſters of the Swiſs arſenals, which were in excellent order, and abundantly repleniſhed with all manner of ſtores; and, what was of more importance, they would come into the poſſeſſion of thoſe immenſe hoards of money depoſited in the public treaſury, and of thoſe contributional levies, which, in a country of ſo much opulence, muſt prove very conſiderable, and of which they would not, therefore, be tardy in making the requiſition.

Inducements ſuch as theſe were ſufficient to excite the cupidity of much more ſcrupulous politicians than thoſe at the helm of the French republic. Theſe indeed had an anſwer in readineſs to every objection that could be made to their conduct. This was, the neceſſity they were under of having recourſe to all the means, without exception, that lay within their reach, for the preſervation of their country from the multitudes of either open or concealed enemies, that environed it on every ſide, and that had ſtarted up in the very extremities of Europe. They had, by their victories, and the terror of their arms, diſſolved the formidable coalition that had literally threatened to annihilate the republic, and enſlave the French nation to its former deſpotiſm. But this diſſolution was merely oſtenſible: it ſtill ſubſiſted in the hearts of thoſe who had formed it, and would revive with additional rancour, were France to ſlacken its exertions to keep them in conſtant depreſſion. In this critical poſition, the rulers of the republic muſt feel themſelves under the ſtricteſt obligation to ſeize every opportunity of ſtrengthening their hands, and of weakening thoſe of their adverſaries, whether avowed or concealed, without being punctilious in the choice of means.

This manner of arguing was juſtly reprobated by thoſe who looked upon political integrity as an indiſpenſable requiſite in all true ſtateſmen. The abſence of this qualification rendered the public intercourſe between nations nugatory, tended to convert men into unprincipled impoſtors and ruffians, and to degrade, promiſcuouſly, the character of every man employed in the ſervice of the ſtate. The motives alleged, by the French, in juſtification of their meaſures, cut aſunder all the bands of political ſociety. Such was the reply of thoſe who felt the neceſſity of conducting, with truth and candour, the diplomatic correſpondence of nations.

CHAP.

CHAP. IV.

Artifices of the Directory for rendering the Engliſh odious to the French and the whole World.—To the Intent of keeping alive the Military Ardour of the Multitude. Preparations for an Invaſion of England.—Mean and atrocious Artifices of the French Rulers for exaſperating the People of France againſt the Engliſh.—Excite their Rage againſt this Nation to the higheſt Pitch of Madneſs.—Other Objects for occupying the public Mind in France beſides the projected Invaſion of England.—The revolutionizing Policy and Power of the French Republic exerciſed in Italy as well as Switzerland.—The Humiliation of the Pope followed by farther Degradation.—Reduced to the Neceſſity of impoſing the moſt grievous Taxes.—Diviſions and Diſtractions in his remaining Dominions.—Illneſs of the Pope.—Who is relieved from immediate Danger of Death.—But has the Mortification to diſcover that he is by no Means popular among his Subjects.—Among whom the Spirit of Sedition and Revolt waxes every Day ſtronger and ſtronger.—Numbers withdraw from Rome through an Apprehenſion of popular Violence.—Terror of the Court of Rome.—Situation of Rome compared with that of Paris before the Revolution.—The Court of Rome compelled to have recourſe to Meaſures the moſt odious.—And which accelerate the Fall of the papal Authority and Influence.—Bold Speculations aiming not at a Reform but a total Suppreſſion of the papal Government.—Joſeph Buonaparte, Ambaſſador, at Rome, from the French Republic.—His peremptory Demands ſubmitted to by the Pope with great Reſignation.—An Inſurrection of the revolutionary Party in Rome.—Fired on by the Military of the Pope, even in the Court of the French Ambaſſador's Palace.—In this Affray, the French General Duphot killed.—This uſed as a Pretext for the farther Interference of the French Republic.—A French Army enters Rome.—Overthrow of the Papal Government, and Subſtitution of a Republic in its ſtead.

THE ſucceſs of the French, in Switzerland, was a new object of animation to thoſe among them who had fixed their expectations on the conqueſt of England. An invaſion of this country had been ſo frequently announced to the public, that it began to be conſidered as a duty incumbent upon the executive government not to diſappoint the nation, after ſo many promiſſory publications of the reality of ſuch a deſign. It had been now in the contemplation of the public almoſt a twelvemonth. It was firſt formally taken up ſome time after the events on the eighteenth Fructidor; and the breaking up of the negociations at Liſle. In order to exaſperate the French againſt the

Engliſh, and thereby to prepare their minds for a coincidence with the views of their rulers, an artifice, no leſs feeble than diſgraceful, was employed by the directory.

A letter was forged by their direction, pretended to have been written by lord Malmeſbury. Herein he was made to acknowledge, that he had no real intentions to conclude a peace with France, and that he conſidered it as on the point of a counter-revolution that would render all treating unneceſſary: the royal party was predominant in the councils, and the nobility and clergy exerted an influence over the people, that was daily increaſing. All he had to do, therefore, was to gain time, by protracting the negociation under various pretexts.

After publiſhing this clumſy forgery, as an inſtance of Engliſh duplicity, they iſſued a proclamation againſt the Britiſh government, accuſing it, in their uſual manner, of being the artificer of all the miſchiefs and calamities occaſioned by the war: at London, they ſaid, are fabricated the evils that deſolate Europe, and it is there they muſt be terminated.

This proclamation was followed, ſhortly after, by a circumſtantial and virulent repreſentation of the plan attributed to England, in order to exerciſe a tyrannical monopoly of the commerce of the whole world, and thereby to render all nations tributary to its avarice. It contained the moſt atrocious accuſations, and deſcribed the Engliſh as a people loſt to all moral principles, and labouring to ſacrifice mankind, every where, to their mercenary views.

Behold, it ſaid, with how much art the treacherous policy of England extends its baneful influence over every part of the globe. It enſlaved Corſica, under pretence of making it free, and ſeized upon Toulon in the name of Louis XVII. It deceived Naples into a pernicious alliance, and domineered at Leghorn, under commercial pretexts. It ſubſidized, againſt France, the royal keeper of the Alps; and it paid the pirates of Algiers for their depredations on the Americans, as it had done the ſavages of America for ſcalping them. It founded a colony at Sierra Leone, not from motives of philanthropy, as it oſtentatiouſly pretended, but ſolely from views of profit. Through the ſame avidity, it carries on that inhuman trade on the African coaſt, which robs parents of their children, and ſeparates huſbands from their wives. It invades India, under pretences of trade, and oppreſſes its ſovereigns, under the name of ally. It penetrates artfully, under the ſame denomination, into China, whence it endeavours to exclude all other nations. After having loſt, through its pride and oppreſſions, the vaſt colonies it had founded in North America, it has found means to recover them, through bribery and corruption. They are now become its debtors and tributaries, and they have broken thoſe ties, and abandoned thoſe connections, that would have ſecured their honour and independence. It now aims at converting the chair of their preſident into a throne for one of the ſons of George III. Its political ſpeculations embrace the precedents of paſt times, to apply them to the preſent and to future periods, in order to ſecure for ever the ſubſerviency of the univerſe, to the deep

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plans it is continually forming for the ſucceſs of its intereſted and ſelfiſh views. It purſues the like ſchemes, in every country in Europe. It engroſſes the productions of Sweden, Denmark, and Ruſſia. It ſupplants the trade of Holland, and reduces that of France to its own coaſts. It has made of Portugal a mere province of the Britiſh dominions; and, proud of its impregnable rock of Gibraltar, it ſets the ſtrength and efforts of Spain at defiance. Its gold and intrigues produced the coalition, and ſtill ſupport its remains. It foments the obſtinacy of the French counter-revolutioniſts. It keeps alive the deſtructive war that enables it to carry on the excluſive trade of the European nations, and to grow rich at the expence of friends and foes. Thus it erects the ſtandard of its oppreſſive proſperity, on the ruins of monarchies and republics, indiſcriminately, and on the general diſtreſs and miſery of all princes, ſtates, and people, involved in this fatal quarrel.

Such was the ſubſtance and purport of the moſt remarkable paſſages in this declamatory publication, which, though received with enthuſiaſtic applauſe by the violent party, that ſought and expected nothing leſs than the conqueſt of England, was regarded, by judicious people, as the ebullition of political fanaticiſm, encouraged by perſons in power, to the intent of keeping alive the wiſhes and ardour of the multitude, for the proſecution of the war, in hope of terminating it in the brilliant manner, with the proſpect of which they were led to ſooth their heated imaginations.

Nothing was omitted to impreſs the ſtrongeſt perſuaſion, that this attempt was ſeriouſly intended.—Preparations were made in every ſea-port. Tranſport-ſhips were collected, and ſeamen aſſembled from all quarters: the beſt troops were ſelected from the different armies, and the moſt experienced officers ſet over them. The genius of the moſt inventive artiſts was at the ſame time excited, by the promiſe of the higheſt rewards, to contribute to the ſucceſs of this great enterprize. The general, who was to conduct it, viſited every harbour from whence the troops were to embark, and held conferences, with the experteſt mariners, on the moſt advantageous methods of proceeding, in order to ſecure a ſafe and ſpeedy paſſage, and a favourable landing.

To give the greater weight to theſe appearances, the directory propoſed to raiſe forty millions by way of loan. The bankers of Paris engaged to fill it, and to wait for reimburſement out of the ſpoils of England. The ſpeeches made in the councils, on this occaſion, by the members, and on the part of the directory, and the addreſſes preſented to the legiſlative body by the deputies of the commercial claſſes, were perfectly in that vain-boaſting ſtyle which pervaded all their official diſcourſes and proclamations. The trite compariſon of France to Rome, and of England to Carthage, was ſeldom forgotten in theſe violent effuſions of French enmity to the Engliſh nation; and the ſtrongeſt conviction expreſſed, that as Carthage had fallen before Rome, England would fall before France.

But, notwithſtanding this ſplendid offer, from the monied people

in Paris, the acute ſpeculators in pecuniary matters repreſented it as a mere illuſion. Caſh at this time was ſo ſcarce, that 4 *per cent.* was its monthly premium on good ſecurity. Of thoſe who made the offer of a loan, three only were real bankers; the others were brokers, and money-agents. It was ſhrewdly ſuſpected that the offer was made at the inſtigation of the directory, in order, if poſſible, to levy a ſupply upon the credulity of the public, for purpoſes far different from that which was held out, and which numbers of people began to conſider much more in a ludicrous than ſerious light. The newſpapers and other periodical publications were filled with pleaſantries and jeſts upon the projected expedition againſt England, which cool-headed people unanimouſly viewed, in the relative ſituation of both countries, as impracticable.

The French government, nevertheleſs, perſiſted in aſſuming an air of gravity and deciſion, upon this ſubject, that effectually impoſed upon the multitude. The miniſter of the interior, in order to animate all claſſes, directed a muſical compoſition, intitled, *The Vengeance of France upon England*, to be performed at the different theatres every evening; and, adding haſteneſs to vain boaſting, the miniſter of the police addreſſed a circular letter to the various diſtricts of the republic, wherein, after urging them to uſe their utmoſt to ſuppreſs the robberies and murders that were daily increaſing every where, he explicitly aſcribed them to the machinations of England, which kept in pay thoſe gangs of thieves and aſſaſſins that deſolated France. Trembling, he ſaid, at the idea of that army of heroes, which was preparing to land upon the Engliſh ſhore, and to revenge the injuries done to France, thoſe perfidious iſlanders were uſing every atrocious means to divert the ſtorm that was threatening them, and filling every part of the republic with blood and civil broils, in order to keep the French employed at home.

The more to irritate all people againſt the Engliſh, reports were ſpread, that an attempt to poiſon Buonaparte had been made by their emiſſaries, and that there was every reaſon to believe, that general Hoche had periſhed in that manner, through their means. None, that knew the character of the Engliſh, gave the leaſt credit to theſe infamous tales; but the multitude ſwallowed them with avidity. It is indeed but too notorious, that no European nation is apter to believe abſurdities, of this nature, than the French, notwithſtanding its pretenſions to ſuperior diſcernment and ſagacity. Theſe, though well founded, reſpecting the ſuperior and educated claſſes, can in no wiſe belong to the inferior, which are as credulous, and eaſy of belief, as thoſe of the ſame degree in the moſt unenlightened countries of Europe.

Certain it is, that the French government did not loſe the pains it took to exaſperate the nation againſt its ancient rivals. The rancour and the rage produced by the numerous falſehoods it propagated, wrought their full effect, and the maſs of the people, eſpecially the vulgar and the uninformed, could hardly find expreſſions of execration ſufficiently ſtrong to exhauſt their rage againſt the natives of Britain, and the impatience with

which

which it waited for their extermination.

During the agitation of the public mind, produced by the vaſt object held up for its contemplation, the directory was ſeriouſly employed in deviſing means to compenſate for the diſappointment the French would feel when they beheld the prodigious preparation making for the conqueſt of England, become uſeleſs for that great and highly-vaunted purpoſe. It was neceſſary, therefore, to convert their attention to ſome point, on which it might reſt with ſome degree of ſatisfaction, after being fruſtrated of the mighty hopes they had been led to indulge, of humiliating for ever the greateſt and moſt dangerous of their numerous enemies.

France had, in the courſe of 1796-7, completed the humiliation of all the princes and ſtates in Italy. It had cruſhed their open and their clandeſtine efforts to reſiſt the torrent of its ſucceſſes; it had taken paramount poſſeſſion of all the northern parts of that noble country, under the denomination of republics, founded under its auſpices, but, in reality, acting immediately under its influence and directions. The king of Sardinia and the grand duke of Tuſcany retained little more than their titles, and the pope, after loſing the moſt valuable poſſeſſions of the Roman ſee, was alſo reduced to a ſtate of dependence. Naples was much in the ſame ſituation, and did not dare to take the leaſt ſtep that might prove offenſive to France.

In this formidable poſture, Great Britain was the only power that had the ſpirit to confront the French republic, and the good fortune to obtain ſuch advantages over it, as to counterbalance, in a very conſiderable meaſure, the ſucceſſes of which it was continually boaſting; but of which the permanence and ſolidity appeared extremely dubious to the wiſeſt of its heads, while this reſolute rival remained unſubdued, or was not, at leaſt, compelled to accept of ſuch terms as it ſhould dictate.

This expectation, however, becoming daily weaker in the perſuaſion of thoſe who had been the moſt forward to give it countenance, they now watched with avidity for an occaſion to indemnify their ambition, for having been fruſtrated in this great and principal object.

The two countries in which they now propoſed to exerciſe their revolutionizing powers were Switzerland and the papal dominions. It has already been related in what manner they proceeded in the former of thoſe: but, while they were occupied in this buſineſs, an opportunity offerred to carry on the other with ſtill greater facility and ſucceſs; as little more was wanted than intrigue, and encourgement to thoſe who were already meditating the execution of the deſigns they had in view.

The peace granted to the pope by Buonaparte was, at beſt, but a ſemblance of reconciliation with France. Deprived of his beſt poſſeſſions, abridged of his authority over the remaining parts, and fallen from the importance formerly annexed to his dignity, he was reduced to the mere ſhadow of his ancient grandeur; and excited, even among his well-wiſhers, more ſorrow for his misfortunes, than veneration and reſpect for the high rank he ſtill held in the Chriſtian world.

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His perſonal conduct had not been marked with due firmneſs while his fortune ſtood in ſuſpenſe. During the treaty with the French general, he had ſecretly purpoſed to flee from his capital, with the treaſures he was able to collect. This at once diminiſhed the good opinion he had hitherto poſſeſſed, and ſhewed that his timidity was greater than his prudence and diſcernment. His perſonal ſecurity was reſtored by the pacification, but he never was able to recover his influence; and the people of Rome ever after beheld him as a puſillanimous and degraded ſovereign, unworthy of his ſtation, and deſerving of the humiliation that had befallen him.

Sentiments ſuch as theſe were naturally preparatory to ſtill farther degradation. They were daily ſtrengthened by the principles that had been diſſeminated among his ſubjects. Theſe principles were equally inimical to his temporal and ſpiritual power: the latter, indeed, had ſufferred a ſurpriſing dimunition; and, being, in fact, the chief baſis of the former, this had been weakened to a degree that ſhook the whole ſyſtem of the ſovereignty, which he and his predeceſſors had exerciſed with ſuch abſolute authority.

He now remounted the papal throne by the permiſſion of France; for no other idea can be affixed to the pacification concluded at Tolentino. Whatever the French demanded he was conſtrained and even glad to grant, from the extreme apprehenſion he was under, that they would have deprived him of the very power of making conceſſions, by ſtripping him at once of both his civil and religious authority, and expelling him from his dominions.

In the mean time, he had loſt, with three large and rich provinces, the means of ſupporting the pontifical dignity upon its accuſtomed footing: but, what was much worſe, he thereby became unable to fulfil the conditions impoſed upon him, without recurring to means that would be odious to his remaining ſubjects. Large ſums had been exacted by the French, as the price of peace, and he well knew the conſequences of non-payment. To ſave himſelf from theſe, he was obliged to lay a tax of the moſt grievous nature upon his people. He had purchaſed the armiſtice, granted to him by the French general in the preceding year, with half the plate of his ſubjects; he now demanded the other half, as indiſpenſably neceſſary for the arrangements he had been compelled to make to inſure the public tranquillity.

The reverence for the ſacred character with which the pope was inveſted ſecured him from popular fury; but his miniſter, cardinal Buſca, was in the utmoſt danger. This unfortunate and imprudent ſtateſman was conſidered as the cauſe of all the calamities that had befallen the papal fee, by his oppoſition to the pacific meaſures adviſed by the Spaniſh miniſter at the court of Rome, the chevalier d'Azara, whoſe mediation, had it been accepted, would have prevented the misfortunes that followed its refuſal. The pope, who had long been governed by the counſels of the cardinal, was obliged to diſmiſs him, in compliance with the univerſal wiſhes of the public: but this diſmiſſion could not remedy the miſchief he had done; and the pope knew not how to replace him by

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a ſucceſſor of ſufficient capacity to repair the errors he had committed.

There was only one man in his court that ſeemed calculated, in any degree, to reſtore domeſtic tranquillity, and to render himſelf acceptable to France and Spain, the two powers that held in their hands the deſtiny of Rome: the firſt by its force, the ſecond by its influence on the firſt. Him, accordingly, the pope choſe to adminiſter his affairs in their preſent critical ſituation. This perſon was cardinal Doria, a man of an illuſtrious family and unexceptionable character: his capacity would have confeſſedly been equal to a leſs difficult period; but the preſent was too arduous for him, or, indeed, any man. He had to anſwer for both foreign and domeſtic obſtacles, mutually ſupported by each other, and he had no reſources to meet either.

The provinces left, by France, in the poſſeſſion of the pope were diſtracted by the moſt violent factions; ſome were adverſe to the French, and others to the juriſdiction of Rome: hence, animoſities and quarrels aroſe that frequently terminated in bloodſhed. Some of the leading men in Rome itſelf, and the towns in its proximity, had conceived deſigns decidedly hoſtile to the papal authority; and a revolutionary ſpirit was daily and viſibly gaining ground among individuals of all claſſes.

Worn down with grief and anxiety at his calamitous ſituation, the pope was aſſailed by an illneſs that brought him nearly to the grave. He recovered; but had the mortification to diſcover that his life was not an object of popular deſire, and that his death would have proved a much more acceptable event. Among the many faults and errors he had committed, there was one very common indeed to all the biſhops of Rome, but which their ſubjects were the leaſt of any diſpoſed to forgive. This was the vice of nepotiſm, of which Pius VI. had been guilty in a ſcandalous degree. He had two nephews, neither of them diſtinguiſhed for talents of any kind. The youngeſt he loaded with benefices and preferments in the church, and, at laſt, created a cardinal; the eldeſt, on whom he conferred the title of duke of Braſchi, the pope's family name, was noted for his ſordid avarice. Through the ill-placed favour of his uncle, he acquired immenſe riches, extorted from the public by monopolies of the moſt neceſſary articles of life, and by donations of lands that were the property of the ſtate.

This conduct of the pope excited the greater murmurs, on account of the contraſt it formed with that of the celebrated Gangenelli, his immediate predeceſſor, who, to his many virtues and eminent qualities, added, conſpicuouſly, that of diſintereſtedneſs reſpecting himſelf, and impartiality towards the individuals of his family, whom he treated with a decent liberality, but would never raiſe to high preferments.

Theſe particulars ſunk the deeper into the notice of men, that they were aggravated by the conſideration of the diſaſters that had marked a pontificate unuſually long, and which offered nothing to the recollection of the public, to indemnify it for the inglorious and unfortunate events of an imprudent and oppreſſive government.

Thus every circumſtance concurred to diſſeminate a ſeditious ſpirit

ſpirit among the lower claſſes, and to prepare them to join in any inſurrection againſt the ſtate. The idleneſs reſulting from want of regular occupation, was highly favourable to the deſigns of the many concealed enemies of the papal government. Their emiſſaries and partiſans daily aſſumed more audacity. Paſquinades and inſulting papers were affixed to the doors of perſons in office, or connected with the government, giving them to underſtand that their power would be of ſhort duration, and that the reign of popedom was drawing to an end.

Struck with conſternation at theſe menaces, numbers of people in office or favour determined to withdraw from a place where they did not think themſelves ſecure from popular violence. Among theſe was the duke of Braſchi. Conſcious of the extortions he had committed, and of the iniquitous means by which he had arrived at his vaſt opulence, and pointed out in a peculiar manner as an object of popular vengeance, he found it neceſſary to abſent himſelf from Rome, to the great grief of his uncle, who found on this occaſion that his ſovereign dignity could not protect his nephew from the indignation and reſentment of the public.

The terror with which the court of Rome had been ſeized on the approach of the French, under Buonaparte, though removed by the pacification concluded at Tolentino, had left nevertheleſs an impreſſion of fear that pervaded the whole adminiſtration of domeſtic affairs, and debilitated all the meaſures of government; not only in its exterior relations, but in the internal police. The Roman populace, long accuſtomed to vent its cenſures in a cautious and indirect manner, began now to lift a bolder voice, and to expreſs them without reſerve or fear. Apprehenſive of the conſequences of this daring and licentious diſpoſition, the government came at length to a determination to put a ſtop to the diſorderly behaviour of the multitude. The military force was augmented, and proclamations were iſſued, threatening ſevere puniſhment to the diſturbers of the public tranquillity.

But the authority of goverment was ſo little reſpected, that neither menaces nor chaſtiſements could ſilence the people at large. They pleaded the privilege of complaining of errors and improprieties in the conduct of their rulers, as a right devolved to them by long preſcription. It had been reſpected even under Alexander the Sixth, and Sextus Quintus. If ſuch men had forborne from invading it, at a time when the pontifical authority was in its plenitude, ſurely this was not a ſeaſon to abridge it, while it had ſo many more juſt calls for exertion.

This language, ſo unuſual in the ſubjects of the holy ſee, denoted a ſurpriſing change in the ſentiments of obedience and ſubmiſſion to the higher powers, that had hitherto characteriſed them in the moſt violent effuſions of their diſcontent. It deeply alarmed the adminiſtration, which reſolved nevertheleſs to purſue the ſyſtem of ſeverity it had adopted, and impriſoned ſeveral individuals that had rendered themſelves obnoxious, by the audacioufneſs of their ſpeeches and conduct.

But the ſituation of Rome was now preciſely that of Paris before the revolution. The diſtreſſes of the ſtate had occaſioned ſo many inconveniences and ſufferings in the lower

lower claſſes, through the ſtagnation of thoſe buſineſſes that employed them, that ſullenneſs and deſperancy were viſibly gaining ground among them. They now ſeemed to ſet at defiance thoſe edicts and proclamations which had formerly kept them in ſuch profound ſubmiſſion.

In the midſt of theſe alarms, government was unhappily compelled, by unavoidable neceſſity, to have recourſe to meaſures more dangerous than any of thoſe that had been antecedently adopted, and which the public had been encouraged to hope would have been the laſt of a ſimilar nature. The paper currency, which the difficulty of the times had created, was fallen to half its nominal worth, and the exigences of the ſtate were ſuch that it was become impoſſible to anſwer them, without recurring to another fabrication. It was received with the bittereſt cenſure and reprobation from the public, and nothing but the dread of the armed force, ſtationed in Rome, would probably have prevented an immediate inſurrection.

But the moſt perilous of thoſe meaſures was, the requiſition made upon the eccleſiaſtical orders, to give in a liſt of their revenues, and the laying upon theſe a tax of their ſixth part. This was repreſented as an attempt, unknown to the worſt of former times. It was a direct violation of the privileges annexed to the poſſeſſions belonging to the church. No ſovereign pontiff had yet preſumed to treat his clergy with ſo much diſreſpect. It was ſetting up a preſident that would at once deſtroy the immunities of the clarical profeſſion in all the catholic countries of Chriſtendom.

Such were the complaints of the eccleſiaſtics, and their repreſentations of this meaſure. The infatuation of numbers afforded them ample encouragement to exhale their diſcontent in the moſt unqualified language. Prophane and ſacrilegious were the terms annexed to this regulation, by the numerous bigots in the Roman dominions; and the pope expoſed himſelf to no leſs odium by adopting it, though evidently in a caſe of the utmoſt extremity, than if it had been in the wantonneſs of power.

This unhappy affair accelerated the decline of his authority and influence, much more than any of the antecedent events of his reign. He had now converted into enemies thoſe who had hitherto remained the firmeſt props of both his ſpiritual and temporal power. The members of his adminiſtration were publicly inſulted, and he frequently experienced the moſt diſreſpectful treatment when he appeared abroad.

In addition to theſe mortifications, more ſolid miſchiefs were meditated. Diſcourſes, it was ſurmiſed, by thoſe who ſought to terrify government, were now held among the ſtudents in the univerſity, upon the nature of the papal juriſdiction in civil and political matters. Herein it was undiſguiſedly affirmed, that, as a temporal prince, he had no claims ſuperior to thoſe of any other; and that, ſetting aſide his character, as head of the church, he was liable to the cenſures and penalties that might lawfully be inflicted on ſovereigns guilty of miſmanagement.

Whether ſuch really were the doctrines ſecretly avowed and promulgated, certain it is that reſiſtance and inſurrection were topics very diffuſively in agitation, and that the papal government began at this time to be viewed with an inimical eye by the community at large.

large. It was not barely reform, but total ſuppreſſion that was aimed at by the diſcontented party. This gradually increaſed by the acceſſion of perſons of conſideration, who thought that the preſent circumſtances required a government of more energy, than as long experience had ſhewn could be expected from eccleſiaſtics, who were naturally more taken up with theological theories than with the practical and active knowledge of thoſe things that were of viſible utility, and undeniable benefit to the community.

Notwithſtanding the dangers evidently reſulting from ſuch lucubrations, the papal councils had not entirely loſt ſight of the facility with which they would be obviated, were the patrons of thoſe who indulged them, the French, to be expelled from Italy. The length to which the negociations at Udina were protracted, afforded, while they laſted, ſome faint hopes of this kind. But theſe were totally blaſted by the final treaty of peace that took place in October, and that through the dominions of Auſtria, at ſuch a diſtance from thoſe of the pope, that he could no longer expect to be ſupported by the influence of the imperial power.

Emboldened by this deciſive event, the malcontents in the eccleſiaſtical ſtate, felt themſelves more at liberty than ever to purſue their political ſpeculations, unmoleſted by government, againſt which they promiſed themſelves the protection of the French republic, whenever they had brought matters to that criſis which they ſecretly propoſed. They preſumed the more ſtrongly on this protection, that the ambaſſador ſent to Rome, from the directory, began his miſſion in a ſtyle of authority, that bore down all endeavours to elude the demands he was directed to make, and that theſe were in perfect conformity with the deſigns they had ultimately in view.

This ambaſſador was Joſeph, the brother of general Buonaparte! like him, a man of a cool and ſteady diſpoſition, intrepid, ſagacious, and peculiarly qualified for civil and diplomatic employments. Though remarkably polite and affable, he was equally reſolute and firm in the execution of the buſineſs entruſted to him, and in maintaining that dignity which the French now arrogated in a ſuperior degree to all other powers.

The demands he was commiſſioned to make were, that the pope ſhould expel the French emigrants from his dominions, diminiſh his military force, and ſet at liberty all perſons arreſted for their opinions on political ſubjects. After much heſitation and endeavours to qualify theſe requiſitions, the pope was obliged to comply with them. The reduction of his forces, and even the expulſion of the French emigrants, though highly mortifying to his feelings as a ſovereign, were much leſs humiliating than the authority wreſted from him over his own ſubjects, by requiring their deliverance from priſon, for practices that endangered the tranquillity of his dominions.

Through the imprudence or tardineſs of his miniſters, he had not yet formally acknowledged the Ciſalpine republic; and yet he muſt have known that he was not in a condition to refuſe his acknowledgements. Exaſperated at this delay, that republic determined to enforce it as well as other claims, and actu-

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ally beſieged and took, after a defence that occaſioned ſome bloodſhed, a fortreſs that ſtood on the papal territories. Happily for both parties, the quarrel ſubſided through the pope's recognition of the Ciſalpine republic.

That ſecret party at Rome, which was leagued together for the purpoſe of effecting a revolution, conceived freſh hopes of ſucceeding, from the inability of the court of Rome to reſiſt any enemy that acted with daringneſs and reſolution. After holding frequent conſultations, on the means of effecting their deſigns, they came at laſt to a determination of entruſting them to the French ambaſſador. Three of them were deputed by the reſt, who waited upon him the twenty-ſixth of December, to appriſe him of their project, and to demand whether they might depend on the aſſiſtance of France, in caſe they ſucceeded in overturning the preſent government of Rome, and ſubſtituting in its place a republic. Buonaparte gave them no encouragement, and exhorted them to deſiſt from an attempt which he repreſented to them as raſh and impracticable; forbidding them at the ſame time to apply to him for his countenance in any ſuch undertaking.

Doubtleſs, however, of the protection of France, in caſe of their ſucceſs, the revolutionary party aſſembled, on the twenty-ſeventh of December, 1797, but their numbers being ſmall, hardly one hundred, they were eaſily diſperſed by the military ſent againſt them, of whom, however, they wounded ſome, and ſlew two or three. As in this affray it was obſerved that the inſurgents had put on the French cockade, a ſuſpicion aroſe that they had acted at the inſtigation of the French. To remove this ſuſpicion, the French ambaſſador notified to the ſecretary of ſtate thoſe perſons in his retinue or employment, who were entitled to wear it, diſclaiming every other individual that had aſſumed it.

In the afternoon of this day, the inſurrection was renewed, and became more ſerious. About twenty of the inſurgents repaired to the palace of the French ambaſſador, and one of them told him, that the Romans were now a free people, but hoped for the protection of France. The ambaſſador anſwered by ordering him to depart with his aſſociates, adviſing him at the ſame time to proceed no farther in ſo frantic an attempt, as reſiſting a government that was able inſtantly to cruſh them. The inſurrection, in the mean-while, was increaſing, and the environs of the ambaſſador's palace were filling with crowds that ſhouted, live the republic, live the Roman people. The ambaſſador, putting on the mark of his dignity, was proceeding to the court-yard, intending to prevail on the inſurgents there to leave his reſidence: but, before he could addreſs them, they were fired upon through the gates of the palace, by a party of the military, who purſued, into the court, the croud that was flying before them. The French ambaſſador demanding of them by whoſe authority they had [illegible]red into his precincts, bid them immediately to retire. They withdrew a few ſteps, but while he was preventing the inſurgents from ruſhing upon them, they again fired, and ſlew or wounded ſeveral, and then fell back to reload. The ambaſſador again endeavoured to perſuade the military to withdraw, with aſſurances that the inſurgents ſhould be given up: but, as they paid no attention to

him, and ſeemed preparing to fire another volley, general Duphot, who accompanied the ambaſſador, marched up to them, to ſecond more forcibly his remonſtrances: but, while he was expoſtulating with them, and ſeizing the muſket of one, and preventing another from firing, a ſoldier ſhot him through the body, which, after he was dead, was treated with great indignity. In order to avoid the fury of the ſoldiers, the ambaſſador and his attendants were obliged to make the beſt of their way through a bye lane that led to the gardens of his palace; where, on his return, he found numbers of the inſurgents dead or wounded, and of which he ordered the gates to be ſhut.

It was now ſix o'clock in the evening, and no perſon appeared, on the part of government, to put a ſtop to the violence of the ſoldiery, that ſtill remained in the front of the ambaſſador's palace. He wrote to the ſecretary of ſtate, informing him of his ſituation, and demanding his immediate interpoſition. The miniſters of Tuſcany and Spain, who waited upon him in the mean time, teſtified no leſs ſurpriſe than he did, that government had not yet interfered. At eleven o'clock he deſpatched a ſecond meſſage to the ſecretary, appriſing him that he was determined to leave Rome, where he could no longer ſtay without prejudice to the dignity of his character, and requiring a paſſport for that purpoſe.

Cardinal Doria, the ſecretary of ſtate, diſpatched at length an officer and forty men, as a ſafe-guard, together with a letter, exculpating government from any participation in the violation of his precincts, and offering whatever ſatisfaction the French republic ſhould inſiſt upon in conſequence of what had happened. A letter of the ſame tenor was ſent to the marquis Maſſimi, the pope's reſident at Paris, enjoining him to aſſure the directory, that the Roman government was neither privy to, nor able to prevent this unfortunate affair, and was ready to ſubmit to whatever conditions the directory might think proper, in order to atone for it, and recover the favour of the French republic.

This was indubitably the moſt fatal accident that could happen at this period to the papal government. It was already weak and tottering; but this ſhook it to its very foundation. It afforded an obvious pretext to the French to exerciſe their vengeance upon the guilty, and to involve in one general crimination, not only thoſe who had committed the exceſſes of which they complained, but thoſe alſo through whoſe incapacity, negligence, or want of firmneſs and due care, they had not been prevented or timely reſtrained.* The perſonal ſituation of the pope himſelf, who was ill at the

* Mr. Duppa, an artiſt, who reſided at Rome during the period of theſe events, and who relates them with an air of calmneſs and impartiality that commands reſpect, ſays, in his journal, "This event (the death of general Duphot), though it might accelerate, did not produce the revolution. This was determined on before, and would have taken place had no ſuch circumſtance happened. A prior of a Dominican convent, with whom I was acquainted, converſing familiarly one day with a French officer, on the circumſtances of the revolution, the latter had the liberality and the frankneſs to ſay—We were diſtreſſed for money, and we were obliged to come: as for the death of Duphot, it would have been of no conſequence, if there had not been other objects of greater importance."

time,

time, and the well known diſpoſition of his miniſters to live on peaceable terms with France, were it only from the plaineſt motives of intereſt and neceſſity, made it clear, that no occaſion for a rupture could poſſibly be ſought by either him or them. The truth was, that the military commander in Rome, hearing of ſeditious inſurrection, unadviſedly ſent a detachment of troops to ſuppreſs it, with officers unqualified to direct them.

The French ambaſſador, on leaving Rome, repaired to Florence, where he was followed by the moſt preſſing ſolicitations of the papal miniſtry to return. They juſtly foreſaw, that unleſs an immediate reconciliation with France were purchaſed at any price, inevitable ruin awaited the court of Rome; of which neither the ſpiritual nor temporal influence was any longer ſufficient to check the determination of its foreign and domeſtic enemies; both of whom concurred with equal warmth and unanimity to precipitate its downfal by every means reſulting from the preſent opportunity.

The republican party at Rome began now to conſider itſelf in the certain road to ſucceſs. Though not in readineſs to erect the ſtandard of open defiance, it was hourly occupied in preparing it, by propagating revolutionary maxims, and gaining as many proſelytes as zeal in the cauſe, and induſtry in ſtrengthening it, could procure among a people long incenſed at the conduct of its rulers, and that had loſt all affection and reſpect for its ſovereign. The real projects of the malcontents were not unknown to government. They did not affect to conceal them. Libellous papers were ſtuck up in all the public places, full of invectives againſt individuals, and explicitly threatening the ſubverſion of the exiſting government, and the ſubſtitution of a better one in its place. The only precaution taken by the revolutionary party, was to conceal the authors of theſe daring menaces: but they could not remain wholly ſecret. Several were diſcovered and impriſoned, and many who lay under ſuſpicion of being their partiſans, were treated in the like manner. The aſſiſtance of religion was called in at the ſame time, to reclaim the multitude from its refractory and riotous diſpoſition. They were earneſtly exhorted not to forſake the path of piety and obedience to their civil and ſpiritual paſtors, wherein their foreſathers had trod ſo many ages, to follow innovations that had occaſioned ſo much miſchief.

But the chief agents, among the malcontents, had provided againſt all inſinuations of this tendency, by drawing carefully the line between politics and religion. This they ſcrupulouſly left untouched, and pretended to no more than reform in matters of ſtate and civil regulations. This avowal, which was continually in their mouths, effectually ſilenced thoſe who made it their buſineſs to intermix temporal and ſpiritual affairs, as being of an inſeparable nature, and neceſſarily connected for the benefit of ſociety. The arguments adduced, by thoſe who denied this poſition, prevailed over the reaſonings of their antagoniſts, and a total disjunction was gradually formed in the public mind, between the reſpective concerns of the church and the ſtate.

But the gaining of this point, though of great importance to the

opponents of government, would not have wrought the effects they had in view; if a more powerful auxiliary had not come to their aſſiſtance. France, of which they had ſo repeatedly invoked the aid, and which was, of its own accord, ſo ready to grant it to all people in their ſituation, now came to the determination to take them oſtenſibly under its direct protection. The pretence of avenging the affront offered to the French nation, in the perſon of its ambaſſador, was held up to Europe as a juſtification of this meaſure. General Berthier, with a large diviſion of the French and Ciſalpine army, was ordered to proceed to Rome, and the inhabitants were, at the ſame time, apprized, that no hoſtile intentions were entertained againſt them.

Elate with the expectation of ſhortly accompliſhing their deſigns, the malcontents teſtified their ſatisfaction at the intelligence of his march, by raiſing commotions, which the government could not quell without calling in the military, and uſing coercive meaſures to prevent. A proclamation was alſo iſſued, wherein the pope informed the people, that he felt no alarm at the approach of the French, in whoſe friendly and equitable conduct he repoſed entire confidence. But whatever hopes he might have formed of being treated favourably, they were totally diſappointed. He deputed prince Belmonte, the Neapolitan envoy, on the 6th of February, as mediator between him and the French general, and to prepare him for a deputation from the court of Rome. But Berthier informed the prince, that his inſtructions did not permit him to receive any. The deputies were of courſe obliged to return. They had, it ſeems, been commiſſioned to make the ampleſt offers and conceſſions: but he ſignified a reſolution to admit of no other deputies than thoſe of the people.

On the 9th of February, 1798, the princes Giuſtiniani and Gabrielli repaired to the French army, as chiefs of the Roman citizens in arms, and were graciouſly received; and on the eleventh the French troops took poſſeſſion of the caſtle of St. Angelo, where the people of Rome ſupplied them with a large quantity of proviſions, and gave them every proof of the warmeſt friendſhip and attachment. A proclamation was now iſſued by general Berthier, wherein he declared, that the intent of his miſſion was, to bring to juſtice the authors of the aſſaſſination of general Duphot and of Baſſeville, ſecretary of legation to the French embaſſy at Rome in 1793, and to take the citizens of Rome under his protection.

The revolutionary party was, in the mean time, making preparatory arrangements for the final execution of the deſign which they had ſo long in contemplation. Early in the morning of the ſixteenth of February, which was the anniverſary of the acceſſion of Pius the ſixth to the pontifical throne, on which he had now been ſeated twenty-three years, the people of Rome aſſembled in that ſpacious field called the Campovaccino, and there ſolemnly proclaimed the reſumption of their ancient ſovereignty.

The ſtyle of this proclamation, which was entitled an act of the ſovereign people, was very remarkable. The people of Rome, it ſaid, long oppreſſed by that monſter in politics, a government of prieſts,

had

had ſeveral times attempted to ſhake off that ignominious yoke, but had, hitherto, been prevented, by a combination of craft, ſuperſtition, and violence. This government being now fallen to pieces, through its own debility and miſmanagement, the Roman people, in order to preſerve themſelves from anarchy, had collected all their courage and ſtrength, with the view of aſſerting their ſovereign rights. They now unitedly declared, before the ſupreme being, and the whole univerſe, that they had taken no part in thoſe iniquitous tranſactions that had given offence to the French republic, and held them in the deepeſt abhorrence. They conſtituted themſelves into a free and independent ſtate, and reſumed the legiſlative and executive powers, in order to exerciſe them by their repreſentatives, conformably to the inalienable rights of men to chuſe that form of government which they judge moſt for their advantage.

After this preamble, the act proceeded to the ſettlement of the different parts of the executive government. At the head of it were placed five conſuls, in whom was veſted the power heretofore exerciſed by the pope and council of ſtate. It appointed a variety of inferior officers, whoſe denominations were taken from thoſe of the ancient republic; ſuch as prefects, ediles, and ſeveral others, which were intended as remembrancers of the conſtitutional and civil ſyſtem of their anceſtors, and to excite their emulation to rival them.

They laſtly nominated eight deputies to the French general, to requeſt the amity and protection of the people of France in this regeneration of Roman liberty. The act was then ſigned by almoſt all perſons preſent that could write, to the amount of many thouſands. It was read to the people, and received with univerſal applauſe and acclamation. The ceremony concluded by planting the tree of liberty in the moſt public places of the city.

At noon the deputation waited upon general Berthier, to lay before him the revolutionary act, and the plan of government they had eſtabliſhed, and to requeſt his ſolemn approbation of what the people had done. In compliance with their deſire, he entered the city in great ſtate and ſplendour, and proceeded to the capitol amidſt an immenſe multitude. Here, after invoking the manes of Brutus, Cato, Cicero, and other celebrated names of antiquity, he formally declared, conformably to the intentions of the directory, that the French republic, profeſſing the principle of national ſovereignty, acknowledged the independence of the Roman republic; which ſhould conſiſt of the provinces that remained under the papal juriſdiction ſince the treaty of Campo Formio.

The French general thought it proper, however, to make ſome alteration in the proviſionary government they had formed. He added a ſixth conſul, and ſuch regulations as appeared requiſite for the preſervation of order in its preſent ſtate of uncertainty. The directory had reſerved to itſelf the final ſettlement of the new conſtitution of Rome, as it had done that of the other republics, founded under the auſpices of France. Foreſeeing that, in caſe of ſtability, the Roman ſtate, by its central poſition in the heart of Italy, and other local advantages, would, in no long proceſs

of time, arrive at great importance, the French were peculiarly deſirous to ſecure a permanent influence over its affairs, by forming ſuch a connection with it, as would render the one dependent on the other.

The new founded republic was not averſe to an union of this kind, conſcious that its exiſtence depended ſolely on the protection of France, and that without this ſupport the ſevereſt vengeance would be taken of the republican chiefs. The French general, and his partizans, carried the ſyſtem of internal government, eſtabliſhed in France, into the organization of the new commonwealth. Communes, municipalities, and national guards, were inſtituted in every part of the Roman ſtate, with every appendage of power and office annexed to them.

In this great alteration of the principles and form of government, the French adhered, with remarkable fidelity, to the ſolemn promiſe they had made with no leſs prudence than equity, to all the people of Italy, to commit no innovation in religious matters, any farther than to introduce liberty of conſcience, and the univerſal toleration of opinions on ſpiritual ſubjects. The great number of free-thinkers lately ſtarted up in that country, who were all, to a man, adherents to French principles, rendered a proviſion of this nature indiſpenſable in every eſtabliſhment that took place under the auſpices of France.

This judicious diſcrimination, between religion and politics, proved of ſo much utility on this occaſion, that the clergy of Rome ſubmitted to the new order of things without teſtifying any marked repugnance. On the 19th of February, ſolemn thanks were given in all the churches of Rome, on account of this revolution; and no leſs than fourteen cardinals were preſent at the ceremonies in the church of St. Peter, excluſive of prieſts, prelates, and other eccleſiaſtical dignitaries!

As great pains had been taken, by the party in oppoſition to the French, to inculcate a dread that rapine and plunder would accompany their entrance into Rome, the French general and his officers were particularly anxious to remove it, by declaring that the ſevereſt diſcipline would be maintained, and that the perſons, properties, and newly acquired liberties, of the inhabitants, with the former laws, cuſtoms, and uſages, they choſe to retain, whether civil or religious, ſhould remain untouched and inviolable.

When intelligence of this great event was brought to Paris, the directory received it with peculiar exultation. A meſſage to the council of five hundred was drawn up on this occaſion, by La Revellière, one of the directors, wherein he repreſented the church and politics of the popes and court of Rome in the moſt odious colours, and exerted all his knowledge and abilities to prove that the downfal of popery was a puniſhment which it had long deſerved.

It was a government, he ſaid, propped up by the credulity of nations, the fanaticiſm of prieſts, and the intereſted ſupport of thrones. It contradicted, in practice, all the maxims it made a ſhew to profeſs. It diſgraced the Chriſtian name, and deſtroyed the ſpirit of the religion it preached, by hypocritically pretending that its kingdom was not of this world; and yet aſpiring

in fact at univerſal monarchy, and totally forgetting the primitive maxims of the Goſpel, recommending with ſuch energy, humility, ſelf-denial, and univerſal charity.

When delivered from perſecution, and inveſted with authority, it baſely returned the favours it had received, by the meaneſt adulation to princes who had been guilty of the moſt atrocious murders, or barbarouſly maſſacred thouſands of their unfortunate ſubjects: and it filled the eaſt and weſtern empires with the ſanguinary agitations of religious diſputes.

To confirm its power, and ſet itſelf above all laws, it fabricated thoſe forgeries ſo well known by the name of falſe *decretals*. In virtue of thoſe titles, it gave maſters to nations, appointed kings or depoſed them, as ambition or avarice dictated. It abſolved ſubjects from their allegiance, patronized treaſon, and threw kingdoms into confuſion and bloodſhed.

No country, he aſſerted, had ſuffered more than France, from the tyrannical theocracy of Rome. Its monarchs had been treated with the vileſt indignity. It was here the dæmon of the cruſades firſt appeared, under the papal auſpices. It was by the French court that, through papal ſuggeſtions, thoſe barbarities were exerciſed on the unhappy templars, the recital of which fills the mind with horror. It was Rome that ſanctioned the Sicilian veſpers, that ſignal of death to ſo many Frenchmen. It was the policy of Rome that fomented the civil wars of the league, and that deluged France with ſo much blood. From papal councils, proceeded that contentious ſpirit which lately diſtracted the French nation with the moſt bitter and acrimonious diſputes, on the contemptible ſubjects of Moliniſm and Janſeniſm. Theſe feuds and altercations aroſe from the influence of a foreign prieſt, ſtyling himſelf the common father of the faithful! But this ſacerdotal reign was now brought to an end by the revolution, and it was in vain the coalition had propoſed to reſtore it, together with the deſpotiſm of the abrogated monarchy.

Such was the ſubſtance of the moſt remarkable paſſages in this meſſage. It concluded by inſinuating, that the court of Rome had inſtigated the murder of general Duphot, and the inſult offered to the French ambaſſador at Rome. Cardinal Buſca, it aſſerted, correſponded at the very time with the conſpirators againſt the French republic; and the congregation of eccleſiaſtical affairs had juſt decided, that a true catholic could not in conſcience take an oath of hatred to royalty, unwilling to remember that Samuel had threatened mankind, that God would ſend them kings in his wrath.

This meſſage was received with uncommon applauſe by the councils, and the republican party. As it coincided with the general ſentiments of the enemies to popery, it met, of courſe, with the hearty concurrence of a great part of Europe. The only exceptions to it were, the charges of an intentional affront to the French ambaſſador, and of having premeditatedly excited a tumult for that purpoſe.

In the mean time, general Berthier was occupied in arranging the domeſtic affairs of Rome, and in providing for the internal tranquillity of the new republic. His

arrangements bore ſeverely upon the French emigrants, whom their countrymen ſeemed reſolved to treat without mercy wherever they found them. They were enjoined, by a formal proclamation, to quit Rome, and the territory of the Roman republic, in the ſhort ſpace of twenty-four hours: and all their property, of whatever kind, was confiſcated and ſeized for the uſe of the French republic.

But a regulation that ſtruck the public with juſt aſtoniſhment, was that which ſuppreſſed the rights and franchizes formerly poſſeſſed by foreign miniſters, and that allowed them civil and criminal juriſdiction within their palaces and the precincts annexed to it. It was preciſely for having violated theſe, that the French directory had invaded the papal dominions, and put an end to this government.

On the entrance of the French into Rome, the pope was confined to the Vatican, where he was guarded by five hundred men. Seals were alſo placed on the apartments of all the pontifical palaces, and upon thoſe of all the cardinals that were abſent. A contribution was demanded, of four millions of livres in ſpecie, two millions in proviſions, and three thouſand horſes. In order to ſecure the payment of this requiſition, four cardinals were detained as hoſtages, with four biſhops, and four princes. Every perſon in office, ſuſpected of enmity to the new order of things, was diſmiſſed; and the troops in the papal ſervice were all diſarmed.

A variety of revolutionary injunctions were iſſued on the very day that followed the proclamation of the republic. The wearing of a national cockade was ordained, and the diſtinctions of knighthood, and of titles of nobility, were prohibited, together with the uſe of domeſtic liveries; and the armorial enſigns of the aboliſhed government were taken down from every public place. Strict orders were alſo given, that all property belonging to the Britiſh nation, or its allies, at war with France, whether in money or merchandize, ſhould be notified to the preſent government, under the ſevereſt penalties for concealment.

On the day of the republican proclamation, the cardinals, aſſembled in the Vatican to confer on the ſituation of affairs, came to a determination to abdicate, in due form, the temporal government of the ſtate; an act of reſignation was accordingly drawn up, and ſigned by all that were preſent, without the leaſt heſitation. They were conſcious of the intire annihilation of their power, and that to inſiſt on its retention would not only be nugatory, but might endanger their ſafety and their very lives. Numbers of them were highly obnoxious to the people, and the leaſt ſymptom of obſtinacy might have afforded a fatal opportunity to popular vengeance. Several had already fled, who were known to have participated in the violent meaſures againſt the French: the chief of theſe were the cardinals Albani, York, and Buſca.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

Departure of the Pope from Rome to Sienna.—Extortions and Depredations committed by the principal French Officers excite Inſurrections among the Romans.—Theſe quelled, but not without Bloodſhed.—The ſacrilegious Conduct of the French held in Abhorrence by the Romans.—Organization of the new Roman Republic, on the French Plan.—And Diſſemination of French Principles throughout the Roman Territory.—The chief Command of the Military at Rome transferred to General Le Brune.—Striking Contraſt between the moral Characters and Deportment of the ſuperior and the inferior French Officers.—Cauſes of this.—Eccleſiaſtical Feſtivals ſuppreſſed.—Reſtrictions on foreign Merchandize.—Arrangements of the new Government, for the gradual Introduction of a more equal Diviſion of Property among the Citizens.—Prudent Acquieſcence in theſe on the Part of the Roman Grandees and Romans.—Scheme of the Nobles, in the Parts of Italy ſubjected to the French, for wreaking their Vengeance, on Account of their Depreſſion.—Adopted by ſome of the noble Families of Rome.—But fruſtrated by the Republicans.—Character of the Romans at the Period of the recent Revolution.—Began to be changed by that Event.—Conſpiracy and Inſurrection of the Adherents to Popedom.—In ſeveral Places.—Suppreſſed, after the moſt obſtinate Reſiſtance.—Severe Vengeance of Macdonald.—Forced Loan.—The Humiliation and Submiſſion of the Romans encourages the French in the moſt wanton as well as cruel Exerciſe of Power.—Preparations of the French at Rome for a Conteſt with Naples.—The Government eſtabliſhed by the French diſſatisfactory even to the Roman Republicans.—And their Arrogance odious.—Situation and Demeanour of the exiled Pope.—His Holineſs ſtill dreaded and perſecuted by the French.—Deſerted even by the principal Roman Catholic Princes.—But his Reſignation and Patience, under Suffering, regarded with Reſpect and Veneration throughout all Europe.—Review of his Character and Reign.

THE pope ſubmitted to this great change in his fortunes with uncommon reſignation. When general Cervoni, deputed from the French commander-in-chief for that purpoſe, ſignified to him, that the people having reſumed the ſovereignty, his reign was at an end, he appeared ſolely anxious for his ſpiritual dignity. On being apprized that this remained inviolate, together with his perſon, he expreſſed himſelf contented.

The utmoſt endeavours were uſed, at the ſame time, to conciliate all claſſes. In a public harangue made by Cervoni to the people, he told them, that the French republic

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conſidered itſelf as ſiſter to the Roman, and that all its ſtrength and energy ſhould henceforth be common to both. Farther to reconcile the Romans to their new ſituation, uncommon care was taken to blend political with religious conſideration, and to unite orthodoxy with republican freedom. In the proclamation for public thankſgiving, it was ſpecified, that the foundation of ſociety was religion, and that God was the author both of religion and liberty.

This condeſcenſion, on the part of the French, was peculiarly acceptable to the Roman people, whoſe ebullition, in favour of the republican maxims of their anceſtors, was accompanied with no leſs zeal for their preſent religion. Actuated by motives of thankfulneſs for the reſpect that had been ſhewn to it, as well as for the profeſſions of fraternity from the French government, the conſuls of the new republic ſent a warm and affectionate addreſs to the directory, wherein every ſentiment that could expreſs eſteem and attachment to the French nation was conveyed in the ſtrongeſt terms.

In one inſtance, however, the French did not yield to the deſire of the majority of the Roman people. In the act, proclaiming their ſovereignty, it had been ſpecified that the pope ſhould ſtill be acknowledged the head of the church. In virtue of that quality, he deemed himſelf entitled to remain at Rome, and ſeemed to have taken that reſolution. But the French commander-in-chief, thinking his preſence dangerous in the midſt of a people ſo long uſed to hold his perſon and dignity ſacred, and ſo apt to be influenced by the numerous clergymen ſtill ſecretly his partiſans, ſignified to him the neceſſity of an immediate removal. He quitted Rome on the 23d of February, with much repugnance, and repaired to the city of Sienna, where he was received and treated, by order of the grand duke of Tuſcany, with all the reſpect and attention that were due to his dignity and misfortunes. Had the prince, in whoſe territories he took refuge, conſulted only his own inclination, every poſſible honour and deference would have been paid to the unhappy pontiff: but though on peaceable terms with France, the grand duke was ſenſible of the precarious footing on which he ſtood with a government that ſeized every pretext of breaking with thoſe for whom they had a proſpect of extorting thereby more than they could expect by remaining at peace with them. The pope was for that reaſon deſired to reſide in the environs of Sienna incognito; and the prelates and clergy of Tuſcany were forbidden to wait upon him, or to make any public demonſtrations of the reverence in which they held him, or of the intereſt which they took in his fallen condition.

Soon after the pope's departure from Rome, general Berthier was alſo obliged to leave it, and repair with the utmoſt expedition to Mantua, where his preſence, as commander-in-chief of the French armies in Italy, was indiſpenſably required. The garriſon, exaſperated at the unjuſt retention of its pay, had mutinied, and threatened to return to France. It was with difficulty prevailed upon to return to its duty, and not till ſolemn promiſes were made, that all its arrears ſhould be paid. This was accordingly done the following day, by means of a forced loan from the inhabitants.

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The French troops at Rome had much the ſame reaſons for complaint as the garriſon of Mantua, a ſcandalous and oppreſſive detention of their arrears. But other cauſes of diſcontent were added to theſe. As ſoon as the pope was departed, ſeveral of the principal officers in the French army committed depredations in the churches, and in the palaces and houſes of opulent individuals, and impoſed heavy contributions without appearing ſufficiently authoriſed. The other officers, who felt the iniquity of this conduct, as well as the unjuſt treatment they had themſelves experienced, reſolved openly to expreſs their diſapprobation of this predatory ſyſtem, adopted, they explicitly aſſerted, by their ſuperior officers, in conjunction with the commiſſioners from the government in France.

They held a meeting in the Pantheon upon the 24th of February, 1798, at which every officer, from a captain downwards, aſſiſted. Here they drew up an addreſs to general Berthier, wherein they ſolemnly called upon God to witneſs their deteſtation of the extortions exerciſed in the city of Rome and the neighbourhood, and of the vile individuals by whom they were perpetrated. They ſwore, at the ſame time, that they would no longer be the inſtruments of the wicked wretches who had made ſo ignominious a uſe of their valour. They inſiſted on the payment of their long arrears, for which they knew there were ſufficient funds in the military cheſt. They required an immediate reſtitution of the effects and treaſures ſeized in the churches and houſes, and a condign puniſhment for the robberies committed by their ſuperior officers and others concerned with them. They demanded all this in a poſitive and reſolute manner, giving the commander-in-chief to underſtand, that, having it in his power to puniſh the authors of theſe depredations, and to put a ſtop to them, his neglect would render him an accomplice.

Appriſed of the diſcontents of the French officers and ſoldiers at the conduct of their chiefs, the populace of Rome thought this a fit opportunity to wreak their vengeance on the plunderers. But, in the blindneſs of their rage, they not only fell upon theſe, but all the French they met. This neceſſitated the military to ſtand upon their own defence: they attacked the populace, of which numbers were ſlain, and the remainder diſperſed. This inſurrection, which broke out on the 25th of February, and had been originally provoked by the pillage committed by the French, was become however very ſerious and extenſive. Commotions aroſe in ſeveral places near Rome, where ſeveral of the French were killed, before the riſings were ſuppreſſed.

Still, however, the French officers, notwithſtanding that they were obliged, for their own ſafety, to employ their arms againſt the inſurgents, did not deſiſt from openly condemning the behaviour of thoſe who, by their robberies had given occaſion for this tumult. They came to Rome, they ſaid, to give liberty to the Romans, and not to rob them. This and other language of the ſame nature, wherein they gave broad hints of their determination to procure themſelves juſtice at all events, ſo effectually intimidated the principal officers, that, in order to prevent the conſe-

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quences that would have probably ariſen from any farther neglect of their complaints, all the demands relating to themſelves were granted. But no reſtitution was made of the effects and property taken from churches and individuals, notwithſtanding the unceaſing remonſtrances of the military, that till this were done, the ſtain caſt upon the French would not be effaced, and their character ſtill remain deſervedly diſgraced.

The man upon whom their indignation chiefly fell, was general Maſſena, to whom the command of the forces at Rome had devolved, on the departure of Berthier. He was one of the beſt officers in the French ſervice, but his avaricious diſpoſition tarniſhed all his good qualities. It was particularly in the Venetian ſtate that his meanneſſes had ſignalized him. But he was not the only Frenchman guilty of thoſe exceſſes. To the ſhame of his countrymen, they were become as infamous for their depredations, as they were formidable for their valour and their military talents.

The French government, though enraged at the ignominious proceedings of its agents at Rome, and at the teſtimony borne againſt them with ſo much publicity, by the inferior claſs of officers, aſcribed nevertheleſs the inſurrection occaſioned by their oppreſſions, to a preconcerted ſcheme on the part of the ſecret adherents to the pope: to them was alſo attributed the diſcontents of the French military, who had, it was ſaid, been ſeduced by their intrigues, and excited to refuſe obedience to their lawful chiefs. A proclamation was of courſe iſſued to the armies in Italy, dated the 19th Ventoſe (19th March), lamenting their ſeduction, from the duty they owed to their commanders, through the ſuggeſtions of the enemies to France; and rebuking them for not applying to the conſtituted authorities at home, for a redreſs of their grievances. Convinced, however, of the reality of the complaints laid before them by the military, they iſſued an order to the directorial commiſſioners at Rome, to make a ſtrict inquiry into the extortions and depredations committed on the people in the Roman republic, and to ſuſpend, or expel from their employments, all perſons who had abuſed their truſt.

The diſſatisfaction of the military ſtill ſubſiſted, and the arrival of general Maſſena at Rome to command them had added greatly to it. The oppreſſive treatment of the inhabitants of this city continued as before, and the ſumptuous ſtyle of living that marked the upper ranks of the military, formed a contraſt with the diſtreſſed condition of the lower, that exaſperated theſe beyond all bearing, when they reflected by what illicit means this expenſiveneſs was ſupported, and with how much difficulty they were able to procure indiſpenſable neceſſaries.

They held another meeting in the Pantheon, upon the 6th of March, in order to deliberate on the ſituation of Rome; but general Maſſena ſent them an order to diſperſe, threatening, in caſe of refuſal, to attack them with troops and artillery. They anſwered, that they had rather ſubmit to death than to the diſgrace reſulting from the treatment of the Roman people. A deputation of theſe officers then waited upon him, with a copy of their addreſs to the citizens of Rome,

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the ſole intent of which was to convince them, that they were not to be implicated in the guilt of thoſe, who, under the denomination of military collectors of contributions, diſhonoured the army, and incenſed the people of Rome by their infamous proceedings.

Maſſena received the deputies as the movers of ſedition. He would neither read the addreſs, nor promiſe that due notice ſhould be taken of their demands. The whole body of officers waited upon him in the evening; but no ſatisfactory anſwer was obtained. They next repaired to the commander-in-chief, Berthier, who recived them favourably, and promiſed to pay attention to their addreſs.

The day following, Maſſena gave orders for the French army to quit Rome, leaving there only a body of three thouſand men. But the army refuſed to obey thoſe orders, from a perſuaſion that he left this ſmall number, with the view to ſacrifice it to the fury of the inſurgents. A deputation was inſtantly ſent to general Berthier, requiring him to reſume the command of the army; and another waited upon Maſſena, to inform him, that the army was ſo highly diſguſted at his conduct, that it would no longer accept of him as their chief, and would acknowledge no other commander than general Berthier. On the receipt of this notice Maſſena quitted Rome.

What the military had alleged as a reaſon for their diſobedience of orders, happened accordingly. The malcontents, on hearing that only three thouſand men were to remain in Rome, reſolved immediately to aſſail them on the departure of the reſt. They aſſembled in great numbers in various parts of the city. But their impatience not ſuffering them to wait for the expected departure, they raſhly attacked the French, of whom a number were ſlain: but they were quickly overcome, and a great ſlaughter of them enſued.

General Berthier being ſhortly called away by urgent buſineſs, remitted the command to general Dallemagne, who poſſeſſing the good opinion of the army, was readily accepted as his ſucceſſor. The firſt ſtep he took was to publiſh an addreſs to the people of Rome, wherein he ſolemnly juſtified the military from all imputation of ſharing in the extortions and robberies that had been committed, and which he formally reprobated in the name of the French republic and army: inviting, at the ſame time, the citizens to denounce the guilty, that they might be puniſhed according to the extremeſt rigour of the law.

Notwithſtanding the repugnance of the military, general Maſſena returned to Rome, on the 13th of March, and having reſumed the command, iſſued a declaration, wherein he laboured to refute the charges of his accuſers, and to clear his character from the odium under which it lay. He upbraided them for their inſubrodination, and declared that he would not reſign his poſt, till ordered by the directory. But no regard was paid to him; and finding the officers utterly averſe to obedience, he again thought proper to retire with a ſmall diviſion of the army that had not refuſed to obey him.

Previoutly to his departure, which was three days after his return, he publiſhed a proclamation, informing the people of Rome, that the French republic diſclaimed all right

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of conqueſt, and declared the Roman commonwealth a free and independent ſtate, offering, however, a conſtitution for its acceptance, which would ſecure its freedom and proſperity.

But theſe various addreſſes, to the Roman people, made little impreſſion upon them. The diſunion ſubſiſting between Maſſena and the army, and the diſreputable character he bore, rendered all his applications and promiſes nugatory. The pillage of their churches and houſes had at the ſame time convinced them, that they were deſtined to be the prey of the French, as ſoon as a plauſible pretext could be found, ſince they had already been plundered in the baſeſt manner without any pretence at all. Theſe conſiderations exciſed an alarm that pervaded all claſſes, and all parties, and that exhibited the revolution they had undergone in a very different light from that in which they had viewed it at firſt.

In order to diſpel the apprehenſions univerſally conceived of the oppreſſive meaſures intended againſt them, the French thought it neceſſary to make ſome ſtriking examples of thoſe who had been guilty of the pillages that had rendered them ſo odious. Two of their commiſſaries, for ſeizing a large quantity of plate out of a church, were ſentenced to five years impriſonment in irons. This appeaſed, in ſome meaſure, the wrath of the people, but did not efface the impreſſions to the prejudice of the French. They continued to bear the character of ſacrilegious depredators; and the little reverence for religion, in numbers of them, naturally induced the public, at Rome, to look upon them with abhorrence, and to think them capable of any ſpoliation in religious edifices and houſes, which they could commit with impunity or without detection.

They had, in their invaſion of Rome, and the ſubverſion of the papal authority, acted altogether with great impolicy, by exerciſing much more ſeverity than circumſtances required. It was the general perſuaſion, that if they had proceeded no farther than to deprive the pope and clergy of their temporal power, and publiſhed an amneſty for all paſt tranſactions, they would have ſecured the reſpect and attachment of all claſſes. But their conduct was ſo much the reverſe, and exhibited ſuch a mixture of arrogance, oppreſſion, and avarice, that they quickly became objects of execration to all that were not intimately intereſted in their ſucceſs.

A few days after the proclamation of the Roman republic, eight cardinals were put under arreſt. Among theſe were Doria, Roverella, Archetti and Borgia. The firſt was a man eſteemed by all parties for the uprightneſs of his conduct, and the others were perſons of an irreproachable character. Other cardinals had alſo been impriſoned; but for this there was ſome pretence, as they had adviſed and been concerned in hoſtile meaſures againſt the French. Cardinal Doria and the ſeven others, together with eight prelates, were tranſferred to Civita Vecchia, where they remained ſome time, under the terror of being tranſported to France, as hoſtages for the requiſitions made on the people at Rome, or as individuals whoſe preſance might be dangerous in the critical ſituation of affairs to the new republic.

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The revolutionary government was, in the mean while taken up with ſuch meaſures as appeared moſt conciliatory. The price of ſeveral articles of the firſt neceſſity, was reduced, and ſome cuſtoms and taxes were ſuppreſſed. The pecuniary exactions were repartitioned proportionably to the income of individuals, and a ſubſcription was opened to that intent, wherein every one was invited to contribute according to his means.

The rigour that had been exerciſed in the ſuppreſſion of the inſurrections that had taken place, effectually prevented, for ſome time, any attempt to repeat them. The French continued uninterruptedly to organize the Roman republic on their own plan, and to diſſeminate their principles throughout the territory annexed to it. There was, however, a part of it of which they had not the poſſeſſion. This was the dutchy of Benevento, ſituated in the kingdom of Naples, the dominions of which encircled it on every ſide. The court of Naples, dreading the diffuſion of French principles and pretenſions, had ſurrounded this duchy with a body of troops, and guarded the frontiers of the kingdom with a conſiderable force.

The diſcontents of the military at Rome, and their averſion to Maſſena, had, in the mean while, induced the directory, to ſupercede him in the command, and to appoint in his ſtead general Brune, who had lately acted ſo conſpicuous a part in Switzerland. This officer did not however poſſeſs a clear character more than many others. It was a common obſervation, that the moſt reſpectable portion of the French army conſiſted of the inferior officers, among whom ſtriking inſtances of diſintereſtedneſs and generoſity were occaſionally exhibited, much to their credit, and no leſs to the ſhame of their ſuperiors, whoſe rapacity was become notorious. The reaſon aſſigned for this difference, was, that the lower ranks of officers, having no other object in view, than the ſervice and honour of their country, were filled with an enthuſiaſtic patriotiſm which the upper ranks took peculiar care to cheriſh and keep alive by every means in their power. But theſe, excluſively of their military employments, were frequently immerſed in the intrigues of the various parties that divided government. Hence they were gradually led away from their integrity, and habituated to adopt every meaſure indiſcriminately that ſerved their purpoſe. This neceſſarily corrupted their morals, and they ſoon threw off reſtraints and ſcruples in other affairs.

The arrival at Rome of general Brune, and the ſtrict regulations which were enacted and vigorouſly executed, produced a traquillity which was much wanted, for the eſtabliſhment and enforcement of the different parts of the new conſtitution. The ſame quarrelous diſpoſition that accompanied the Roman people under the papal government ſtill continued as unſubdued as ever. The five conſuls, at the head of the republic, were now become the objects of public criticiſm and of unqualified cenſure. They had been promoted to their places from the conviction of their republicaniſm, much more than of their abilities or experience: of this indeed they could have little, or rather none. Four of them were phyſicians, and the firſt conſul, Viſcont, though a man of great erudition and extraordinary

extraordinary genius, had not, any more than his colleagues, ever filled any official department. Their inexperience gave riſe to numerous pleaſantries and paſquinades: but their diligence and zeal ſupplied many defects; and, aided by the ſenate and miniſters, ſome of whom were Frenchmen, well converſant in public affairs, they were the authors of many judicious laws and meaſures.

Though, from political motives, the abſence of the pope was judged neceſſary, by the French and their warmeſt partizans, a vicegerent, inveſted with all his official authority, acted in his room. The prelate Paſſeri was nominated for this purpoſe, and executed his commiſſion to the general ſatisfaction. By the pope's permiſſion, he ſuppreſſed a multitude of unneceſſary feſtivals, that abridge the means of doing buſineſs, and thereby encouraged idleneſs, and increaſed poverty.

The neceſſity of complying with the mandates of the French occaſioned, however, great inconveniences to the commerce and agriculture of the ſtate. The Neapolitan peaſantry, that was wont to repair to the Roman dominions, for employment, in the haymaking and harveſt ſeaſons, were prohibited from coming as uſual, and threatened with being ſhot the moment they ſet their foot on the Roman territory. A proclamation was alſo iſſued, forbidding the ſale of Britiſh, Ruſſian, and Portugueſe articles of merchandize, in every city and place in the republic, upon any pretext.

The contributions exacted by the French fell heavily, in the meanwhile, upon all claſſes. The produce of the laſt requiſition of the plate, remaining in the poſſeſſion of individuals, had been remitted to the French agents. In order to accelerate the payment of what was ſtill due upon their demands, a large proportion of it was required from people known to poſſeſs great property: and, to enforce theſe demands, freſh troops were daily arriving at Rome, which, it appeared, the French had determined to make their central place of arms, in this part of Italy.

It was not without much diſſatisfaction that people beheld the avidity with which the French ſeized upon the treaſures of every ſtate, to which it pretended to give liberty and independence: no two words, it was remarked, had ever been more diſtorted from their ſignification. The liberty they proclaimed was hardly more than the transferring of the government into other hands, under new denominations; and the ſtate thus altered was placed under their immediate and ſtricteſt dependence, and ſtripped of every reſource, by levies and impoſts of all denominations. The proviſionary governors ſoon found that their power was hardly even the ſhadow of authority. They were made uſe of only to ſhew where and in what conſiſted the little wealth that remained in the ſtate, and politely compelled to give their aſſent that that little might be taken from it. They had alſo the privilege of iſſuing edicts; which privilege they were compelled to exerciſe, for oppreſſing the people beyond all example of even the greateſt ancient deſpotiſm, and were thus made obnoxious to their countrymen without ever deriving any profit from the plunder that was ſeized in their names. Hence, it naturally happened, that thoſe who poſſeſſed

poſſeſſed any ſentiments of honour and humanity, or felt any regard for their own perſonal characters, ſoon withdrew themſelves; or, through the oppoſition they made to ſuch meaſures, were compelled to retire. The vacancies produced were filled by men who not only engaged to carry the ſevereſt impoſitions into effect, but, in many inſtances, purchaſed their odious offices by money. They, in return, agreeably to a common policy, were to have a high per centage on their collections.

This was preciſely the ſtate of the Roman republic: but it ſuffered from this ſituation more than other ſtates had done. Property being lodged in few hands, theſe alone felt the weight of contributions. No city in Europe diſplayed the two extremes of riches and poverty in a more ſtriking and offenſive light: that intermediate claſs of ſociety, known by the appellation of citizens, had no exiſtence at Rome. The whole opulence of this city, which was generally ſuppoſed to contain a population of about one hundred and fifty thouſand inhabitants, was nearly centered in the hands of little more than two hundred families; ſixty or fourſcore of which were reputed to poſſeſs yearly incomes from two hundred to eight hundred thouſand livres of French money.

So unequal a diſtribution of property was evidently an object highly detrimental to the community at large; but, as it was an evil to be remedied only by time, and a better government, the only means to be recurred to for this purpoſe, by men who reſpected the right of private property, was to leave it inviolate, and to frame ſuch laws againſt improprieties in ſucceſſions, inheritances, donations, and legacies, as would gradually effect more equality in the fortunes of citizens, and diminiſh that overgrown ſtock of opulence which, by enriching the few, to the detriment of the many, debilitates the ſtrength, and weakens the ſpirit, of a ſtate, by leaving a ſmall number only intereſted in its preſervation.

Such were the maxims adopted in their practice by the conſuls and ſenate of the new Roman republic. Their conduct proved ſo ſatisfactory to the rich, and the better ſort, that they readily complied with the injunctions iſſuing from their authority, and manifeſted an approbation of moſt of their meaſures. Several perſons of wealth and diſtinction ſolicited employment in the ſervice of the republic, openly profeſſing their intire acquieſcence in the new order of things, and their determination firmly to abide by it, while adminiſtered on the plan which had hitherto been obſerved by the conſtituted authorities.

The conduct of the Roman grandees and nobles on this great revolution was, indeed, quite oppoſite to that of the French nobleſſe and perſons of diſtinction: warned by the ruin and miſery of theſe, they carefully ſhunned their example, and thought it wiſer to preſerve their lives and eſtates, by ſubmitting to a government which they were not able to reſiſt, than to drag out a wretched exiſtence in baniſhment; and bring their families to poverty and want, without advancing thereby the cauſe for which they ſuffered.

Numbers of the beſt families in Rome acted upon this principle, readily yielding obedience to the

republican government, and paying, without murmuring and heſitation, their ſhare of the contributions and forced loans impoſed upon them. A conſpicuous inſtance of this conciliating diſpoſition, was given by prince Borgheſe, reputed a capitaliſt of twenty millions. The very day that followed his admiſſion into the ſenate, he voted for the motion, that was made and carried, to levy a year's revenue upon people of conſiderable property.

When the victorious arms of France had brought ſeveral parts of Italy under ſubjection, and introduced a revolutionary government, the principal families, exaſperated at their depreſſion, and the footing on which they were placed with the loweſt individuals, to the diſreſpect of whom they now felt themſelves expoſed, reſolved, by way of revenge, to diſmiſs the greater part of their domeſtics, in order to make them ſenſible of the want they ſtood in of their protection and ſupport; but this behaviour of the nobles was not only bitterly reprehended by the French, but abſolutely prohibited: the number of ſervants antecedently kept was ordered to be continued, and the eleemoſynary donations of the nobles, that had been ſuſpended from the like motives, were not allowed to be diminiſhed.

Some of the noble families at Rome had either adopted, or threatened their adoption, of a ſimilar retrenchment. To obviate a meaſure which would have reduced the poor to ſuch miſery, the conſuls and ſenate paſſed a decree, obliging the nobles to keep the ſame number of ſervants, and diſtribute the like quantity of alms or proviſions as heretofore. As neither of theſe decrees could be conſidered productive of innovations, or of hardſhip, they were the more willingly ſubmitted to, that the late diſorders had diminiſhed the means of livelihood, and had left numbers more dependent than ever on the bounty of the rich.

The ſevereſt vigilance was, in the meanwhile, exerted by the French commiſſioners, to prevent and to puniſh extortions and irregularities in their countrymen. The directory could not have appointed fitter men for this purpoſe: their names were Monge, Florent, and Daurou. The ſimplicity of their manners and ſtyle of living, and their ſingular diſintereſtedneſs, procured them an authority which none dared to counter-act; and they happily ſucceeded in ſuppreſſing the outrages of which the French had been guilty at firſt: but their greateſt difficulty was, to reconcile the minds of the generality of people in Rome to the freedom of thinking and ſpeaking, which characteriſed the French, and ſo frequently ſcandalized the friends of religion. This contributed, as much as any circumſtance in their behaviour, to render them odious, as their enemies hence took occaſion to repreſent them, equally hoſtile to God and man.

The revolution at Rome afforded much ſcope for ſpeculation. Previouſly to this event, ſervility, idleneſs, and the moſt deſpicable bigotry, pervaded all the lower claſſes: prodigious numbers, if not an abſolute majority, of the inhabitants ſubſiſted upon charity. They had, of courſe, contracted all thoſe vices and mean habits that uſually accompany ſuch a ſituation: they were careleſs and indolent about the public, baſe and ſubſervient in their

ptivate concerns, and ready to hire themſelves, indiſcriminately, for any purpoſe that offered. To reclaim a people plunged in the vileſt ſloth, ſtrangers, for the moſt part, to profeſſional occupation, and habitually ſatisfied with a bare ſufficiency for exiſtence, and even preferring it to plenty to be procured by labour, was certainly an arduous attempt, and not to be compaſſed without a large admixture of encouragement and of chaſtiſement.

The reign of popedom was particularly noticed for the lazy diſpoſition it infuſed into the people at large. The perpetually recurring exhibitions of religious ceremonies, uſually accompanied with great pomp; the ſtanding magnificence of the churches; the profuſion of objects continually inviting the curioſity of men, and calling away their attention from others more uſeful: theſe, and a multiplicity of other motives for continual avocation from buſineſs, had rendered Rome a ſcene of perpetual paſtime, and converted the inhabitants into a nation of idlers, enamoured with inactivity and diſſipation, and forgetful of the manly duties and intereſts of ſociety.

Such, with a narrow liſt of exceptions, was the common character of the modern Romans. It may be ſaid, without falſehood or exaggeration, that they nearly reſembled their anceſtors at the worſt period of their degeneracy, when they bowed the neck to the miſerableſt ſervitude, and wiſhed only for bread and the amuſements of the circus.

Another circumſtance added powerfully to the inaction of the people: they had hardly any taxes to pay. The credulity of the times long afforded a copious ſupply to their wants. The contributions that flowed from all quarters of the catholic world maintained the inhabitants of Rome. Whether from generoſity, oſtentation, or policy, the popes were in the habit of providing food and neceſſaries for a very large proportion of their ſubjects. The conſequence of theſe unfailing largeſſes was, that, depending upon them for their ſuſtenance, the common populace was very little ſolicitous for employment: and there was often experienced a ſcarcity of mechanics, when occaſion demanded them.

The French revolution had begun to diminiſh this fund of papal munificence. The people of Rome, it was foreſeen, muſt, in caſe of farther diminutions, which would probably be occaſioned by ſimilar cauſes, be compelled to adopt a more active ſyſtem than that which they had purſued ſo many years. The union of the court of Rome with the powers that formed the coalition required pecuniary ſupplies, and the many difficulties that intervened before the pope could arrive at a pacification with France exhauſted his coffers ſo deeply, that, much againſt his will, he was obliged to lay heavy burthens upon his people. But they were no leſs inadequate to the weight, than unuſed to ſuch demands. Theſe combined conſiderations excited great diſcontents, and wrought an alteration in the feelings and affections of the multitude, that prepared them for ſtill greater changes, by weaning them from that warm attachment and devotion for their ſovereign, which the ſacredneſs of his character had ſo long and ſo effectually commanded.

Since they had been revolutionized, it was clearly apparent, that the former ſyſtem of inactivity, and dependence of the poor upon the rich, was no longer admiſſible. The neceſſity of infuſing a ſpirit of labour and induſtry into the vulgar claſſes, became daily more evident and indiſpenſable. It was now acknowledged to be the baſis of the future proſperity of the ſtate, and that it required more the attention of the government than any other object. To do the rulers of the new republic due juſtice, they took this object into conſideration with peculiar zeal, and framed a variety of regulations to promote employment among the popular claſſes, and to diſcourage them from a ſervile dependence on their ſuperiors. The effects of their ſalutary endeavours were ſooner perceptible than had been expected. The places where it was notified that employment could be procured became frequented by thoſe who were induſtriouſly inclined, and their example excited the like inclination in others. Street-loungers and vagabonds were conſiderably diminiſhed; and it was reaſonably hoped, that, in no long proceſs of time, provided no interruptions happened, through internal diſturbances, to the plan ſo auſpiciouſly begun, the regeneration of Rome would be complete in the principal and the moſt deſirable object of domeſtic policy, the procuring of occupation for the laborious claſſes, and enabling them to depend, not on charity, but ſolely upon their own induſtry.

In the mean time, the adherents to the former government did not ſee with a tranquil eye, thoſe, who had ſubverted it, poſſeſſed of the ſovereign power, under the controul of France, and extending, under its auſpices, a ſyſtem which threatened finally to inflict the deepeſt wounds on the church, as it had already done upon the ſtate. They repreſented the French as the unjuſt aggreſſors, in the late hoſtilities with the ſovereign pontiff, and as having uſurped a power, by force, upon falſe and tyrannical pretexts. Such an enemy, it was ſaid, was deſerving of no faith, as no confidence could be placed in him. The moment he had taken poſſeſſion of the city, he began to plunder, and ſeize whatever came in his way, whether it was public or private property, whether it were ſacred or profane. He had demanded contributions of ſo enormous an amount, that they nearly cruſhed the ſtate; and yet he pretended to be a deliverer from oppreſſion. But it was only ſince his coming that real hardſhips had been experienced, and it would only be after his expulſion that they would ceaſe. The ſooner, therefore, that people would reſume their courage, and unite in a regular oppoſition to him, the greater would be the probability of ſucceſs, as the means of reſiſtance ſtill remained: but of theſe, his policy and craft would, ere long, find pretexts to deprive the people, if they did not haſten to uſe them while yet in their hands.

Theſe ſpeeches, which were certainly well grounded, prevailed upon numbers. The plan of the conſpiracy had been carried on in profound ſecrecy, till it was ripe for execution: it then burſt forth ſuddenly, with aſtoniſhing rapidity, and ſtruck the republican party with conſternation. The leaders of the inſurrection were perſons of various deſcriptions. The conductors

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of that plot were chiefly clergymen, and they had taken ſuch effectual meaſures, that a body of fifteen thouſand men was collected, well armed and provided, and far from being ill commanded. They occupied a tract of country on the eaſt of Rome, where they expected to be joined by numbers, while other parties of malcontents ſhould menace Rome on the other ſides. Their ſchemes were judiciouſly laid; and, had the promiſes, which it is ſaid had been made to them, been punctually kept, the ſtrength, with which they carried on their operations againſt the French, would have been much greater, and ſtraightened them much more alarmingly.

The French forces at Rome were, at this period, in the abſence of Brune, under the command of general Macdonald; a ſon of Macdonald's of Keppoch, who had fled to France after the rebellion in 1745. He was an officer of diſtinguiſhed activity and bravery, and of very conſiderable military talents. Like a ſoldier of fortune, he ſhewed great zeal in executing the orders, and fulfilling the wiſhes of his employers; without ceremony, and, according to an expreſſion, that has become proverbial, *ſans phraſes*.* While moſt of the French generals ſtudied to veil their tyranny under republican forms, Macdonald contented himſelf with ſaying, that "Such was the will of the French republic." He divided the French, under his command, into ſeveral poſts, in order to repreſs any unforeſeen movements, and diſpatched a ſelect body, under the orders of Girardon, a chief of brigade, to attack the principal corps of the inſurgents, poſted at Forentino. Here, on the 29th of July, an engagement enſued, that laſted ſeveral hours: the inſurgents fought with great bravery, and made a much more vigorous reſiſtance than the French had ever expected: but they were at length defeated, with much loſs. They retreated, however, in good order, and rallied on the banks of the Coſa, which lay between them and the French. They now made propoſals for a pacification; but, as the French required unconditional ſubmiſſion, it was refuſed. On the 2d of Auguſt, the French forced their paſſage over the Coſa, after a conflict that proved very deſtructive on both ſides. Part of the inſurgents withdrew into Froſinone, a town of ſome ſtrength, and ſituated on a rock. It was with uncommon difficulty the French were able to make their approaches to it: but they ſucceeded at laſt, and, bringing up a cannon, broke open the gates, and forced their way into the town. They met with a deſperate reſiſtance from the inſurgents, commanded by a prieſt, who fell, ſword in hand, at their head, after a noble defence. The French penetrated into the town, where the inſurgents made a large havock of them, from the windows and the tops of houſes; and it became doubtful, whether the aſſailants would not be forced to retire. As a laſt effort, they ſet fire to the town, and maſſacred as many of the inſurgents as fell into their hands. This proved a deſtructive day to both parties: almoſt as many of the French fell as of the inſurgents: but theſe were obliged

* Words pronounced by Sieyes, when he voted for the death of Louis XVI.

to diſperſe, and the inſurrection terminated in this quarter.

But another had broken out at Terracina, from which the French garriſon had been expelled. They marched againſt it on the 22d Thermidor (9th of Auguſt). The acceſſes to the town were guarded by a multitude of peaſants, who kept up a heavy fire on the French, of whom numbers were ſlain. The conteſt had laſted ſix hours, and the French had ſuffered ſo much, that they were on the point of retiring, when ſome of their boldeſt officers propoſed to attack, with their bayonets, a battery that had done great execution among them. The advice was followed; and the inſurgents, not expecting an attack of this kind, were in ſome meaſure taken unawares: they continued, however, to fight courageouſly, till, their artillery being carried, they were broken, and as many of them as could not effect a retreat were killed on the ſpot.

The French treated the inſurgents with great ſeverity: all the towns that joined the inſurrection were given up to the ſoldiers to be plundered; and thoſe that were not ſlain in battle were obliged to fly their country, to eſcape death. But, though the French ſucceeded in quelling their enemies, they paid dearly for their ſucceſs. The oppoſition to them was truly formidable, and their opponents fought like men who wanted only experience to cope with their conquerors, whoſe valour was in no inſtance ſuperior to their own, and who began, from this time, to look upon them as foes much more dangerous than they had found them heretofore.

In ſeveral of theſe inſurrections, the clergy diſplayed uncommon valour. Numbers of them headed the inſurgents, and ſome of them ſealed their cauſe with their blood. This ſilenced the calumnies of thoſe who had repreſented the eccleſiaſtical order as compoſed of men, who, ſpiritleſs themſelves, prompted others, by their diſcourſes, to expoſe themſelves, while they kept aloof from perilous ſcenes. Their undeniable intrepidity, on this occaſion, raiſed them deſervedly in the opinion of their adherents, and procured them more credit and influence than ever.

As ſoon as this great inſurrection was over, and the French began to look upon themſelves as ſafe, they reſolved to exerciſe ſo ſtriking a vengeance upon their adverſaries as ſhould effectually deter them from renewing all attempts of this nature. General Macdonald publiſhed two ſevere laws, by the firſt of which every individual was ſentenced to death, that ſtood convicted of having cauſed the late inſurrection, either by diſcourſes, or by falſe and alarming news; and by the ſecond, all the members of an aſſociation, known by the name of the company of the faith of Jeſus, were to be tried by a military court.

This opportunity was alſo taken, to publiſh a law paſſed for a forced loan. It was extremely oppreſſive. Individuals, poſſeſſing from three to ſix thouſand crowns a year, were taxed one-third of their income, annually; if poſſeſſing from ſix to ten thouſand, two-thirds; and if ten thouſand, the whole. A requiſition, ſo regardleſs of all meaſure, could not fail to excite the moſt vehement complaints. The beſt affected to the cauſe of the repub-

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lic reprobated it, as reducing decent families to indigence, and precluding them from the exercise of that munificence to the poor, which was imposed upon them by the law. But the French, and their partisans, were too intent upon raising money for their various exigencies, and too resolute to obtain it at any rate, to listen with deference to any dissuasions, especially while full of resentment at the losses they had experienced, of some of their best men, in the late insurrection.

Their suspicions were so strongly awakened by the many unprosperous occurrences they had met with in the course of that business, that the consuls themselves did not escape the charge of negligence or misconduct, and some of them were threatened with a dismissal. These disturbances had, in the mean while, produced such a stagnation of work, that the number of the indigent was multiplied, in town and country, to an amount that nearly threatened them with absolute famine. To prevent the consequences of reducing such multitudes to hunger, the government was obliged to provide a magazine of flour and corn in every quarter of the city, to be distributed to the poor at a very inferior price. But, though relieved in some measure, they did not forget the time when distributions were gratuitous, and when they could indulge their propensity to inaction, without danger of starving.

The submissive condition to which the people of Rome were now fallen, had extinguished all remains of consideration and regard for their opinion in the minds of their conquerors. The French, in the wantonness of power, impatient at the delay of the supplies of ammunition they had some time expected, provided themselves with bullets by melting down the leaden coffins in the tombs and church-vaults. The scandal excited, by thus irreverently stripping the dead, did them more prejudice than they seemed aware of. It was not merely viewed as a spoliation of the deceased, but as a sacrilegious violation of the sanctuary, under the protection of which they hoped to repose in peace.

The pretence alleged, by the French, for these indecencies, to give them the softest name, was, the immediate necessity of putting themselves in a posture of defence against the menaces of their enemies at the court of Naples, which had, through their instigation, manifested so much ill will to the friends of the French republic, that, not thinking themselves any longer safe in that kingdom, and in fact being ordered to quit it, they had emigrated to the territories of the Roman republic, to the amount of more than two thousand.

In consequence of these hostile appearances in Naples, the French troops at Rome took the field towards the frontiers of that kingdom, in order to afford protection to all their partisans, who might be expelled, and at the same time to keep in countenance those that remained. A great victory obtained by the British over the French fleet, on the coast of Egypt (of which we shall give an account in a subsequent chapter), had revived the spirits and hopes of their enemies, every where, especially in Italy, where those who, though subdued, had not adopted their prin-

ciples, were numerous in all the republics they had founded, and where the people of Naples, the only country they had not ſubjugated, were zealous in the intereſt of their ſovereign, and willing to ſecond his endeavours to reſiſt the French, or, if neceſſary, to take active meaſures againſt them.

Such, at this period, being the real ſituation of affairs in this part of Italy, the French were buſily employed in preparing to meet the ſtorm that was gathering, and which they conjectured would only be deferred until the requiſite arrangements had been made between the courts of Vienna and Naples, of which the hoſtile diſpoſitions were now manifeſt. The univerſal exultation expreſſed in thoſe two monarchies at the deſtruction of the French fleet by the Engliſh, and the honours paid every where to admiral Nelſon, ſufficiently indicated how cordially they rejoiced in his ſucceſs, and how warmly they were devoted to the cauſe in which he had conquered.

In order to counteract, by every means that could be deviſed, the anti-revolutionary ſpirit which their oppreſſive conduct began to diffuſe, they had recourſe to the ſame ſpecies of publications with which the violent republicans at Paris animated their partizans, and to the ſame ſort of theatrical repreſentations. The well-known tragedy of the Death of Cæſar, written by Voltaire, was acted with great magnificence on one of their ſolemn feſtivals, and no opportunities, either of this, or of a ſimilar nature, were omitted, that could infuſe republican ideas into the public mind.

Severe meaſures were, at the ſame time, exerciſed againſt their known or ſuſpected opponents. All the French emigrants, at Rome, were ſeized and impriſoned in the caſtle of St. Angelo, and deprived of the aſſiſtance they had hitherto derived from friendſhip or charity. Theſe hardſhips fell in a particular manner on the Italian eccleſiaſtics, who were looked upon by their countrymen in the French intereſt, no leſs than by the French themſelves, as the moſt irreconcilable and dangerous enemies to the new republic. For this reaſon they were ſingled out, every where, as the firſt objects of perſecution. A law was enacted, authorizing the conſuls to ſentence to tranſportation, into any place beyond ſea, which they might think proper, all individuals of the ſecular or the regular clergy, whom they conſidered as dangerous to the ſafety of the ſtate, or capable of endangering it, by their actions, their diſcourſes, or their opinions. Their property to be ſequeſtered, and remain out of their diſpoſal, till ſettled in the place of their baniſhment. In caſe of return to the territory of the republic, they were to be ſentenced to death by a military tribunal.

Another law was framed, by which benefices became national property, at the demiſe of the incumbents. In virtue of the ſpirit of this law, it was ordained, that penſions paid to eccleſiaſtics, or other exiles, ſhould, at their demiſe, become payable to the ſtate. This, it was obſerved, would affect, in the ſpeedieſt manner, that could have been contrived, the diſſolution of all the eccleſiaſtical orders, and leave no more than were indiſpenſably neceſſary for parochial functions. And this, indeed, was the very intention of the framers of this law.

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After providing, in this effective manner, for the total extinction of eccleſiaſtical power, the attention of the ruling powers, in conjunction with the French, was turned to the means of raiſing pecuniary ſupplies for the military, the ſervices of which, it was conjectured, would ſhortly be wanted in the conteſt expected with Naples. An edict was therefore framed, by which three millions of piaſters were placed in the hands of the conſuls, for the uſe of the army.

This expectation of hoſtilities, on the part of Naples, was reaſonably founded. General Mack had been diſpatched, by the imperial court, to organize the Neapolitan army on the Auſtrian plan, and was, at this time, exerting all his abilities and diligence to this purpoſe. As ſoon as this could be effected, it was believed that a declaration of war would iſſue from the court of Naples, which had made the greateſt efforts, and collected the largeſt army known in that kingdom for ages.

In all theſe preparations for war, and in all the meaſures and regulations adopted by the republican government of Rome, upon this, as well as every occaſion, it was evidently the paſſive inſtrument of France. Though ſufficiently inclined to another government than that of the pope, the popular party was deſirous to eſtabliſh one that ſhould embrace and ſatisfy all parties, and was particularly averſe to innovation in religious matters. The diminution of the eccleſiaſtical power excepted, little alteration had been intended by the party that ſought a revolution. It was therefore with the deep, but ſecret reſentment peculiar to the Italian diſpoſition, that the Romans felt the heavy hand that oppreſſed inſtead of eaſing them. Numbers, doubtleſs, had ſo far entered into French principles and plans, as to prefer them to all others; but a far greater majority diſapproved of them, and would have reſted at leſs than half way. But the fact was, that throughout the whole of the Roman revolution the French were abſolute dictators, as they had been every where on a ſimilar emergency. Their influence had been ſo carefully provided for in the preſent inſtance, that it was actually ſpecified in the conſtitutional inſtrument of government, that during the firſt ten years of the republic, the commander of the French forces, at Rome, ſhould poſſeſs a negative on all the proceedings of the government and legiſlature. This was a ſtretch of power, which the French had not exerciſed in the formation of any other ſtate. It was an affront that ſunk deep into the minds of the Romans, who naturally thought themſelves more competent to the management of their own affairs, than a nation of ſtrangers, ſo different from them in character, notions, habits, and a variety of other conſiderations. The principal object of the leading men in Rome, was, therefore, to free themſelves, without offending the French, from the unceaſing interference theſe aſſumed in all affairs, great and ſmall, to the juſt indignation of the former, to whom it ſoon became inſupportable. Such, however, was their judgement and ſagacity in obviating, or modifying, the precipitate meaſures purſued or recommended by the French, that in the general deſtruction or dilapidation effected by theſe, they found means to retain

tain ſome inſtitutions, which, though founded on ſuperſtition, were become eſſential reſources for the exigencies of the ſtate. The moſt conſiderable of theſe were the ſeveral offices from which the bulls and briefs, and the many other inſtruments of ſpiritual authority, had iſſued during ſo many ages. Theſe, and others of a ſimilar kind, were ſtill ſuffered to ſubſiſt, notwithſtanding the repugnance of the violent reformers. As their annual produce was computed at not leſs than three millions of French livres, this was a fund that prudence forbad to part with at a period of ſuch pecuniary ſcarcity. It was a happy circumſtance for Rome, that religious motives induced the catholic ſtates, in Europe, to continue their ſpiritual ſubjection to the papal ſee; the juriſdiction of which, though ſuſpended by temporary cauſes, they doubted not would recover its former exerciſe and influence. This perſuaſion, though derided by the French, and thoſe who adopted their principles, was of great efficacy in ſupplying many deficiencies, which muſt without it have occaſioned much private as well as public calamity. The ſale of conventual lands, with the ſuppreſſion and plunder of monaſteries and churches, had raiſed large ſums; but they were quickly conſumed by the exigencies of the ſtate, and ſtill more by the avidity of the French, who, like moſt other invaders, thought themſelves entitled, by the right of conqueſt, to diſpoſe of whatever they could lay their hands upon, and indiſcriminately ſeized every ſpecies of property.

While Rome, under the direction of France, was preparing to carry the revolutionary ſpirit into Naples, the unhappy Pius, driven from the pontifical throne into exile, was endeavouring, by the conſolations of religion, to reconcile himſelf to his deſtiny. He had, while head of the catholic church, diſplayed an attachment to exterior greatneſs, which induced the public to think that he would have been weighed down by misfortune, and have proved utterly unable to ſupport the fatal reverſe that befel him. But he met his trials with the decency of reſignation, if not with the ſpirit of fortitude, and by the unſhaken firmneſs of his conduct, intereſted all people in his ſufferings. Reduced to the private enjoyments of a tranquil life in the monaſtic retirement he had choſen, it is highly probable that he might have continued in a peaceable exiſtance ſeveral years longer, if the politics of France had permitted it. But the rancour of the French government ſeemed determined to perſecute him to the laſt moment he had to live. The meanneſs of the ancient Romans, in purſuing Hannibal through every country, wherein he took refuge, was not more deſpicable than the ſolicitude of the French, in expelling Pius from the retreats where he had hoped to have been left unmoleſted. Offended probably at the reverence ſhewn to his perſon, and the ſympathy manifeſted for his misfortunes, which appeared a tacit condemnation of their behaviour to him, they were determined to deprive the catholic princes of this opportunity of acting in contradiction to them.

He had eſcaped a remarkable danger in his retirement at Sienna. An earthquake threw down ſeveral buildings in the neighbourhood of that where he reſided, which was a convent, and received alſo ſome damage.

mage. From this place he removed to a Carthuſian monaſtary near Florence. Here he flattered himſelf that he ſhould end his days in peace, and chearfully expreſſed his expectation, that, after going through ſo many ſtorms, he ſhould here find a port at laſt.

It has been an object of ſpeculation, what motives prompted the government of France to diſturb the repoſe of an old man, incapable of giving them any cauſe of apprehenſion, and who, they well knew, was weary of public affairs, and ſincerely deſirous to paſs the remainder of his life in peace, and at a diſtance from the world. But the vain-glory of upholding their own determinations in preference, and in contempt, as it were, of the opinion of others, may have probably been the motive of the harſh treatment they inflicted on the pope.

Nor ought the ſubſerviency of the Roman catholic princes, on this occaſion, to paſs unnoticed or uncenſured. The grand duke of Tuſcany was wholly in their power, and cannot therefore be blamed for yielding to their mandates, in whatever related to the pope, or indeed to any other object: and yet it was not without a princely concern for the hard fate of the unfortunate pontiff, that he ſignified to him the neceſſity he was under to diſmiſs him from his dominions. The Imperial court was applied to for a place of refuge in his behalf; but, contrary to expectation, the requeſt was refuſed. The protection of Spain was next reſorted to, but with no better ſucceſs. The refuſal of a power, late ſo profoundly devoted to the Roman ſee, was a matter of aſtoniſhment to all Chriſtendom. Nothing, it was generally obſerved, could have more ſtrongly demonſtrated the fallen ſpirit of the Spaniſh monarchy, and its puſilanimous ſubmiſſion to the arbitrary mandates of the French republic.

After much wavering and conſultation, on the fitteſt place for his reſidence, it was at length determined to remove him to the iſland of Sardinia. Here he would be at a diſtance from all ſcenes of intrigue, and neither could take an active nor paſſive ſhare in the efforts of his adherents to reſtore him to his former power. Here, too, it ſeems, the French government was meditating to provide a place of baniſhment for another Italian prince, the very ſovereign of the iſland appointed for the reſidence of the pope.

Whether through grief at ſeeing himſelf the ſport of fortune in his latter days, or through the natural infirmities of age, Pius was at this period ſeized with a dangerous illneſs, which, it was thought, for ſome time, would have carried him to the grave. His removal now became impracticable, and the French government, unwilling to incur the imputation of having purpoſely abridged his days, left him for the preſent unmoleſted.

The perſonal ſufferings of a ſovereign, venerable by the rank he held among Chriſtian princes, and by his great age, and the patience with which he bore his calamities, had rendered him an object of reſpectful attention through all Europe. Both proteſtants and catholics united in commiſſerating his condition, and reprobating the unneceſſary and unfeeling ſeverity with which he was treated by an unpitying conqueror, and upon pretexts that were unjuſtifiable, as they were evidently unfounded.

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In this general ſenſe and compaſſion for his misfortunes, neither his religion nor his character interterfered. Pius VI. was not irreproachable in his public or in his private capacity; but adverſity had drawn a viel over his errors and treſpaſſes, and the courage with which he ſupported his fate gave him a dignity which he had not commended at the higheſt ſummit of his paſt elevation. In this light his fall was advantageous to him, as it procured him a reputation he would not have otherwiſe attained.

His reign, it has been ſaid, was a continued ſeries of miſtakes: but the truth was, that he reigned at a time when both his temporal and ſpiritual ſubjects were almoſt equally ungovernable, and when not only the authority of the Roman catholic church was ſhaken to its foundations, but when even the Chriſtian religion itſelf was called in queſtion, and aſſailed with more enmity and virulence than it had experienced in any former ages.

From the time that Pius mounted the papal throne, he may, without exaggeration, be ſaid to have ruled in a perpetual ſtorm. Hoſts of enemies aroſe on every ſide, and he was thwarted at home and abroad with much more obſtinacy than his predeceſſors. With abilities of an inferior claſs, he had almoſt inceſſantly to contend with difficulties of the higheſt: and the weapons that he uſed in the conteſt, had long been blunted and worn out; for ſuch certainly were the arguments and reaſonings he brought forward to ſupport his pontifical authority.

Inauſpiciouſly for the tranquillity of his people, as well as for his own, he was not at liberty to embrace a ſyſtem of neutrality in the agitations that followed the French revolution. He was bound, in duty to his ſpiritual character, to anathematiſe the proceedings that overturned the Gallican church. But it may juſtly be queſtioned, whether he ought in policy to have moved any farther, and whether, by abſtaining from interference in its civil concerns, and ſubmitting to the loſs of the inconſiderable territory which he poſſeſſed in France, he might not have ſecured the peace of the Roman ſee, and tranſmitted the papal dignity to others unmoleſted and undiminiſhed, together with the temporal power and dominions annexed to it, and which no potentate in Europe was inclined to leſſen.

It is chiefly for his conduct in this latter inſtance, that he has been cenſured. Others indeed have juſtified him on the principles of the coalition, to which he could not decently refuſe his concurrence againſt a people accuſed of aiming at a fundamental ſubverſion of all religion and government. But without entering into a diſcuſſion upon this ſubject, when it is conſidered, of how little weight the papal power was in the ſcale, that he had nothing to gain through the ſucceſs of the coalition, and, if it failed, he had all to loſe, which unfortunately proved the caſe, it would, conſiſtently with the plaineſt policy, have been more prudent to preſerve a neutrality that might evetually be beneficial to himſelf, than to act a part that could be of no utility to others.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

The French Syſtem introduced into the United Provinces.—State of Parties there.—Reaſonings in Favour of a Republican Conſtitution.—A Deed approving this, called the conſtitutional Teſt, ſubſcribed by great Numbers.—Among whom a Majority of the acting Legiſlature.—Which conſtitutes itſelf the ſole governing and legiſlative Power of the Batavian Nation.—All proviſional Governments or Juriſdictions aboliſhed.—And a Directory or Executive Government appointed.—Congratulations of the French Ambaſſador on this new Order of Things.—Which was alſo warmly approved by the generality of the Dutch Inhabitants of Cities.—Proclamations.—Repreſentations and Addreſſes henceforth confined to ſingle Individuals.—A ſevere Blow againſt Freedom.—And which Cauſes a juſt and general Alarm.—Conſequences in the late Changes in the Conſtitution of the Seven Provinces.—Oppreſſive Meaſures of the new Government.—This overturned.—And an Appeal made to the Repreſentatives of the Dutch People to be convened in a National Aſſembly.

AT the ſame time that the French republicans were employing force and intrigue to convert Switzerland, and the papal dominions into commonwealths upon their own plan, they were not leſs anxious to introduce it into the ſeven united provinces that now went by the name of Batavia. The two years, 1795 and 1796, had elapſed in ſucceſſive trials to frame a conſtitution acceptable to the natives: but this attempt was ſtrongly impeded by the long rooted attachment of numbers of them to the former ſyſtem, under which they had become the moſt thriving and proſperous people in Europe, and had figured, as a ſtate of the firſt conſideration, during the ſpace of two centuries; this proved an obſtacle that could not eaſily be removed from their minds. The diſmiſſion of the ſtadtholder from the official dignities ſo long in the poſſeſſion of his family, though acquieſced in by the majority, was not however a circumſtance of which the neceſſity appeared indiſpenſable to any but the French party. Previouſly to the revolution in France, the general opinion of the Dutch was, that the power and prerogatives annexed to that office ought to have been reduced within their ancient limits, but not aboliſhed. It was the deciſive part taken by the Stadtholder and his adherents in the coalition, that offended the popular party ſo much, as to incline them to favour, with equal deciſion, the cauſe of France; the depreſſion of which by its enemies, would not only confirm the power of the houſe of

Orange, but ſet it above all controul, and wholly fruſtrate the views of thoſe who ſought to diminiſh, though not to deſtroy it. But they were now reduced to make their option between the Stadtholder and the French; and they unfortunately preferred the latter, whom they unwiſely thought to conciliate as allies, but who became their abſolute maſters, and loaded them with a heavier yoke than they ever had, or could ever have experienced from the houſe of Orange.

Reflections of this kind were obvious to all impartial people, who ſtill conſtituted a large proportion of the inhabitants of the ſeven provinces. But as the favourers of the French, if not the plurality, were equal in numbers to thoſe who diſapproved of their principles and proceedings, and far ſuperior to them in reſolution and activity, the oppoſition they met was rather indirect than bold and open: the utmoſt it could do, was to retard and impede the progreſs of that ſyſtem which was to overthrow the ancient conſtitution of the ſeveral provinces. Theſe, by their long ſtanding, claimed a ſort of preſcriptive right, which was vigorouſly maintained by the moſt ancient and reſpectable families, in the poſſeſſion of whom the powers and the dignities in the reſpective provinces, that formed the union, had remained uninterruptedly for a long courſe of years. But this was the very reaſon that was urged againſt the continuance of thoſe conſtitutions, which partook too largely of ariſtocracies, to be ſuffered any longer to ſubſiſt. The democratic party complained, that, by perpetuating the fœdal government, its abuſes would alſo remain; and though elections might take place, yet the intereſt and influence of a long ſettled olygarchy, excluſively exerciſing provincial authorities, would with facility accumulate the votes of the multitudes within their diſtricts. The only real baſis of a free conſtitution was therefore to throw thoſe different parts of the Dutch confederation into one.—Hereby the intereſts of all would be conſolidated, and the people no longer divided by local and ſeparate conſiderations. After a multiplicity of debates, the convention that had been aſſembled, to frame a conſtitution; ſeparated without coming to a deciſion. It was replaced by a meeting of delegates, in whom the legiſlative power was proviſionally veſted. But notwithſtanding that they were poſſeſſed of a conſiderable degree of popularity, they were intermixed with ſome individuals, who formed a powerful oppoſition to the meaſures they had in contemplation, and who ſeemed reſolved to make a ſtand againſt the alterations ultimately projected by the ruling majority.

As theſe alterations coincided with the diſpoſitions and wiſhes of that party which was moſt intimately connected with the French, and relied upon its ſupport in caſe of an emergency, they more openly recommended as proper to be adopted, and the oppoſers of them were ſpoken of with diſapprobation and enmity.

It was with ſecret pleaſure the French government beheld the determination of its partiſans in Holland, to conduct matters to the ſame iſſue at which they had arrived in ſo many other places. The politics and vanity of the French, were equally gratified by the tranſactions of this kind which they were ſo indefatigable

fatigable in promoting. Europe hereby gradually aſſumed the ſtyle and manners of France, and was taught to look upon this imitation as conducive to its intereſt: and thoſe who thought otherwiſe were ſilenced by the dread of thoſe violent factions, to which the French conſigned the ſovereign power every where under their own immediate direction.

The phlegmatic temper of the Dutch is proverbial, but then it operates only in the ordinary occurrences of life: when worked upon by uncommon motives, they are liable to great warmth, and act with aſtoniſhing violence. Never did the Dutch more ſtrongly verify, than at this period, the character ſo often aſcribed to them. Actuated by the ſecret emiſſaries of France, and rouzed by their repreſentations of the treacherous deſigns that were forming againſt them, the Dutch republicans came to a concluſive determination to put an end to the delays that procraſtinated the eſtabliſhment of a conſtitution, and to heſitate no longer in fixing upon ſuch an one, as ſhould unite the inhabitants of the ſeven provinces into one people, by uniting the diſferent parts of the republic into one ſtate or country.

The attempts, hitherto made to form a new conſtitution, originated, they ſaid, in private ambition. It was the concerted ſcheme of a patrician faction, aiming to place on the ſhattered throne of the ſtadtholder, an aſſemblage of particular families, which, under the pretence of a democratic repreſentation, would exerciſe the powers of that abrogated office, in conjunction with thoſe they would derive from a pretended election by the free voice of the people, but in reality limited by artifice and corruption, to perſons only of their own claſs. For, of ſuch unavoidably muſt every choice conſiſt, while made under the plenitude of that power, which muſt neceſſarily remain in the hands of men whoſe official ſituations would keep every elector in awe.

They farther accuſed the fœderaliſts, as they called them, of ſiding explicitly with the adherents of the proſcribed government, and of ill-treating well known patriots, for daring to expoſe their intrigues. They ſought, by various obſtacles, to prevent the organization of the national militia, in order to weaken the ſtate, and lay it open to foreign attacks. The trade with England was connived at, in defiance of the the law, and to the manifeſt detriment of the common cauſe. The intereſt of England was preferably conſulted to that of either France or Holland. A ſacrifice had been made to that capital enemy, of the remaining naval ſtrength of the republic, and it was with repugnance that any pains were taken to repair its loſſes, and to replace it on a footing of reſpectability.

It was time, they ſaid, to riſe, as their friends and deliverers, the French, had done in their own country, againſt the concealed efforts of a treacherous faction, that ſought to blunt the edge of the public ſpirit, and to diſcourage the efforts of the patriotic party. They had withheld, during three years, the ſettlement of the republic, in hope of ſome opportunity of overturning it, before it had acquired a maturity of vigour; and of calling in the aſſiſtance of ſome new coalition againſt France and its allies. It was therefore incumbent on all the friends of their country, to run

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no farther risk by imprudent delays, but to proceed at once to a firm establishment of a republican constitution, without consulting any but the real and avowed friends of freedom.

This was the language held by the violent partizans of French measures, during the space that elapsed between the victory of admiral Duncan, and the period fixed upon to bring forward the business to which that language was to serve as a prelude. When the principal agents in this business had sufficiently matured the scheme, they proceeded to collect the signatures of all that agreed in the fundamental articles of the constitution they had in view, and of the provisional arrangements that were to precede it. The act to be thus signed, was called the constitutional test, and it soon was subscribed by great numbers. Among these were the majority of the acting legislature, which, indeed, was at the head of the designs in agitation.

As soon as these were deemed ripe for execution, the president of the legislature convoked it early on the morning of the twenty-second of January, 1798. Here it was immediately resolved to put under arrest the six commissioners of foreign relations, and to annul their commissions. These, with twenty-one members of the legislature, who were also arrested, it was thought necessary to secure, as being the heads of the opposition to the measures intended. After taking this step, the legislative body proceeded to the discharge of the order for calling together the national assembly, and constituted itself the sole governing and legislating power of the Batavian nation. All provincial governments and jurisdictions were abrogated, and an executive government, or directory, was then appointed, to consist of five members, who were to receive their nomination and general instructions from the legislative body. All the committees established by the national assembly were dissolved, and replaced by others.

The French ambassador, who was in the mean time formally apprised of these transactions, repaired to the assembly, to offer his congratulations upon what they had done, and to signify with how much approbation it would meet from the government in France. The ministers of the foreign powers, in amity with the French and Batavian republics, received formal notice of the new order of things that had taken place, and Delacroix celebrated it by a sumptuous festival, to which they were all invited, together with the principal ruling members of the Batavian republic.

In the various speeches that were interchanged upon this occasion between them and the French minister, particular care was taken to introduce the subject of English tyranny upon the seas, and to invite all nations to make a common cause in resisting it with the utmost vigor and unanimity.

This great change in the affairs of the seven provinces was warmly approved by the generality of the burghers. The particular independence of every province had always occasioned differences among them all, whenever any proposal had been made not evidently beneficial to every one. The landed possessions of the ancient families, and their almost exclusive enjoyment of all places of power and profit, had long excited

excited the jealouſy of the other claſſes, notwithſtanding the moderation with which the former had always enjoyed their ſuperiority and exerciſed their power. The commonality, indeed, were much leſs inclined to them than to the ſtadtholder himſelf; and it was chiefly among the people at large that this prince counted his warmeſt adherents.

In the proclamations that were iſſued to the public, by the authors of thoſe changes, it was eaſy to trace the genius that dictated them. They were evidently framed on the plans, adopted by the chief agents in the changes of this nature, that had taken place in France. A circumſtance ſtrongly prominent in both, was, the peculiar anxiety manifeſted by the people in power, to engroſs it as much as poſſible to themſelves, and to obviate all public cenſures and expreſſions of diſcontent at their proceedings. In the proclamation, publiſhed on the twenty-ſecond of January, immediately on the aſſumption of ſupreme power, by the national delegates, a clauſe was inſerted, ſtrictly forbidding the inhabitants of provinces, diſtricts, towns, or any places, to make remonſtrances, or preſent petitions, in their united or corporate capacity, either to the legiſlative body, or to the executive directory. Repreſentations and addreſſes were henceforth confined to ſingle individuals.

This, by the impartial public, was deemed the ſevereſt blow that could be given to civil liberty. The precedent ſet up by the French, inſtead of claiming imitation, ought carefully to have been avoided. The ſpirit of public liberty could only ſubſiſt by a public communication of ideas, and the unreſtrained expoſition of them to the world, by united bodies of citizens, freely met to manifeſt their ſentiments reciprocally to each other. This alone could give weight to them. The beſt advice, alone, and unſupported by the concurrence of others, fell unnoticed before the pride and arrogance of men inveſted with official power; but when it became the voice of many reſpectable characters, the moſt haughty and preſumptuous would liſten to it, however reluctantly; and the fear of offending the public would compel them to receive it with deference.

This tyrannical clauſe, it was ſaid, decided at once the futility of all pretenſions to greater freedom in a democratical inſtitution that admitted it, than in a monarchy. The French, and now the Batavian, republic had impoſed effectual ſilence on the public voice, which was the firſt ſtep to ſtifle the private liberty of opinion, on which alone, however, liberty of every kind was founded. In England, the right of conferring together, and of addreſſing the king, or the legiſlature, in an united and corporate capacity, was legally ſecured to citizens lawfully aſſembled; until, indeed, it was ſhackled and impaired, though it is to be hoped only for a time, by the two noted acts of 1796: a prerogative evidently denied, by this reſtricting clauſe, both to the French and to the Batavians, notwithſtanding their boaſt of a commonwealth, unfettered by deſpotic regulation.

Such were the judgements paſſed in Holland upon this reſtriction, as they had already been paſſed upon the ſimilar reſtrictions that had preceded it in France, and from which it

it had been copied. It conſiderably leſſened the popularity of the meaſures that had been adopted, and increaſed the number of thoſe who had long beheld the entrance of the French into the ſeven provinces as the greateſt calamity that had befallen them, ſince the expulſion of the Spaniards, and the eſtabliſhment of the federal union.

The moſt fortunate circumſtance attending it, was, that it occaſioned no effuſion of blood. To do juſtice to its authors and promoters, they conducted themſelves, throughout the whole buſineſs, with remarkable lenity to their opponents. None of theſe experienced any ſeverer treatment than the diſmiſſion from office and power, and a temporary confinement, which terminated with the ſettlement of the new order of things.

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In the mean time, the conſequences of the great changes, operated in January, began to appear. As thoſe from whom they had proceeded, though not ſanguinary in their proceedings, were determined to exclude from office and power all who did not ſtrictly and implicitly profeſs their principles; and, as they carried this determination into rigorous practice, they ſoon created numerous enemies, and theſe reſolved to exert all their intereſt and activity to ouſt them, as they had done their opponents.

The party that had ſeized the ſovereign power, and exerciſed it in this partial and arbitrary manner, was the counterpart of the jacobin faction in France, which it reſembled in every particular, cruelty excepted. It expelled from their places a number of meritorious characters, and ſubſtituted others of ill or doubtful fame, and whoſe only title to preferment was, ſimilitude of opinions, or devotion to their views. Men that had been ſentenced to baniſhment, for criminal practices, were allowed to return, if of their party, without calling them to account; while an official ſcrutiny was eſtabliſhed that made the moſt perplexing and vexatious inquiries into the conduct of all thoſe who were obnoxious to them. The reign of terroriſm, that had filled France with ſo much calamity, was renewed in Holland, and ſpread alarm and anxiety through that part of the public which diſapproved of their oppreſſive proceedings: proceedings which, unhappily, were patronized by a majority of the legiſlative body, and of the executive directory. Several members that had been expelled from the legiſlature, by thoſe who now engroſſed it, were, by a ſolemn decree, declared to have forfeited the confidence of their fellow-citizens, though well known as the conſtant, zealous, and long-tried, friends to the popular cauſe, for no other reaſon than having refuſed to concur with the ruling party, in its aſſumption of legiſlative power, without conſulting their conſtituents. Under pretence of ſecuring the public tranquillity, peaceable and innoxious citizens were moleſted; the privacy of families was invaded; and the freedom of converſation obſtructed, by the ſiniſter interpretation of words and behaviour in thoſe who did not eſpouſe with violence the cauſe of the ruling party.

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decree, on the fourth of May, by which it declared itſelf the legiſlative body of the Batavian republic; thus depriving the people of the election of their legiſlators, without which there can be no republican government. This was ſo manifeſt a violation of popular rights, that it was loudly reprobated by the generality, as a meaſure which no reaſon of ſtate, nor any pretence, could juſtify. It did more prejudice to the ruling party, and raiſed them more enemies, than any preceding or ſubſequent act of their adminiſtration.

This conduct, though neither popular nor ſecure, was countenanced by the French ambaſſador, Delacroix, hitherto eſteemed a prudent and cautious man. But it was no leſs poſitively reprobated by general Daendels, a man of a bold and reſolute diſpoſition, and who explicitly ſignified his determination to oppoſe the meaſures of the ruling party, as contrary to the very nature of a commonwealth, of which he profeſſed himſelf a decided partizan. He engaged in conſtant altercations with them, on account of their virulent publications againſt all who differed from their opinions, and of the feuds and diviſions among the people, to which theſe and other parts of their conduct had given riſe. He quarrelled with Delacroix for abetting their proceedings, which he repreſented as diſorderly and unconſtitutional, and tending to detach the Batavian people from the republican conſtitution they had accepted, and from their connection with France, as having occaſioned all the confuſions under which they now laboured.

General Daendels was a man of importance, both by his perſonal character and the poſt he held in the Batavian republic; which was that of commander-in-chief of the French troops in its ſervice, or, to ſpeak with more propriety, ſtationed in the ſeven provinces to keep them in ſubjection to France. In this light, he thought himſelf entitled to rebuke the French ambaſſador, for alienating them, by his conduct, from France; their attachment to which, could only be ſecured by providing for their internal tranquillity, and procuring the ſpeedy ſettlement of a free and equitable conſtitution.

Delacroix, who conſidered himſelf in a ſuperior ſtation to that of Daendels, paid no regard to his repreſentations, which he treated as unfounded; and threatened, at the ſame time, to denounce him to the French directory, as interfering with matters out of his province. But Daendels was too firm and ſteady in his purpoſe to be intimidated: he went to Paris, and laid his information before the directory with ſo much force and addreſs, that he obtained their intire approbation of his conduct. The French government, however eccentric and irregular itſelf, did not think it ſafe to permit the like deviations in others, from the line of conduct marked out for their obſervance. Though willing to grant them independence to a certain extent, this was not to exceed the ſtricteſt ſubordination to the intereſt and influence of France. It was, therefore, with the utmoſt diſſatisfaction it beheld this aſſumption of power in the different parties that had alternately ruled in the ſeven provinces, the inhabitants of which it wiſhed to conciliate, by giving them a conſtitution that ſhould ſeem the work of their own hands,

hands, ſanctioned by their acceptance, and confirmed by a due ſettlement. Good policy required, therefore, that they ſhould not remain in a ſtate of fluctuation, between the projects of the parties that were contending for their particular ſyſtems of government, but that theſe parties ſhould be reſtrained to a conformity with the directions they received from France.

Armed with this determination of the directory, general Daendels returned to Holland, fully reſolved to carry it into execution: but he found that advantage had been taken of his abſence, to bring a charge againſt him of deſertion from his poſt, with an intent to puniſh him with the utmoſt ſeverity. He felt the temerity of the Dutch in pretending to treat in this manner an officer no ways dependent upon them, and who was, in fact, commiſſioned to watch over their own conduct, and keep them in awe. Stung with reſentment and indignation, he did not heſitate a moment how to act. He aſſembled the principal of the diſcontented party, and having concerted meaſures with them, he proceeded, at the head of two companies of grenadiers, to the palace of the Dutch directory. Two of them, being informed of his intentions, made their eſcape, one was ſeized, and the other two reſigned their ſituations, as total ſtrangers to the deſigns of the other three. Delacroix was alſo arreſted, and ſent to France, where his conduct was wholly diſapproved, and himſelf diſgraced, and diſmiſſed from employment.

Delivered from his antagoniſts, general Daendels, and his aſſociates, aſſumed the government into their own hands, declaring their power proviſional, and to laſt no longer than till a national repreſentation could be aſſembled, to which the intire authority of the ſtate ſhould immediately devolve, and the regulation of all affairs be wholly ſubmitted. A proclamation was then iſſued to explain and juſtify the preſent tranſaction, and to apprize the public of the intentions above ſpecified.

CHAP. VII.

Vaſt Conqueſts and formidable Poſition of France in the Middle of 1798.—*And Deſigns of farther Aggrandizement.—Cauſe and Effects of the Enthuſiaſm of the French—And alſo of the high Spirit of the Engliſh.—Singular Method of injuring Sovereigns with their People, practiſed by the French Directory.—Duplicity and Perfidy of the French.—Boldneſs and Deciſion with which they propagate and predict the Succeſs of their political Maxims.—Circumſtances favourable to the Admiſſion of theſe.—Sedulouſneſs of the Directory to find out and employ in their Service, and their Liberality in rewarding, Men of Capicity in their own and other Countries.—Their Conduct, in this Reſpect, contraſted with that of other Countries.—Inſtability of the French Syſtems of Government.—Different Views and Principles of Conduct towards Crowned Heads adopted by different Parties.—All this Uncertainty an Objection to any Treaty for Peace on the Part of the principal Members of the Coalition.—As little Confidence, on the Part of the Rulers of France, in the coaleſced Princes.—No probable Proſpect, therefore, of Peace.—Though this ineſtimable Bleſſing ſighed for by both the French and Engliſh Nations.—General Complaints againſt the late Invaſion, on the Fourth of September,* 1797, *of the Republican Conſtitution.—The Party of the Royaliſts, though concealed, ſtill numerous in France—Continued Recriminations between the French and their Enemies.—Both Parties, in the Midſt of pacific Profeſſions, uniformly intent on hoſtile Plans.—French Influence and Tenets propoſed to be extended to Spain.—And a Paſſage to be demanded through Spain into Portugal.—Whether would it have been better for the Powers at War with France to perſevere in Arms at all Riſks, or to induce the French, by Negociations and Treaties, to return to peaceful Occupations?—The Spirit of the French Rulers raiſed to the higheſt Pitch of Pride and Arrogance.—Their affected Imitation of the Stateline ſs and conciſe and peremptory Style of the ancient Romans.—The Succeſſes, and high Appellations beſtowed by the Directory on the French Nation gratifying to the natural Vanity of the People.—And afford a very ſenſible Conſolation to them under multiplied Hardſhips and Sufferings.—The Attachment of the French to their new Government farther courted by the Sale of Eſtates.—The general State of the great Maſs of the French Nation.—The Policy and Plans of the two great Parties into which it was divided.*

THE French revolution had now produced a total change in the political ſituation of all its continental neighbours. Spain, though not actually conquered, had been reduced, by the victorious arms of France,

France, to accept of a peace dictated by the victors, and was now become, in fact, a province of the French republic, profoundly ſubſervient to its deſigns, and not daring to adopt any councils of its own formation. The ſeventeen provinces of the low countries, once the moſt flouriſhing and important part of Europe, were annexed to France partly by incorporation, and partly by an alliance, which, under the name of an independent republic, had eſtabliſhed the abſolute dominion of France. Switzerland, a country long reputed invincible, through the ſtrength of its natural means of defence, and the courage of its inhabitants, had been ſubdued by artifice and deception. Italy, ſtyled by the natives, the burying-ground of the French armies, had been the ſcene of their moſt aſtoniſhing victories, and of the moſt unexpected revolutions. Torn from the houſe of Auſtria, the ſpacious and fertile provinces of Lombardy had been erected into a nominal republic, under the protection, or, in more proper words, under the controul, of France. The long ſubſiſting ariſtocracies of Venice and Genoa had been completely annihilated: the former of theſe was become the mutilated victim of French and Auſtrian rapacity, which had divided it in nearly equal ſhares: the latter, together with a democratical government, had aſſumed the title of the commonwealth of Liguria, though, by its proximity and inceſſant relations with France, it was in reality its outpoſt in Italy; and, through its incapacity to reſiſt this powerful neighbour, was now the main channel of its operations in that country. The acquiſition of the papal dominions, under the ſplendid pretence of reviving the ancient republic of Rome, had increaſed the power of France to a degree that made it irreſiſtible to the remaining potentates in Italy. Two of theſe, the king of Sardinia, and the duke of Tuſcany, hardly retained the ſemblance of ſovereigns; and the king of Naples ſtood on the moſt uncertain and precarious ground.

Such was the truly formidable and alarming poſition of France, in the middle of 1798. It had, in the fore part of the year, added Rome and Switzerland to its conqueſts, and was at preſent buſily occupied in organizing them on a plan that ſhould ſecure their future dependence, and render them uſeful to its farther deſigns.

What theſe were, was no matter of doubt in the political world.—The unparalleled ſucceſs of their arms had equally elated the French, and broken the ſpirit of moſt of their enemies. The partiſans of the French republic alleged its victories as an irrefragable proof of the ſuperiority of a republican government to all others; and this allegation, ſupported by their ſucceſs, had made a profound impreſſion upon the European nations. However deſirous of peace, and willing to ſubmit to the forms of government eſtabliſhed among them, numbers began to think, with the French, that the enthuſiaſm inſpired by a perſuaſion of being free, added a vigour and elevation to the mind which a ſtate of paſſive ſubjection could never reach. This perſuaſion, whether well or ill founded, was obviouſly the principal cauſe that rendered the French ſoldiers ſo intrepid and daring, and gave them ſo many advantages over the

troops of the princes that had ſo vainly contended with them. The French were not certainly better tacticians, nor braver men, than the Germans. Previouſly to the revolution, theſe were held their ſuperiors in war. Their officers were reputed more experienced, and their ſoldiers better diſciplined, and not leſs brave. But experience, diſcipline, and bravery, had been conſtantly foiled by the French, and had not been able, even at the commencement of the conteſt, to ſtand before the impetuous and deſperate valour of the republican armies.

Theſe conſiderations were deeply mortifying to the courts of Europe. It was in vain alleged, that Great Britain, a monarchy, ſtood unconquered and unintimidated. The anſwer was, that the Engliſh were in as high a perſuaſion of their freedom as the French. The only difference between them was, that the latter had but newly acquired it, whereas it was of long ſtanding with the former. An ancient rivalſhip alſo ſubſiſted between theſe two nations, which had been marked by many ſplendid events, on the ſide of England. Though a leſs numerous people than the French, their glory was equal, and in ſome reſpects ſuperior to that of this mighty nation, which, with the unremitting efforts of a whole century, had never been able to attain a parity of commerce, opulence, and maritime importance, with Great Britain, of which it ſtood in more dread than of any other power. Theſe were deep-rooted motives of pride in Engliſhmen, and perpetually animated them to feats of the moſt obſtinate valour, in their daily recurring conteſts at ſea with this inveterate enemy. A ſtyle of defiance, and a confidence of ſucceſs, were traditional among the Engliſh, who never met him in battle without a firm expectation of victory, and ſeldom had been diſappointed.

Thus the relations between the Engliſh and the French were very different from what they were between theſe and other nations.—Hence aroſe the rancour and animoſity which filled the diſcourſes ſo frequently pronounced againſt England by the rulers of France. It was with inextinguiſhable rage they beheld the ſpirit and ſtrength of this country continually exerted in obſtructing their deſigns and ſetting bounds to their ambition. It was a ſingular mortification to an ardent and ſelf-confident people, who had compelled all the members of the coalition to bow before them, that the Engliſh not only held out themſelves, but inſpirited the whole continent by their example, and, through their aid, to imitate their invincible perſeverance in oppoſing them.

While this undeſponding ſpirit ſubſiſted, the French government was conſcious that it would meet the moſt arduous, if not inſurmountable difficulties, in the accompliſhment of its projects. Theſe were illimitably extenſive. Nothing leſs than the revolutionizing all that part of the empire which bordered on the Rhine was in their conceptions, and almoſt in their immediate hope. Several trials had been made to this purpoſe; and the diſpoſition of the people inhabiting theſe parts had been ſounded by ſome of their experteſt agents. The circles of Suabia, and the palatinate, had been traverſed by the boldeſt and moſt adventurous

venturous of theſe. They had been diſcovered and ſeized, and papers found upon them, proving their connection with the directory.

Among other methods of injuring ſovereigns with their people, they inveſted with diplomatic characters ſome of the moſt violent and outrageouſly-diſpoſed individuals in the civil or military departments.—General Bernadotte, whom they ſent ambaſſador to Vienna, after the peace of Campo Formio, was a man peculiarly calculated to infuſe malevolence and diſcontent among the Auſtrian ſoldiery. He had been a private himſelf, and riſen by his courage and military talents to the ſtation he now filled. Of this he was particularly ſolicitous to ſpread the information among the imperial troops, and to let them know, that it was only ſince the revolution, that men of courage and capacity had a chance of being promoted, without reference to birth and titles. The intent of ſuch a ſurmiſe was obvious, and could not fail to make the deſigned impreſſion on the minds of aſpiring and reſolute men, determined to better their condition at all events.

An audacious behaviour in their agents, at foreign courts, never failed of encouragement and reward. The well-known Trouvé, a man of abilities, but of a licentious and turbulent ſpirit, for having obſtinately refuſed to uncover himſelf before the king of Naples, upon a particular occaſion, was not only commended for his conduct, but appointed miniſter plenipotentiary at the Ciſalpine republic.

Their duplicity at this period was equally inſtrumental, in the promotion of their views, with force and violence. After ſettling the terms of pacification with the king of Sardinia, he was ſolemnly promiſed the ſincere and cordial friendſhip of France, while general Brune, who commanded in Lombardy, was clandeſtinely diſpatching emiſſaries into Piedmont, in order to diſſeminate revolutionary principles among his ſubjects; and while Sottin, the French miniſter at the Ligurian republic, was privately encouraging the Piedmonteſe to revolt againſt him; and exciting the Genoeſe to attack his territories.

The ſame machinations were practiſed in Tuſcany, where the country was filled with concealed propagators of rebellious doctrines, while the duke received the moſt flattering aſſurances of the readineſs of the directory to ſupport him, in maintaining his authority and ſuppreſſing all inſurrections.

In theſe various miſſions, ſome of the moſt notorious actors in the revolution were employed. None acquitted themſelves with more zeal and fidelity, in the propagation of republicaniſm, than the jacobins: active, and indefatigable, they induſtriouſly ſeized every opportunity to recommend the ſubverſion of all governments repugnant to that eſtabliſhed in France, which they confidently repreſented as deſtined, in the courſe of things, ultimately to take place of all others. Thus they ſcrupled not to predict, that ſoon or late, and ſooner than was expected by thoſe who did not conſult the progreſs of revolutionary ideas, commonwealths would infallibly ariſe on the ruins of the preſent monarchies, and that all Europe would infallibly be republicanized, in deſpite of the oppoſition of princes, and of thoſe orders of men that were

were intereſted in ſupporting them. Theſe orders they repreſented as ſo evidently hoſtile to the common intereſts of ſociety, that they would not be able to maintain their exiſtence much longer, in the enlightened ſtate at which that part of the public was arrived, in whom the deciſion of the great queſtions, now agitated, manifeſtly lay. Force, and the dread of puniſhment, would doubtleſs retard awhile theſe revolutions, but, as they were already operating in the minds of men, they would certainly force their way through all the intervening obſtacles contrived by public authority. This depending alſo upon opinion, which was declaring gradually in favour of their opponents, theſe would become ſo numerous and powerful, that it would be found the ſafeſt policy to go over to them.

Such were the notions advanced by the agents of the French government. They maintained them with that warmth and confidence which characterize the French beyond all other men. The boldneſs and deciſion with which they inſiſted upon the truth and equity of their maxims, made a ſtrong impreſſion upon thoſe multitudes that were at variance with their rulers, on account of either real or ſuppoſed miſmanagement. Nor is it in the leaſt ſurpriſing, that, many of theſe maxims, being founded on the cleareſt juſtice, their popularity ſhould ſecure the favourable reception of the others, which, though not leſs true in ſome reſpects, required more diſcrimination in the acceptance of them, and more diſcernment in their uſe and application, than fall to the generality of thoſe to whom they were addreſſed, and to whoſe expectations they held out ſuch bright promiſes, that they were deemed fully deſerving of a trial.

A circumſtance that argued highly in their favour, was that they were oppoſed, principally, by thoſe that were to be the loſers through their admiſſion. The oppoſition of ſuch adverſaries was conſidered as perſonal and intereſted, and for that reaſon carried no weight, as not proceeding from conviction of its rectitude. Another circumſtance, not leſs, if not indeed much more impreſſive in favour of theſe maxims, was, that they were eagerly embraced, and ſupported with the utmoſt fervour, by great numbers of reſpectable individuals, equally noted for their ſenſe and probity, as well as by perſons conſpicuous for genius and learning. Nor could it be denied that ſeveral of the authors and promoters of the revolution itſelf were men of this deſcription.

When all theſe circumſtances were laid together; when it was recollected, that one of the moſt virtuous and patriotic monarchs upon the continent, the late unfortunate Staniſlaus, king of Poland, ſo far approved of the American and the French revolutions, as to ſelect out of the conſtitutions to which they had given birth, one that all the judicious and impartial pronounced excellently adapted to the kingdom, of which he had been elected the ſovereign, principally on account of his perſonal worth and high character:—when all theſe conſiderations were brought forward, it ſurely could excite no wonder, that the advocates of the French revolution ſhould extol it

as a meritorious event, and that thoſe who pleaded the neceſſity of converting the French monarchy into a republic ſhould meet with numerous approvers, as they alleged that all had been retained of the theory and practice graſted upon the revolution, excepting the regal office, and that even this was ſtill exerciſed in a manner which was judged, by the majority, more conſiſtent with the ſafety of national freedom, than when it was veſted in the hands of one perſon.

With ſuch allegations in their mouths, and with that prepoſſeſſion in their favour, which naturally aroſe from the moſt brilliant exploits, the champions of revolutionary and republican principles, would probably, in the opinion of their employers, carry them triumphant through that vaſt portion of human ſociety, which, having little or nothing to loſe, is never averſe to the trying of experiments to ameliorate its ſituation. The numbers coming under this deſcription, being much larger than uſually ſuſpected, the proſelytes gained by the emiſſaries of France, would of courſe be far more numerous than was imagined by the adverſaries of theſe principles, who being commonly people of a contented and pacific diſpoſition, and inimical to innovations, or having no reaſon to be diſſatisfied with their condition, were ſtrangers to the infinity of motives that render men deſirous of changes, and willing to run the riſk of any that offer, however hazardous in the proſpect.

Theſe poſitions were familiarly known, through long experience, to the principal revolutioniſts in France, who were, originally, men of deſperate, or of narrow fortunes, and intimately converſant with thoſe multifarious ways and means of combating with difficulties in private life, that neceſſity ſo often impoſes upon men of parts who happen to be pinched in their circumſtances. Bred in the intrigues and corruption of the capitol, they beheld, with the livelieſt ſatisfaction, ſuch an opportunity of making a figure in the great world, and of arriving at the moſt ſplendid ſituations, as that which was offered them by the revolution. They became, therefore, its moſt determined partiſans, and experimentally conſcious how many individuals there were in all countries, preciſely in the ſituation wherein the revolution had found them, they reſolved to truſt to theſe for the accompliſhment of the ſchemes they had in contemplation. Hence aroſe their confidence, that their emiſſaries would meet every where with friends and promoters in thoſe perſons of characters ſimilar to their own, that abounded in every part of Europe, and eſpecially in the ſeats of government, where the chief buſineſs of their agents lay.

Another engine of directorial policy, was the acquiſition, at any price, of perſons of abilities, in the courts of foreign princes. Their liberality was ſuch, on theſe occaſions, that they never failed to ſucceed. There was, at this period, at Vienna, a man intimately connected with the imperial miniſtry, and who was wholly at their devotion. Being a ſecret jacobin, he exerted himſelf, with great zeal, and no little ſucceſs, in ſpreading his opinions indirectly, and with an adroitneſs that effectually ſhielded him from diſcovery.

covery. So profoundly was the ſecret kept, that it was never detected at the imperial court.

But it was not only here that they had agents of this character. The profuſion with which they recompenſed ſervices of this nature, and the readineſs, for various reaſons, of individuals of capacity to embrace their opinions, and act in their cauſe, had procured them adherents in every court upon the continent. A variety of paſſions militated in their favour; avarice, ambition, jealouſy, diſcontent. Thoſe who reſiſted the one, were not proof againſt the other; and princes, with all their precautions, were liable to be led aſtray by the ableſt and moſt faithful of thoſe whom they truſted, through the ill-placed confidence of theſe in perſons who betrayed them.

Thus, without ſtraining the point, it might be truly affirmed, that as France was governed, at this time, by the moſt artful and dextrous of its own people, men who, having waded through many viciſſitudes, were acquainted with all the ſcenes and tranſactions of private and public life, the French miniſters were naturally an over match in the ſcience of intrigue and circumvention, to their adverſaries who preſided over affairs in foreign parts, eſpecially as theſe had not only to encounter the artifice and dexterity of the French, but of thoſe individuals among themſelves, who, from ſeveral cauſes, were attached to the politics of France.

Such was the relative ſituation between France and its enemies at this epocha. On the one ſide men profoundly verſed in all kind of experience; on the other, men preferred to high ſtations in the ſtate, according to the long ſtanding uſages of birth and family. The organization of armies was no leſs oppoſite on either ſide: military talents and merit deciding all promotions on the one, rank and title being almoſt the only road to promotion on the other.

A particular, not leſs deſerving of conſideration, was the inſtability of the ſyſtems of government ſo frequently ſucceeding each other in France. Though they all agreed in their enmity to the powers that formed the coalition, they differed in their opinions in what manner to act with them. Every ſyſtem introducing new men into power, their politics were uſually different, ſome being determined to admit of no treaty with a crowned head, which of courſe implied the deſtruction of every monarchy; others being willing to grant peace to thoſe princes that ſubmitted to their own terms.

This uncertainty reſpecting the views of thoſe who might, in the courſe of ſo many ſucceſſive changes, happen to govern the affairs of the republic, was a ſtrong objection to treat with them on the part of the principal member of the coalition. Convinced of the implacable hatred of the French to England, that member, which had, from its firſt formation, been the chief ſupport of the European league of kings againſt France, could not be prevailed upon to truſt a people on which it had inflicted ſuch ſevere wounds, and which had, repeatedly, vowed inexorable vengeance, when it ſeriouſly reflected on the precarious ſituation of thoſe with whom it might conclude a pacifica-

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tion. This it was clear, might, in the lapſe of a very ſhort ſpace, be diſavowed and broken by any party that ouſted them that made it, and ſucceeded to their power, on the pretext of their having made a treaty contrary to the ſenſe and intereſt of the nation.

Though the ſame apprehenſions were not explicitly acknowledged by the other members of the coalition, they were not without them. Neceſſity alone had compelled them to negociate with France. It was only when they were brought to the brink of deſtruction, that Spain and Auſtria conſented to treat. Never otherwiſe would theſe two courts have entered into any forms of accommodation with a people that had put their ſovereign to death upon a ſcaffold.

Nor did any more confidence exiſt in the governors of the French republic, reſpecting the good faith of the coaleſced princes. The motive for their taking up arms was undeniably to revenge the death of a fellow ſovereign, and, by reſtoring royalty in France, to ſecure it in their own dominions. Hence the republicans were intimately perſuaded, that while the European princes retained the power, they would infallibly retain the will to deſtroy them: no treaties would ſtand in the way of this determination, which would be executed the moment they could be violated with any proſpect of ſafety and ſucceſs.

Such being the real caſe between the ſovereigns of Europe, and the heads of the French republic, little, or rather no, ſincerity could be expected in their mutual aſſurances of pacific inclinations. The maſs of the people, both in France and elſewhere, labouring under the calamities of war, were almoſt regardleſs under what government they lived, provided peace were reſtored. But, as the wiſhes of the public are uſually of not much weight in the councils of thoſe who govern them, the termination of the war ſeemed as far remote as ever.

The power of that party in France, which was averſe to peace, and determined to follow up the ſucceſs of the republican arms, by the entire overthrow of all princes, had been ſo deciſively fixed by the events of September, 1797, that, ſince that epocha, it had ruled with irreſiſtible ſway, and had confirmed all politicians in the perſuaſion, daily gaining ground, that either the French republic muſt be deſtroyed, or all Europe revolutionized.

The firmeſt obſtacle to this laſt event, was, at the ſame time, looked for in France itſelf. The people there had now ample proofs before them, that their ſovereignty was an illuſion. Their repreſentatives had not been able to aſſert the rights of the public, nor to ſecure the freedom of their own perſons. Both had been trampled on by the executive power, aided by the military. Thus the ſole difference between the late and the preſent government, was, that in the former the ſupreme power had been lodged in the hands of a ſingle perſon, and that in the latter it was in the hands of five.

This was manifeſtly an invaſion of the republican conſtitution, the eſſence of which conſiſted in the ſupremacy of the people, exerciſed by the medium of thoſe whom they elected for that purpoſe. The violation of their deputies was an act of high treaſon againſt the common-

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wealth; and while unpuniſhed, the boaſted liberty of France had no exiſtence, and was an impoſition upon the credulity of the nation. It was, in fact, the worſt of oligarchies, from the narrowneſs of its confinement, the extent of the powers it aſſumed, and the ſeverity with which it exerciſed them.

Theſe complaints were very general, and the more dangerous for being well-founded. They produced the effect of rendering the directory extremely circumſpect in the uſe of its authority, and of carrying it no farther than abſolutely requiſite for the ſecuring themſelves and their adherents from the attempts of their antagoniſts, numbers of whom were juſtly ſuſpected of being royaliſts, under the name of republicans, and of aiming to ſubvert the directorial power, in order to re-eſtabliſh that of the crown.

The party that adhered to the directory could not deny that it had been guilty of exceſſive ſtretches of authority upon ſeveral occaſions: but ſtill they aſſerted, that though unconſtitutional they were not unjuſtifiable: the republic could not, without them, have been preſerved; and had it fallen, the ancient deſpotiſm would, unavoidably, have returned. The complaints againſt the preſent ſyſtem proceeded ſolely from thoſe who ſought to overturn it, and to bring back the former. It had, doubtleſs, its flaws and imperfections; but the diſorders and confuſions that had accompanied it, originated in its enemies. It was, obviouſly, much better calculated than monarchy, to promote, equally, the well-being of the people at large. Every man of induſtry and talents could riſe as high as they would carry him, without meeting with obſtructions from pride or prejudice. Every citizen could, in time, become a director; every ſoldier a general. Courage, capacity, and public ſervices, were now the only road to popular favour, and the moſt honourable and exalted ſtations. Would any honeſt man aſſert they were the ſame under the monarchy? The firſt duty of government was to promote activity and emulation: this the preſent ſyſtem did far beyond the monarchy, which held out great honours and rewards only to privileged claſſes, and thereby extinguiſhed in all others, that hope of adequate remuneration, which is the moſt powerful incentive to great actions.

The directory, they granted, behaved like men who knew that their lives were forfeited, ſhould the monarchy be reſtored: but this was a fortunate circumſtance for the republic, of which, from that motive, they muſt neceſſarily prove the moſt vigorous and the moſt faithful defenders. They were, therefore, the more deſerving of truſt for that reaſon; and inſtead of blaming them for the ſtrong meaſures to which they ſometimes had recourſe to, it were only doing them juſtice, to believe that they took none that were not warranted by the moſt preſſing neceſſity.

True it was that the French government entertained ſpies and emiſſaries in foreign countries, and that theſe were commiſſioned to procure adherents to republicaniſm, and well-wiſhers to France. But with how ill a grace did the enemies to the republic impute this as a crime to its rulers? Was not France full of royal agents, who ſtrove,

ſtrove, indefatigably, to excite the people againſt the eſtabliſhed government?

France had been accuſed of ſtripping every country of its contents without moderation or mercy: but it remained to be proved, that its enemies, if victorious, would not have treated it in the ſame manner, if not a worſe. If their threats were a proof of their intentions, and theſe were uſually more to be dreaded than menaces, the condition of France, if conquered, would have been woeful indeed. The enemies of the republic ought to recollect with what inveteracy and virulence they expreſſed themſelves in whatever related to its defenders, and to the foes of monarchy. Theſe had every inducement to be perſuaded, that they would have experienced unbounded ſeverity, had the fortune of war declared for the coalition. The barbarous uſage of theſe Frenchmen who, though revolutioniſts, had eſpouſed the cauſe of royalty, and made it a part of the conſtitution, ſhewed without the admiſſion of any doubt, what the fate of the republican chiefs themſelves muſt have proved, had they fallen into the ſame hands.

Amidſt theſe continual recriminations, ſo violently pointed at each other by the French and their numerous enemies, they both equally perſiſted in every hoſtile plan they could reciprocally frame. As all confidence was departed from the mutual intercourſe which was occaſionally neceſſary between them, little proſpect remained of its ever conducing to the general advantage. So rootedly was the directory convinced of the fixed determination of foreign powers to circumvent them, that, while the ſtrongeſt propoſitions of pacific propenſities were held upon each ſide, they ſtill continued the arrangement and the execution of hoſtile ſchemes. Thus it was that, regardleſs of the negociations propoſed and accepted between the empire and the republic, and which were viewed by many as preliminary to a general pacification, the French took that very opportunity to execute their projects in Switzerland and Italy.

Excluſive of theſe, and the many others already accompliſhed, others ſtill of much greater magnitude were aſcribed to the French government at this time. Ever ſince the concluſion of peace with Spain, the republican miniſters at the Spaniſh court had been employed in paving the way for the introduction of material changes in that country. Partizans to the ſyſtem eſtabliſhed in France were ſought and procured in the higheſt ranks: ſome were acquired through argument and perſuaſion, and ſome, it was ſaid, were purchaſed. The taſk of winning over the inferior claſſes, was committed to thoſe numbers of itinerant Frenchmen, who have, time out of mind, been uſed to travel in every part of Spain, as mechanics and artificers of every denomination. Some of the beſt officers in the French ſervice had been employed in Spain, during the late war, and were perfectly acquainted with the localities of that country. The inhabitants were much altered in their character; and, ſince the acceſſion of the preſent monarch to the throne, had loſt, in a great meaſure, that attachment to their ſovereigns, for which they had been as much noted as any people in Europe. They too began to caſt a critical and cenſorious eye upon the nobility and

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the clergy, and to reaſon upon the expediency of reforms in both theſe orders of men, whoſe immenſe riches were looked upon with an eye of avidity by the leſs ſcrupulous, and not without diſcontent by the moſt moderate, as bearing too much diſproportion in the general ſcale of property. The wealth of the clergy, of the monaſtic orders particularly, excited great murmurs in the labouring and induſtrious, and indeed in all the other claſſes of the community. Theſe diſpoſitions, in former days unknown, and but lately apparent, were fomented, with all care, by the emiſſaries of France, and were daily increaſing, to the ſerious alarm of the friends to the long-ſtanding ſyſtem in church and ſtate. The internal ſituation of Spain, in other reſpects, offered no conſolation to theſe. The inactivity of immenſe multitudes, either from want of employment, or native indolence, the diſcontent of the middling ſort, from the ſtagnation of buſineſs, were objects of a dangerous nature, and the more to be dreaded that they appeared without remedy.

It was not, therefore, without foundation, that the republicans entertained ſome hopes of extending their tenets into Spain, and of reaping the fruits of them ſooner than Europe was aware. The Italians, they alleged, were not leſs devoted to prieſtly influence than the Spaniards, and yet they had thrown it off, or been taught greatly to diſregard it. This was a precedent ſtrongly militating for an attempt to carry the ſame ideas into Spain, that were now ſo widely ſpread throughout Italy. The alliance with the Spaniſh monarch did not form the leaſt obſtacle to the deſigns of France. Were they to ſucceed, the Spaniards, his own ſubjects, would be the oſtenſible inſtruments employed in their execution; and to them would be committed the charge of diſpoſing properly of their own ſovereign. It might be objected, that the majority of the Spaniſh nation would not coincide with ſuch meaſures: but activity and reſolution were the great and ſucceſsful agents in all caſes of this nature: and herein it was that the republicans and jacobins, for they were ſynonimous terms, exceeded all others: whatever they had undertaken they had performed, wherever it had been practicable. Though, apparently, in a ſtate of depreſſion, their ſpirit could not be kept under; their enterpriſing diſpoſition was ſtill alive; their friends ſubſiſted, and acted under another name and other pretences; the rulers of the French republic were jacobins, and their principles reigned triumphant in all the ſtaunch adherents to republicaniſm, which was, in fact, founded upon them, though not upon the violence and outrageouſneſs that had characteriſed its original champions in France. Such were the ſpeculations of many of the French jacobins.

Warned by the fate that had attended ſo many of theſe, and by the general odium which their conduct had drawn upon their party, they were become more circumſpect, but not leſs daring. They had renounced the atrocious maxims that had rendered them objects of execration, and only retained that audacity and promptitude in execution which gave them ſuch advantages over their antagoniſts. Hence, they were, in reality, more likely to ſucceed in their undertakings, than while governed by that impetuous ferocity

ferocity which impelled them to the ſhedding of ſo much blood, and united all parties againſt them.

Relying upon the ſtrength to which they fondly hoped the jacobinical party would gradually ariſe in Spain, their inſtigators and aſſociates in France had formed ſanguine expectations, that the day might come when they would triumph at Madrid as they themſelves had done at Paris. But were they not to find themſelves in ſufficient force to carry ſo arduous a point, pretexts might, with facility, be found to come to their aſſiſtance. The difference yet unſettled between Portugal and the republic, would afford occaſion for the demand of a paſſage through Spain to a French army: this obtained, and it could not well be refuſed, both Spain and Portugal would fall by the ſame blow; unleſs it ſhould be ſuppoſed, that a remnant of the ſpirit that once animated theſe two nations ſhould rouze them from their degeneracy, and excite them to oppoſe this attempt upon their independence. But this was improbable, conſidering the number of the diſaffected whom the French would find in both theſe kingdoms, eſpecially the firſt, and of whoſe cooperation they were ſecure.

Were this mighty project to be effected, and the French did not deſpair of effecting it, the moſt difficult taſk would be performed, of the many that were neceſſary to prepare the way for the final object, the invaſion of England. This moſt formidable of all their rivals would then be reduced to the neceſſity of ſtanding ſingle and unſupported by any foreign connection, either military or commercial; and France would have the command of the riches of Spain and Portugal; this latter, the main ſource of the Engliſh trade and opulence in Europe.

Such were what the French looked upon as rational plans and expectations; but what conſiderate people were, in general, agreed to regard as the reveries of men inflated with ſucceſs, and vain enough to imagine that their good fortune would never forſake them. Some of the ſhrewdeſt politicians of the time attributed their ſucceſs much more to the diſunion and miſconduct of their enemies, than to their own ſuperior proweſs or prudence. The conſtant error of the powers at war with them was, they ſaid, to lend themſelves to treaties and negociations, while they ought never to have laid down their arms, and to have run every riſk ſooner than have deſiſted from the conteſt. But, in the opinon of others, theſe treaties were the work of inevitable neceſſity, and that thoſe who made them had no other way to ſave themſelves from impending ruin. After Pruſſia had abandoned the coalition, and Spain was reduced to ſue for peace, France ſtood on the vantage ground, and the chances were clearly, that no impreſſion could be made on the French at that time. Through their policy, they had diſunited their enemies; and, allowing valour and military ſkill to have been equal on both ſides, which was no more than a reaſonable conceſſion, ſtill the events of war being in their favour, it would have ſuited the intereſts of Europe to induce them, by means of a peace, to return to the occupations of civil life, much more than, by continuing the conteſt, to compel them to give themſelves up

entirely to the profeſſion of arms, for the defence of their own country, and the annoyance of thoſe of others. But this was not the actual ſituation of the French, and the only means to reſiſt ſo populous a nation, become ſo warlike and full of ſoldiers, was, to arm in the ſame proportion of numbers they had done, and to convert as many citizens into ſoldiers as could be ſpared from every buſineſs and vocation. This, doubtleſs, would involve their neighbours into heavy expences; but they were preferable to a ſubmiſſion to their yoke, which muſt prove the unavoidable conſequence of acting otherwiſe. When all Europe was under arms, as well as the French, the oppreſſive weight of ſo ruinous a ſituation would be ſo univerſally felt, that all parties would gladly embrace the opportunity of ridding themſelves of ſuch a burden. They would heartily concur in wiſhes for peace, and treat of it with ſincerity and moderation reſpecting the terms. Such was the plan recommended by numerous politicians at this critical period.

In the mean time, the ſpirit of the rulers in France had mounted ſo high, and their example afforded ſuch encouragement to a loſty and overbearing diſpoſition in their countrymen, that it was become inſupportable. Their public agents and miniſters in foreign parts aſſumed an arrogance and ſtatelineſs not in the leaſt inferior to that of the ancient Romans, in the height of their grandeur. They ſpoke to kings with an air of authority that could not fail to excite their indignation, while, from motives of policy, they diſſembled it; they affected a conciſe and laconic ſtyle in their meſſages and anſwers; and their ſpeeches on diplomatic occaſions were ſummary and dictatorial: like the Romans, too, they loſt no opportunity of expreſſing their contempt for princes, and their confidence that the term was approaching when not a crowned head would exiſt in Europe.

So ſunk and depreſſed at the ſame time were the minds of ſome of theſe, and of the individuals repreſenting them, and acting by their authority, that, however deeply hurt by theſe demonſtrations of haughtineſs, they judged it ſafer to paſs them over unnoticed, than to manifeſt a reſentment that could only have produced mortifying conſequences.

While the rulers of the republic kept ſovereigns abroad in this ſtate of terror, they ſtruck with no leſs awe their opponents at home. Convinced, by repeated trials, of the inefficacy of their attempts to overturn the eſtabliſhed government; theſe ſubmitted to it in ſullen ſilence, though full of deteſtation and inward contempt for thoſe who exerciſed it.

The people at large, in the meanwhile, buoyed up with the high appellations beſtowed on the French nation, by the adulatory policy of its governors, beheld the other nations as marked by fate for its inferiors. The title of great nation had lately been conferred upon it by the directory, and publicly aſſumed in all official documents, and particularly in all diplomatic tranſactions with foreign ſtates. This high-ſounding name was peculiarly gratifying to the vanity of the French people, and was admirably calculated to ſoften the hardſhips they inceſſantly experienced in the daily affairs of life. Having abundantly

dantly taſted of theſe under the monarchy, they were the more eaſily reconciled to them under the commonwealth, eſpecially as they had been told, and firmly believed, they were to be the price of their tranſition from ſlavery to freedom.

In order to attach them, by the ſtrongeſt ties of perſonal intereſt, to the exiſtence of the republic, the ſale of landed property, and other eſtates, was continually taking place with a precipitation and rapidity that brought forwards an unceaſing ſucceſſion of freſh owners. By ſhifting hands in this manner, poſſeſſions became gradually the more difficult to trace to the original proprietor, and the numbers concerned in the ſales and purchaſes, would naturally unite to ſecure their validity, and reſiſt all claims but their own. This, it was foreſeen, would form the moſt inſuperable barrier to the reſtoration of the ancient government.

The French had gone ſo deep into the revolution, that they ſeemed willing to abide by its conſequences in every reſpect, and to admit the introduction of any innovations, provided they were ſuch as guaranteed the enjoyment of the various ſpecies of national funds in which they had laid out their money. They were not ſo habituated to changes, as to be indifferent what religion, or conſtitution, was propoſed for their acceptance, and ready to adopt any that offered, but not to part with what they had paid for. Thus reſtitutions were impracticable without compulſion, and the dread, or, rather indeed, the certainty, of their forcibly taking place upon a counter-revolution, was a powerful motive to oppoſe one. Hence the warmth for the reſtoration of royalty had cooled in almoſt all men, but thoſe who had property to recover by it. The maſs of the nation, wearied out with civil feuds, wherein the leſs they participated the more they would be prudent, began to withdraw themſelves from the conteſt between the monarchy and the republic; convinced, that which ever of the two prevailed, their ſituation could not, in the nature of things, admit of ſuch material changes, as to warrant the hazarding of their peace and their lives in order to obtain them.

The policy of the ruling powers conſiſted, therefore, at the preſent, in obſerving the cleareſt moderation and impartiality towards all men at home, and in proving, to the world, that they were deſirous to put an end to the calamities of war, by not inſiſting upon ſevere conditions of peace. This was the conduct recommended to them by their well-wiſhers. They had no cauſe to apprehend inſurrections: the royaliſts were too diſcordant in their ſchemes, and too jealous of each other, and their means too circumſcribed, to be formidable. Their chief danger was from abroad; but while government acted with lenity towards its own people, and abſtained from arbitrary exertions of authority, it needed not to apprehend its foreign enemies.

The friends to a counter revolution were, on the other hand, extremely anxious to inculcate the moſt probable methods, in their opinion, of effecting one. They were adviſed cautiouſly to refrain from the leaſt inſinuation, that the partition of the French monarchy entered into the plan of thoſe powers that were to co-operate in its ac-

compliſhment. In order, effectually, to remove ſuch an imputation, they ought, in the moſt ſolemn manner, to declare, that they took up arms againſt the directory alone, and entertained no ideas of vengeance or terror, and that the reſtoration of the whole kingdom of France to its lawful ſovereign, without the leaſt diminution, upon any pretence, was the ſole object in their contemplation. A manifeſto of this nature appeared to thoſe who counſelled it, as fully ſufficient to counteract all the proclamations on the part of the directory.

But they were anſwered, that ſpecious promiſes to the French, would not leſſen the influence of the directory, while it acted within the boundaries of the law, or could make it appear that it had only ſtretched its authority for a juſtifiable purpoſe, to prevent the return of royalty. This being proſcribed in France, with what face could any potentates require it to be reſtored, without running counter to the will of a people, whom they had no right to controul in their choice of a government? Was not this aſſuming ſovereignty over an independent nation; and could they be ſo weak as to imagine the French would ſubmit to ſuch a claim?

The fact was, they ſaid, that the French had been attacked by a league of crowned heads, eager to replace the diadem on the head of a Bourbon; not out of affection to that family, but fear that ſuch a precedent, as the death of the late king, might influence other nations, were it not to draw down the moſt ſignal vengeance upon its authors. Heaven and earth had been appealed to on this occaſion, and the appeal had hitherto been favourable to France. But without alleging their ſucceſs as any argument of celeſtial interpoſition in their behalf, and leaving it to hypocrites and bigots to introduce ſupernatural agency in the contentions between men, they had the undeniable right to boaſt that they had been victorious over all thoſe powers which raſhly pleaded they were fighting in the cauſe of virtue and religion, as if either of theſe could authoriſe any ſtate to aſſume a dictatorial ſway over another, and call it to account for deeds tranſacted within its own precincts.

The reply to this anſwer was, that there were deeds, in their nature, ſo atrocious, that they ought to be conſidered as crimes committed againſt mankind, which they ſunk to the loweſt degradation, by ſhewing of what enormities human nature was capable. Men plunged in ſuch guilt were the public enemies of the human race. Unhappily for France, no country had, in modern ages, produced, at one time, a combination of men ſo notorious for the horrors of their public lives, and the depravity of their private characters. Their abilities, however extolled, were all calculated for the perpetration of miſchief, for the ruin of individuals, and the deſtruction of ſtates. After overturning the government of their own country, and reducing the inhabitants to miſery, they had projected, and in part executed, the ſubverſion of every other government in Europe. Should propitious deſtiny arreſt their career, long, nevertheleſs, would ſociety feel the wounds they had inflicted upon it, if ever, indeed, it ſhould entirely recover from them.

CHAP.

CHAP. VIII.

Exceſſive Tyranny of the French in Switzerland.—The new Helvetic Conſtitution.—The Citizens prevented from preſenting Petitions in a corporate Capacity.—Bold Remonſtrance againſt this Act of Tyranny by a Society at Lauſanne.—The French Commiſſioner dictates his Orders to the new Helvetic Republic, and treats Switzerland as a conquered Country.—Theſe violent Meaſures reſcinded, and the Commiſſioners recalled.—Yet the French Party, in Switzerland, ſecretly ſet in Motion, by the French Directory, carries every Queſtion.—The Conduct of the French reſented by the whole Swiſs Nation.—The Tyranny of the French, in Switzerland, operates as a Warning to other Countries.—Striking Proof of the Rigour exerciſed on the People of Switzerland.—Alliance, offenſive and defenſive, between the French and the Helvetic Republic.—Very advantageous to the French in both a commercial and military Light.—The Country of the Griſons coveted both by the Auſtrians and French.—Approach thereto of the French Army.—The Griſons invite the Protection of the Emperor.—Internal Viciſſitudes of the Ciſalpine Republic.—Prudent Conduct of Buonaparte.—His greatneſs and popularity becomes an Object of Jealouſy.—Treaties between the French and Ciſalpine Republics.—An Audience refuſed to the Ciſalpine Envoy at the Court of Vienna.—Which meditates War againſt both Republics.—The Ciſalpine Envoy ordered, by the Directory, to quit Paris.—Changes introduced into the Ciſalpine Republic by the French Government.—Pretexts for theſe.—Loudly cenſured and reprobated by Lucien Buonaparte.—Violent Interferences of the French Republic in the Ciſalpine.—Unſettled State of the French Government leſſens its Authority.—March of the Imperial Troops into the Country of the Griſons.—Conduct of the French towards the Ciſalpine and Ligurian Republics.

WHILE the friends and the foes to the revolution were thus exhaling their mutual rancour, and filling Europe with the moſt unqualified invectives againſt each other; the French government, irritated at the freedoms taken with them in foreign parts, and at the abhorrence in which they were held by their enemies, ſeemed determined, by way of revenge, to realize the various acts of oppreſſion and tyranny laid to their charge. The country wherein they were accuſed of having exerciſed theſe moſt was Switzerland. The obſtinate reſiſtance they had experienced from ſeveral of the cantons, had ſo fatally exaſperated the French troops employed in ſubduing them, that they had, in their fury, given way to the greateſt barbarities.

barities. Seventeen towns, and upwards of a hundred villages, had been abandoned to pillage, or committed to the flames; and the whole country preſented ſcenes of horror and deſolation. It could not be expected that a people, treated in this manner, ſhould look upon their ſubjugators as other than barbarians. Conſcious of their deſerving hatred, the French held the conquered in a ſevere and heavy ſubjection, not doubting that theſe would embrace any opportunity of ridding themſelves of ſuch cruel invaders.

In order, however, to atone, if it were poſſible, for theſe enormities, the framers of the new Helvetic conſtitution, which was the joint production of the French and their Swiſs partiſans, endeavoured to render it equally acceptable to all parties. As much of the old was retained as would not impede the operations of the new. The two chief departments of government ſtill remained under their former names, of ſenate and great council: but their powers were preciſely thoſe of the councils of ancients, and of the five hundred. The Swiſs did not expreſs any repugnance to this eſtabliſhment, nor to thoſe that introduced equality of rank and privileges: but great diſcontent aroſe, at a law which prohibited citizens, like the law that had been enacted in the Seven United Provinces, from preſenting petitions in a corporate capacity. It was explicitly diſobeyed by a ſociety at Lauſanne, known by the name of friends to liberty, of which the addreſſes to the conſtituted authorities were conceived in a ſtyle of boldneſs that drew upon it the ſevereſt reprobation of the Helvetian directory, which denounced this ſociety, and others, as guilty of illegal proceedings, and of hoſtile intentions to government.

Whether theſe ſocieties acted from their own motion, or the inſtigation of others, certain it was, that the French commiſſioner, Rapinat, encouraged, in a very deciſive and explicit manner, a refractory diſpoſition towards the Helvetic government. On the nineteenth of June, three officers, of the French forces in Switzerland, under the command of general Schauenberg, waited formally upon the ſenate and great council, to give them notice, that the commiſſioner conſidered the country as conquered by the arms of France, and himſelf as entitled to direct all civil, military, and financial operations: whoever ſhould, therefore, endeavour to obſtruct the meaſures taken by the French, for the arrangement of affairs in Switzerland, he ſhould view as an enemy, and as an agent of England. He complained, at the ſame time, that the Helvetic executive and legiſlative powers had lately admitted of motions, and iſſued decrees, that proved the exiſtence of a faction inimical to the connection between France and Switzerland, and that ſtrove to incenſe the Swiſs againſt the French, by groundleſs or trivial complaints againſt their troops. In order, he ſaid, to repreſs this faction, he annulled, in virtue of his commiſſion, all thoſe decrees that thwarted the meaſures adopted by the French in Switzerland. Whoever oppoſed them, by ſpeech or by writing, or made complaints, tending to indiſpoſe the public againſt the French, ſhould be arreſted, and tried by a military tribunal. In this menace, the

the members of the Swiſs directory, and of the ſenate and council, were nominally included, with all public functionaries. He alſo ſent peremptory orders to the directoy, that they ſhould diſmiſs two of their own body, and two other perſons in office.

With all theſe injunctions, the Helvetic government was obliged to comply, to the indignation of all Switzerland. The warmeſt friends to the revolution, introduced by the French, reprobated this conduct of their commiſſioner as an act of the moſt oppreſſive tyranny, and leading ultimately to an univerſal diſſatisfaction of all parties. The French government, apprehenſive of the conſequences of the fermentation excited by theſe violent meaſures, reſcinded them, and recalled their commiſſioner, with aſſurances, to the Helvetic body, that it ſhould remain in full poſſeſſion of the independence, and of the powers, veſted in it by the conſtitution it had choſen.

But, notwithſtanding theſe proteſtations, the French party, ſecretly ſet in motion by the directory at Paris, loſt no opportunity of carrying every meaſure that was agreeable to France. This complaiſance rendered it extremely odious, to numbers of the ſtauncheſt adherents to the eſtabliſhed ſyſtem. They reproached that party with a puſillanimous ſubſervience to all the dictates of France, to which it had ſacrificed all thoſe national objects that conſtituted real independence. It had baſely, and without that reſiſtance which became true republicans, yielded implicitly to all the requiſitions made by the French, in matters wherein theſe could have no pretence to interfere, after declaring that they aimed at no more than the extinction of ariſtocracy, and the eſtabliſhment of a republic, founded on democratic principles. This being ſettled according to their wiſhes, and cordially acquieſced in by the majority of people in Switzerland, as a better conſtitution than the former confederacy of the cantons, was it reaſonable in the French to demand a reſignation of all right to internal arrangements, of the ſums raiſed by fair and equitable taxes for domeſtic purpoſes (and treaſured up with that intent), of civil regulations congenial to the diſpoſitions of the inhabitants, of the modes of worſhip to which they were attached, and even of the very calendar in uſe among them for centuries!

Theſe demands of the French had greatly diminiſhed the good will of their ſincereſt partiſans. They were viewed, not as the requiſitions of friends, but the injunctions of maſters, impelled, by arrogance and the intoxication of power, to make trial how far the minds of men could be reduced to paſſive ſubmiſſion to maniſeſt injuſtice, againſt their conſciouſneſs of the tyranny exerciſed over them.

This conduct of the French was not only reſented by the Swiſs nation at large, but even by thoſe who were moſt deeply concerned in maintaining a connection with France, and in ſupporting the new conſtitution. They felt the indignity of ſuch a treatment, and the ſlavery to which it would lead, were they to remain ſilent, and abjectly to acquieſce in the ignominious yoke impoſed upon them. The Helvetic government itſelf took up, ſeriouſly, the conſideration

of the various matters that gave ſo much offence to the public, and came to a determination to lay them formally before the government of France, in hope of impreſſing it with the neceſſity of ſetting bounds to its pretenſions, and of acting with moderation.

Zeltner, the miniſter-plenipotentiary at Paris, from the republic of Helvetia, was directed to remit a memorial, to this intent, to the French miniſter for foreign affairs. It was drawn up in a ſtyle of manlineſs and energy, worthy of the nation which he repreſented, and of the cauſe for which he pleaded. After deſcribing the irregularities and oppreſſions of which the French agents had been guilty in Switzerland, he warned the French government to beware of driving to deſperation a people not degenerated from the plain and uncorrupted manners of their anceſtors, and who were not to be intimidated by harſhneſs, though eaſily won by lenity: ſhould they be reduced to a ſituation ſo wretched, as to have nothing more to loſe, they would become terrible through deſpair, and would renew the dreadful ſcenes of La Vendée. Theſe were alarming truths, but they ought to be told to the directory, that it might, in time, calm the fermentation excited in the minds of the Swiſs by a retroſpect of their paſt ſufferings, the continuance of their grievances, and the proſpect of the ruin awaiting them. It behoved France, if it valued that liberty and equality for which ſo much blood had been ſpilled, to leave them inviolate to the people of Switzerland, who then would have reaſon to look upon the French as their benefactors. The memorialiſt concluded, by requeſting the reſtitution, to the republic of Helvetia, of the treaſures that had been ſeized by the agents of France, and which were indiſpenſably wanted for the exigences of the ſtate. It required an exemption from all contributions, and the reſtoration of all the effects and property forcibly wreſted from individuals; that the contents of all the military magazines ſhould be returned; that no more French troops be ſtationed in Switzerland, than were abſolutely neceſſary; and that they ſhould evacuate it as ſoon as poſſible, and, while they remained, be conſidered only as auxiliaries at the diſpoſal of government; that the conſtitutional government ſhould exerciſe its powers without interruption; that the agents of France, in Switzerland, ſhould conſult with the Helvetic directory upon all points relating to the country, and act in no inſtance of this kind but with its aſſent, and in its name.

Theſe demands, on the part of the republic eſtabliſhed by France in Switzerland, were allowed to be reaſonable by thoſe who well knew the temper of the inhabitants, highly irritable when provoked by ill uſage, and far removed, in the words of the memorialiſt, from the levity of the French in adopting innovations, the ſuppleneſs of the Italians in yielding to them, and the apathy of the Dutch in bearing unreſiſtingly with their admiſſion.

The impolicy of the French, in their violent meaſures reſpecting Switzerland, had materially injured their intereſt with the Griſons, and the people of Swabia. Rather than ſubmit to the French, after witneſſing their treatment of the Swiſs, the former had reſolved to admit the

ſovereignty

ſovereignty of the emperor, which they had ſo long held in abhorrence, and were conſulting at this very time upon what conditions to put themſelves under his protection. Swabia, too, which was meditating the formation of a republic, was no leſs deterred from ſuch an attempt by what had befallen their neighbours, the Swiſs, and thought it more prudent to preſerve its preſent ſituation, than to exchange it for an alliance with ſuch friends and protectors as the French.

In Switzerland itſelf, the republican party that had called in the French, almoſt repented of what they had done: and their adherence to them was now poſitively more the reſult of neceſſity than choice. This party conſiſted chiefly of the inhabitants of towns. The peaſantry ſtrongly diſapproved the new order of things, and expreſſed the deepeſt reſentment at thoſe that had introduced it, who for that reaſon were for their own ſafety conſtrained to make one common cauſe with the French. Theſe, knowing how much this party depended upon them for their ſupport againſt the remainder of their countrymen, artfully availed themſelves of the jealouſies of theſe, to keep the others in the profoundeſt ſubjection. Thus diſunited, they were unable to oppoſe the deſpotic ſchemes of the French, who carried them on with an inſolence and contempt of thoſe whom they ruled in this oppreſſive manner; which was the more ſenſibly felt for the unreſtraint with which it was manifeſted. A proof of the rigour exerciſed on the people of Switzerland was an edict of the Helvetic directory, ſuggeſted by the partiſans of France, ordering the Swiſs, in foreign parts, to repair to their country within the ſpace of a month, in order to take the civic oath: an obligation to be complied with by all citizens without exception between the eleventh of Auguſt and the eleventh of September. The difficulties that aroſe at the ſame time in the negociations for an alliance between the French and Helvetic republics, fully demonſtrated the repugnance of the former to coincide with the views of the latter, and to treat upon that footing of equality which it certainly was entitled to challenge as a free and independent ſtate. It was conjectured that theſe difficulties were produced by the unwillingneſs of the Swiſs to comply with the pecuniary demands of the French, who, ſtraitened themſelves for want of funds, had recourſe to every expedient, in order to procure them, and employed, without ſcruple, coercive means when others failed, regardleſs of the diſſatisfaction, or the diſtreſs to which they reduced thoſe who were not in a capacity to reſiſt their extortions.

The conditions of this treaty, by which all alliance offenſive and defenſive was concluded between the two republics, were not ſo favourable to Switzerland as the republican party there had endeavoured to make them. The only reſtitution it could obtain, was of the artillery taken out of its magazines. No mention was made in the treaty of the various other articles ſpecified in the memorial of Zeltner, and the reſtoration of which he had demanded, as an act of juſtice.

But the French, in addition to the ſpoils they had already gained from Switzerland, reaped an advantage of the moſt important nature in a commercial and military light. This was a free paſſage through the Helvetic

vetic territories to Germany and Italy, both in war and peace. It was alſo ſtipulated that no aſylum ſhould be afforded to the emigrants from France. This treaty was ſigned at Paris on the twenty-eighth of Auguſt.

This ſettlement of the affairs of Switzerland, ſo much to the intereſt of France, did not however ſatisfy the views of the directory. A branch of the Helvetic nation yet remained diſunited from that body, of which it had for ages formed an integral member, though in a ſtate of independence. This was the country of the Griſons, like Switzerland, fortified by nature, and inhabited by a brave and hardy people, equally fond of their liberty, and able to defend it. Both the French and the Auſtrians were deſirous to ſecure the poſſeſſion of this country, the ſituation of which would greatly favour the military operations of either. Could France obtain it, a chain of communication would enſue, of the higheſt importance, reaching from Baſle in the northern extremity of Switzerland, to Ancona, upon the Adriatic ſea. Thus the Helvetic and Ciſalpine republics would uninteruptedly be connected, and France acquire an additional frontier on the ſide of Savoy. Piedmont, ſtill in the hands of the king of Sardinia, would thereby be hemmed in, and the paſſages into the Tyrol thrown open. The mineral productions of the country of the Griſons were alſo immenſe, and herein alone it muſt prove an acquiſition of the moſt eſſential value.

All theſe conſiderations occupied the attention of the directory. Suſpecting that the intentions of the Imperial court were hoſtile, the French government was ſolicitous to prevent its taking poſſeſſion of the Griſons, and to that intent ordered the army under Schauenberg, aſſiſted by the military contingent of Helvetia, to approach the confines of that country, in hope of the French party there being able to effect a declaration in its favour.

The Imperial troops were in great force in the neighbourhood, and preparing to enter the territory of the Griſons, who had formally refuſed their conſent to an incorporation with the Helvetian republic, and invited the emperor to take them under his protection. The French reſident at Coira, the capital of the country of the Griſons, had buſily exerted himſelf to bring over as many of them as could be prevailed upon to join the aſſociation he was forming in favour of France. He wrote a conciliatory letter to the ruling powers; but it was received with the utmoſt contempt, trod under foot, torn into pieces, and flung out of the windows. He had given them to underſtand, that France would not patiently ſee the liberty and independence of the Griſons made over to ſtrangers, (meaning the Auſtrians,) by a faction of bigots, and would certainly interpoſe in behalf of the patriotic party. The reception his letter had met with, greatly rejoiced the partiſans of France, who were now ſatisfied that the indignation the French muſt feel at ſuch treatment, would infallibly induce them to take the ſevereſt vengeance.

During theſe tranſactions in Switzerland, in Holland, and at Rome, the republic founded in the north of Italy, under the name of Ciſalpine, had alſo experienced ſome internal viciſſitudes. Its founder, Buonaparte,

parte, ſeemed to intereſt himſelf perſonally in its proſperity, beyond that of any other Italian ſtate; and the inhabitants of Lombardy, the provinces which chiefly compoſed it, felt a particular predilection for him.

After concluding the peace of Campo Formio, he thought it proper, before his departure for France, to take a valedictory view of this favourite commonwealth, and to make ſuch final arrangements, as might enſure its internal tranquillity, and produce a ſpirit of concord and ſatisfaction among all claſſes.

He was at this period in the height of his glory: the courage and conduct he had diſplayed in the field, and the ſagacity and determination with which he had brought the negociation for peace to a proſperous iſſue, had raiſed him above all competitors; and what was moſt ſingular he had not attained his thirtieth year. With ſuch advantages in his favour, it was not ſurpriſing that his influence ſhould be deciſive in all matters, and that ſo much confidence ſhould be placed in his judgement.

His conciliating diſpoſition and manners had won him the attachment of many of the bittereſt enemies to the French, and to republican principles. The reſpect, which he loſt no occaſion of paying to the moderate and diſcreet part of the clergy, had procured him great popularity, and he judiciouſly took particular care to treat with the higheſt deference every individual of that claſs whoſe character was deſervedly reverenced by the public.

The letter he wrote to the archbiſhop of Genoa, ſome time before he left Italy, did both him and that eccleſiaſtic equal honour and ſervice. That prelate had addreſſed a paſtoral letter to the people of his dioceſe, conceived in terms of great prudence and moderation. Buonaparte, to whom he had ſent a copy of it, returned him an anſwer, which, as it is ſtrongly characteriſtic of ſo celebrated a perſonage, and diſplays in a particular manner his ſentiments upon ſubjects of this nature, deſerves to be recorded not leſs than his military feats. His words were as follows: "In reading your paſtoral letter, reverend citizen, I thought I recognized one of the apoſtles. Thus it was that St. Paul wrote. How truly reſpectable is religion, when enforced by ſuch ſupporters as you. You are a true apoſtle, for you preach the goſpel, and compel your enemies to eſteem you. How happens it that the prieſts of your dioceſe are actuated by ſo different a ſpirit? Chriſt ſought only to act by conviction, and ſubmitted to death rather than uſe violence to propagate his doctrine. Wicked prieſts only can preach the effuſion of blood. I hope ſhortly to be at Genoa, where I ſhall eſteem it a peculiar happineſs to converſe with a perſon of your character. Such prelates as Fenelon was, and as the biſhops of Milan, Ravenna, and Genoa, are at preſent, confer the higheſt luſtre upon religion. They not only preach but practiſe it. A good and virtuous biſhop is the beſt preſent that heaven can make to a city, and to a whole country."

This epiſtle did Buonaparte the more credit, that it coincided with the ſentiments of the public reſpecting the three illuſtrious perſons whom he mentioned in ſuch reſpectful terms. It ſhewed he was neither a bigot, nor an enemy to rational religion.

ligion. The perſuaſion that this was his real diſpoſition, procured him a number of friends among the judicious and the unprejudiced; who were indeed the only people of whoſe approbation he appeared deſirous: that of the mere vulgar he conſtantly ſeemed to look upon with marked indifference.

While thus wiſely ſolicitous to ſecure the good-will of men of virtue and piety, he gave an equal ſpecimen of his judgment in the methods he uſed to obtain the friendſhip and attachment of the opulent, powerful, and noble families of the countries where he had eſtabliſhed republican governments. Among the means that he employed to this end, he ſelected a numerous body of young gentlemen of the moſt diſtinguiſhed and reputable parentage, whom he formed into a corps of cavalry, and was peculiarly ſtudious to render complete in diſcipline and tactics, intending them as a nurſery of officers. Two eſſential objects were compaſſed by this plan: he trained up to military knowledge, individuals who, being in every reſpect the choice of the youth of their country, were the moſt likely to become ſerviceable to it, and, to retain at the ſame time thoſe political ſentiments and attachments wherein they would be educated; and what was an object of no leſs importance, he inſured the adherence of their reſpective families to the government in the cauſe of which they were ſerving.

Nor ſhould it be forgotten, that in conſequence of the influence he had attained over the Imperial miniſtry, he procured the liberation of La Fayette and his fellow-ſufferers, from their long and ſevere detention in the Auſtrian priſons. This was univerſally acknowledged a proof of his ſincere deſire to reconcile all parties, by exerciſing humanity towards them all without exception. From various incidents of this nature, and his evident averſeneſs to harſh meaſures, he impreſſed the public with a perſuaſion, that, in thoſe which he occaſionally exerciſed, he was paſſively ſubſervient to ſuperior authority, rather than acting from his own determinations.

This did not however prevent him from adopting firm meaſures, when he judged them indiſpenſable for the preſervation of public tranquillity. It was upon this principle, that, on ordering the conſtitutional circle, a political club at Milan, to be ſhut, he aſſumed a tone of authority which he thought neceſſary to obviate the eccentricities in opinions and conduct, of which he dreaded the conſequence in a ſtate yet unable to ſtand on its own baſis, and which by diſſentions might eaſily be deprived of its liberty, eſpecially as a party ſubſiſted, friendly to the former government, zealous in repreſenting it as preferable to the preſent, and ready for the purpoſe of ſubverting this, to encourage diſcontents and diſturbances.

On the twenty-firſt of Brumaire, (November 12, 1797) he iſſued a declaration, addreſſed to the citizens of the Ciſalpine republic, wherein, among other particulars, he reminded them that they were the firſt people recorded in hiſtory, that had attained freedom without factions, revolutions, and bloodſhed. France had given them liberty, but it was for them to preſerve it. They were the moſt powerful and richeſt commonwealth next to France, and by

by their position entitled to make a great figure in Europe. To be worthy of this destiny, they should make just and moderate laws, and execute them with strictness and energy, encourage the advancement of knowledge, and respect religious freedom. They should compose their military strength, not of vagrants and disorderly people, but of principled men, attached to the republic, and the prosperity of their country. They should acquire and cherish due sentiments of the fortitude and dignity becoming a free man. Divided among themselves, and weighed down by oppression for such a length of time, they must, without the intervention of France, have remained unable to assert their liberties: but now they would, in a few years, be capable of maintaining them against any power on earth; and till then, they would be protected by the great nation against all the attempts of their neighbours, and its political system would be united with their own. Had the Roman people, he said, made the same use of their power as the French, the Roman eagles would have stood on the capitol to this day, and the human species would not have been disgraced by eighteen centuries of slavery and tyranny. He had, he concluded, with the sole view of rendering them a free and happy nation, gone through labours prompted hitherto only by ambition and the lust of power. Though in the numerous appointments he had made, intriguers had occasionally been preferred, through mistake, to men of probity, still the disadvantages would have been greater, had the nomination to places been committed to themselves, before they had been duly organized. This declaration was received by the people of the Cisalpine state with a firm persuasion of its propriety, and of the real interest which Buonaparte took in their prosperity.

This address of Buonaparte, by the Cisalpine, was accompanied to another of the same date, to the Ligurian republic, both of them founded and organized on his own plans. In the latter of these addresses, after entering into a variety of details relative to the government of the republic, he proceeds to lay before them his sentiments on divers subjects of general importance. He warned them not to think it enough to abstain from acting against religion, but to protect conscientious people against those who bore them malevolence. To exclude the nobles from all public functions, would, he explicitly told them, prove an intolerable act of injustice. It would be doing precisely what they had done, and deservedly suffered for doing. Those only among them should be sentenced to this exclusion, who had actively contributed to depress the people: but it were equally impolitic and inequitable to deprive the state of the services of those many others that might be useful to it. He reminded them that part of the nobles were the first to encourage the people to assert their rights. It was unjust, therefore, to proscribe them in a body, for the ill conduct of some, or on account of the tyranny they had formerly exercised; such indiscrimination would only justify complaints, and encrease the enemies to the republic. Numbers of the clergy had also declared themselves for liberty, and been the first to assert, that the spirit of the gospel was entirely democratical:

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but individuals, paid by the foes to real liberty, had taken occaſion of the irregularities of ſome clergymen, to write againſt religion itſelf, and thereby to excite the enmity of the clergy. He warmly exhorted them to beware of thoſe men who confined patriotiſm to the circles to which they belonged; they ſpoke the language of popularity but to inflame, and dealt continually in accuſations as if they alone were men of integrity. He particularly admoniſhed them never to condemn without a hearing: when furious ſpeeches are the moſt applauded, when exaggeration and rage are extolled, and moderation held a crime, then, ſaid he, are people haſtening to ruin. He concluded his addreſs, by adviſing them ſeriouſly to forbear all diſputes and jealouſies, while engaged in framing a conſtitution, if they hoped for a ſtable one.

Theſe addreſſes made a profound impreſſion on the public at large, both in France and Italy: they were juſtly conſidered as not only penned for this country, but alſo for the other, where the maxims they inculcated were not leſs neceſſary. They were ſpoken of at Paris as worthy of a Monteſquieu, and greatly augmented the popularity of Buonaparte. He was now ſtyled the hero legiſlator, fit alike to preſide in the councils of a nation, and to fight its battles.

But there were numbers, on the other hand, who dreaded his greatneſs, and thought they perceived, in the enthuſiaſtic admiration of this illuſtrious character, a motive to ſet all patriots on their guard againſt its conſequences. Thus it was, they obſerved, that Cæſar became by his victories the idol of the Romans, whom he finally enſlaved. The attachment of the military to Buonaparte was no leſs a ſource of alarm; the readineſs he had always ſhewn to diſtinguiſh and to reward merit in the very loweſt ranks of the ſoldiery, and the various inſtances of this kind frequently cited, while they endeared him to the army, did not fail, at the ſame time, to excite the jealouſies and ſuſpicions of ſuch as reflected, how often the liberty of nations had been ſubverted by the favourites of armies.

A circumſtance that had raiſed him ſeveral enemies, dangerous by their abilities and influence, was, the deciſive manner in which he had, in his addreſs to the Ligurians, reprobated the condemnation of individuals without hearing them in their defence. This was ſo pointed a cenſure of the events upon the eighteenth of Fructidor, that it was perceptible to all men. Thoſe who had conducted the buſineſs of that day, felt deeply the alluſion, and began, from this time, to entertain apprehenſions that he might be meditating deſigns unfavourable to their own.

The royaliſts and ariſtocrats, in their diſcourſes and publications, loſt no opportunity of repreſenting him in the moſt flattering colours; hoping thereby to recommend themſelves to his notice and benevolence; and, ſhould he prove inclined to befriend their cauſe, to confirm that inclination by their praiſes; others there were, who, conſidering the precarious ſtate of politics in France, blamed him, as having neglected the means of taking a deciſive part, by giving up the command of an army ſo thoroughly devoted to him. The triumphant reception he met with every where,

in his way to Paris, did not counterbalance the loſs of the power he had ſo unwiſely and unſeaſonably reſigned: he ought not, they ſaid, to have forgotten the fate of Pichegru, whom all his exploits in Flanders, and the conqueſt of Holland, had not preſerved from baniſhment, by the ruling party; and he ought to carry conſtantly in his recollection, that, notwithſtanding all he had done for the glory of France, the French ſtill remembered that he was not a Frenchman.

The deportment of Buonaparte, on his return to the French capital, covered with ſo much glory, beſpoke conſummate prudence and diſcretion, and a well regulated mind. He received the public congratulations, which he could not avoid, with an air of dignified ſenſibility: but far from courting them, like poor Monſieur Neckar and Monſieur De la Fayette, he retired from the public eye as much as he could, and lived with his moſt intimate companions and friends, in a houſe of nothing more than ordinary appearance, in an obſcure quarter of Paris. That ſome important change had taken place in the tone that for the preſent ſwayed the French councils and nation might have been learnt from the reception which was given by Buonaparte, to a body of Pariſians who had acted a moſt conſpicuous part in the earlieſt and moſt tumultuary ſtages of the revolution. Theſe were no other than the fiſh-women of Paris. "*Les Femmes de la halle,*" as they were called: who forced themſelves into his houſe, and preſented tokens of their joy at his glorious return to Paris. "Take back, ſaid the general, your noſegays and garlands, I do not accept any ſuch homage. If to-morrow you ſhould have a king, you would make to him the ſame tender of reſpect." Very different was the reply which this deſpiſer of vulgar homage made to the intimation that he was choſen a member of the national inſtitute. "Citizen preſident, he ſays, in a letter to Camus, the votes of thoſe diſtinguiſhed men who compoſe the national inſtitute do me honour. I am very ſenſible, that before I am their equal, I muſt be a long time their ſcholar. If I knew of any more expreſſive mode of expreſſing my eſteem for them, I would adopt it. True conqueſts, which alone are followed by no regrets, are the conqueſts made over ignorance. The purſuit, that is of all the moſt honourable, as well as the moſt uſeful to nations, is to contribute to the extenſion of human knowledge."

The peculiar intereſt which Buonaparte took in the formation of the government of the Ligurian and Ciſalpine republics had given occaſion to repreſent him as much more attached to Italy than to France; but, whatever his internal feelings were, it was acknowledge that he did juſtice to both countries. He was, indeed, extremely ſolicitous to place thoſe two republics on a footing of ſtability that might completely ſecure their welfare. Conſidering the Ciſalpine as the moſt expoſed of the two, by its poſition, to the attempts of Auſtria, in caſe of a rupture, he ſtrengthened it by the addition of the Valteline, and the territories of Chiavenna and Bormio, of which the inhabitants were deſirous to be united to the new commonwealth, in preference to the connection that had hitherto ſubſiſted between them and the Griſons, who vainly endeavoured to prevent this union.

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In conſequence of the advice of Buonaparte, the number of repreſentatives was fixed at two hundred and forty; eight of whom compoſed the council of ancients. The ſelection of theſe members of the legiſlature was made with the remarkable endeavours of all claſſes to ſhare in the repreſentation. Their firſt meeting was on the twenty-firſt of November, 1797, and it was enjoyed with much exultation both by them and the public.

One of the firſt acts of this aſſembly was, to proclaim to the world the exiſtence of the Ciſalpine republic, and to congratulate the people, of the countries that compoſed it, on the obtaining of liberty, after ſo long a period of ſlavery. Among the particulars of this proclamation, it contained an acknowledgement of the repreſentatives, that they were no other than agents choſen by the people to execute their will; and that if ſuch a title appeared to ariſtocrats, oligarchs, and deſpots, beneath their ridiculous pride, to them it ſeemed the moſt honourable of any that a citizen could aſpire to. Should the welfare of the public prove an object of difficult attainment, with all their efforts, they requeſted that this might not be imputed to them, but to the obſtacles ariſing from a long duration of tyranny. One advantage, at leaſt, would reſult from the change in their government: laws would no longer be the work of the avarice, ambition, or caprice, of an arbitrary individual.

They declared the preſs entirely freed from all preceding reſtraints, and ordered a miniſter to be proſecuted for having obſtructed its freedom. They demanded, at the ſame time, a formal deciſion of the directory's reſponſibility. A plan was propoſed for the regulation of the public theatres; from whence it was decreed to exclude performers in a ſtate of mutilation, and to prohibit in future this infamous practiſe. But that particular which was moſt deſerving of notice, in this commencement of their legiſlation, was, the ſtrict injunction laid upon the executive power, and its agents and miniſters, carefully to ſpecify, in their orders and proclamations, the identical laws, in virtue whereof they were iſſued. This was conſidered as the moſt judicious of their enactments, and one that ought to be adopted by all legiſlatures.

Other regulations of an uſeful and popular nature were enacted by this aſſembly: but the unanimity with which its ſeſſion had been opened, was, in a few days, deſtroyed by the diverſity of opinions that began to take place, among the leading members, on ſubjects that required great union and calmneſs of ſentiments. This, however, could hardly be avoided in a meeting made up of individuals differing ſo much from each other in their profeſſions, and, of courſe, not leſs in their characters, and ideas of things. There ſubſiſted among them a party of rigid republicans, who violently diſapproved of every inſtitution retracing the leaſt image of ariſtocracy and oligarchy, and thought that the council of ancients bore too ſtrong a reſemblance of the former, and that the directory too much approximated the latter. Hence the members of this deſcription, in the great council, formed an oppoſition to the directory, and the miniſters appointed by them, that occaſioned much

much diſcord and retardment in their proceedings.

In order to put an end to theſe differences, the French directory diſplaced three of the Ciſalpine miniſtry, whom they thought incompetent to their ſtations, and replaced them with as many Frenchmen of inconteſtable abilities, and whoſe nomination they preſumed would be acceptable on that account. The French had ſeveral reaſons to keep a ſtrict eye on the affairs of this republic: a conſpiracy, it was ſaid, had been formed, by the ſecret partizans of Auſtria, againſt both the French and the Ciſalpines. Journaliſts, in the pay of that party, were employed to ſpread diſcontent in the public, and to excite inſurrections againſt the ſtate. A Venetian, who was member of the council of ancients, had laid a plan to deliver Mantua to the Imperialiſts, who were not expected to remain much longer in peace with France. But what chiefly offended the French, was, the repugnance of the great council to conſent to a treaty of alliance, in agitation, between the French and the Ciſalpine republics, and which the former inſiſted was neceſſary to ſecure the latter from the hoſtile deſigns that were meditated againſt it by the enemies to both.

General Berthier, who had ſucceeded to Buonaparte in the command of the army of Italy, was buſily occupied in the ſettlement of this alliance. He formally demanded an accuſation to be brought againſt the member of the legiſlature concerned in the affair of Mantua, and the journaliſts who had written againſt a connection with France to be arreſted, and that thoſe members of the councils who had moſt violently oppoſed it ſhould be expelled.

Theſe demands were contained in a proclamation, dated the twenty-ſeventh Ventoſe, (ſeventeenth of March) 1798, and in a letter which he addreſſed to the Ciſalpine directory: they were, in truth, orders which it dared not diſobey. They accelerated the concluſion of the treaty of alliance, the averſeneſs to which was very ſtrong in thoſe Ciſalpines who were zealous for a total independence of their country on the councils and politics of France.

By this treaty, the Ciſalpine republic bound itſelf to become a party in all the wars wherein the French republic ſhould engage, and to aſſiſt it with all its means and forces when ſo required; but, in caſe no ſuch requiſition ſhould be made, it was to remain in a ſtate of neutrality. France agreed to furniſh twenty-five thouſand men for the defence and protection of the Ciſalpine republic, to be maintained at its expence, and commanded by French generals, as well as its own troops. Half the garriſons of Ferrara, Mantua, and Peſchiera, were to conſiſt of French troops. Theſe were the principal articles of this treaty. The others were alike advantageous to the French; who, in return, undertook to guarantee the independence of the Ciſalpine republic againſt all its enemies.

This treaty of alliance was accompanied by another of commerce, the conditions of which were made equally beneficial to both parties. Theſe treaties being reciprocally ratified, Trouvé, a man of abilities, was deputed ambaſſador to the Ciſalpine republic, and had his firſt audience, at Milan, upon the firſt of June. His reception was ſplen-

did; and the ſpeeches made on this occaſion, by him and the preſident of the Ciſalpine directory were highly applauded.

But notwithſtanding theſe flattering appearances of a permanent eſtabliſhment of the Ciſalpine republic, the envoy it had ſent to Vienna found it uſeleſs to remain in that capital. The emperor would neither grant him an audience, nor recognize his character. The motives for this refuſal were very apparent: the difficulties daily ariſing in the negociations at Raſtadt, the imperious demands and pretenſions of the French plenipotentiaries riſing on every conceſſion, the alarms they had occaſioned among the German princes, the diſcontents in Switzerland and Italy at the conduct of the French: theſe, and the mortification of having received the law from them, at Campo Formio, operated a determination in the court of Vienna, to try afreſh its fortune in the field, while Buonaparte was abſent with the flower of the republican army.

Excluſive of theſe diſpoſitions at Vienna, there were cauſes of diſſatisfaction in the Ciſalpine republic itſelf. Its preſent conſtitution had been framed by Buonaparte, and the public ſeemed to have contentedly acquieſced in it: but the French directory, not thinking it ſufficiently ſubſervient to its own, had projected an alteration; and its ambaſſador, Trouvé, was endeavouring to prepare the minds of the people for the changes that were meditated: but the conſtituted authorities oppoſed them with great vigour; and ordered the Ciſalpine envoy at Paris to remonſtrate forcibly againſt the project in agitation, which was alſo reſolutely oppoſed by Lucian Buonaparte, the general's brother, a member of the council of five hundred. Lucian was out-numbered by the directorial party, and general Lahoz, the Ciſalpine envoy, though notedly patronized by general Buonaparte, was, in conſequence of his repreſentations, ordered to leave Paris, and the territory of the republic.

The papers, under the direction of government, treated him, at the ſame time, with great aſperity, and gave the Ciſalpines to underſtand, that the conſtitution, to which they adhered ſo pertinaciouſly, was, at beſt, but a haſty fabrication by general Buonaparte, put together in the midſt of interruptions, ariſing from war and politics. It could only, therefore, be proviſional, and, notwithſtanding his great abilities, required numerous emendations.

This conduct of the French government proved extremely offenſive to the Ciſalpines. They dreaded thoſe changes which had occaſioned ſo many diſturbances in the Helvetic and Batavian commonwealths, and were neceſſarily ſo inimical to domeſtic tranquillity. Addreſſes were preſented, from all parts, againſt the intended alterations: they were deprecated in a variety of publications; and in the meetings of the people, they ſtrongly inſiſted that the preſent conſtitution ſhould remain untouched.

But the French directory, unalterably bent on theſe changes, commiſſioned general Brune to execute them. His punctual and rigourous diſcharge of the directorial orders in Switzerland, pointed him out as a fit inſtrument to carry them into execution in the Ciſalpine ſtate. He arrived at Milan about the middle of Auguſt, 1798, when the fermentation, cauſed by the apprehend-

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ed intentions of the French government, was at its height, and had filled the public with the deepeſt concern for its poſſible conſequences.

The party that favoured the innovations, fearing that their antagoniſts would proceed to an active reſiſtance, was preparing to uſe force; and the French government, ſuſpecting the partizans of Auſtria, and that they would be ſupported by that power, haſtened to ſend reinforcements to their troops, and large ſupplies of ammunition to Mantua, and other places of ſtrength.

In the mean while, Trové, the French ambaſſador, was concerting with general Brune, in what manner to operate the projected alterations. As ſoon as they thought themſelves duly prepared, the ambaſſador laid before the Ciſalpine legiſlature an addreſs, containing the plan in agitation, and the reaſons for executing it. He explicitly told them, that the preſent adminiſtration of their affairs was ruinous and ill-contrived; their finances were in the worſt order, and their military exceſſively expenſive, and of no utility; they had no republican inſtitutions, no public education; inſubordination exiſted every where, with the utmoſt indifference for the public good; dilapidations and irregularities were committed with impunity, and the republic was in a ſtate of abſolute anarchy.

After preſenting them with this picture of their ſituation, the French republic, he ſaid, could not behold it without alarm, and had, through him, expreſſed its earneſt deſire that they would themſelves provide a remedy for thoſe evils, of which they acknowledged the reality, but were, at the ſame time, fearful and backward to attempt the cure. He felt himſelf, therefore, obligated to undertake it in their default, not with the leaſt intent of violating their independence, but of placing it on a firmer baſis, by improving their conſtitution. He then obſerved, that their repreſentation was too numerous for the extent and population of the ſtate: it exceeded in a double proportion that of the French republic. It ought, in reaſon, therefore, to be diminiſhed one half, which would leſſen, in the ſame degree, the expences of maintaining it. In conſequence of this reaſoning, he reduced the repreſentatives from two hundred and forty to one hundred and twenty.

The conſtitutional act, he obſerved, being rather a military than a civil ordinance, not ſanctioned by a formal acceptance of the nation, and found defective in various inſtances, the French government had thought it neceſſary to ſubſtitute another, founded on the ſame principles, and admitting the ſame diſtribution of powers, but accompanied with more vigour and ſtability in the adminiſtration.

The principal changes it introduced, were that the right of citizenſhip was limited to natives, and to thoſe only that paid a ſtated contribution. Elections were rendered leſs frequent, and more power was aſſigned to the directory: the former took place only once in two years for the chuſing of one-third of the councils, and the latter were reduced to three: they were authorized to limit the freedom of the preſs, and firſt to propoſe every law: the finances were at their

diſpoſal, and they nominated all officers in the army, from a captain upwards: on the expiration of their office, they became perpetual members of the council of ancients: their ſalaries, and thoſe of the national deputies, were augmented.

Such were the alterations executed by general Le Brune and the ambaſſador, Trouvé, upon the fifteenth Fructidor (firſt September, 1798). They were carried with a high hand, and enforced by the ſevereſt coercion. Domiciliary viſits, and the arreſts of more than four hundred individuals accompanied them, and terror was truly the order of the day on which they were ſubmitted to, with the manifeſt repugnance and indignation of all claſſes.

One of the pretences, on which the partiſans of France grounded theſe alterations, was, that the ſyſtem of the Ciſalpine republic, as framed by Buonaparte, was preciſely that of France in 1793, which had been ſet aſide for its jacobin principles. But numbers of people, in France, ſtrongly diſapproved this treatment of the Ciſalpines, as authorizing the enemies of the republic to accuſe the French of preſerving no reſpect for the rights of men, and of treating all people, connected with them, like ſlaves, under the denomination of allies; erecting governments among them, and ſubverting them at their pleaſure, in order, one would think, to accuſtom mankind to look upon them as the ſole lawgivers of ſociety. Thus it was that France, after having ſo loudly proclaimed the ſovereignty of the people in all countries, violated it without the leaſt ſcruple of ſhame in every country that fell under its power or influence.

The ſpeech of Buonaparte's brother, upon this memorable occaſion, did him great credit with the impartial public. He explicitly reprobated, in the ſevereſt terms, the bad faith of thoſe who authorized or countenanced ſuch infractions of national compacts. He ſtigmatized the innovations in the Ciſalpine conſtitution, as tending, bare-facedly, to abridge popular liberty by the exceſſive power they conferred upon the directory, eſpecially the excluſive prerogative of propoſing laws. After a variety of pertinent obſervations, he concluded by predicting, that nations, diſguſted, at laſt, with the vain and empty name of liberty, which France was inceſſantly ſounding in their ears, and with the conſtitutions given to them on one day, and taken from them on the morrow, would finally conceive a deteſtation for the republic, and prefer their former ſubmiſſion to a ſovereign.

Theſe changes, which were, in the words of the French directory and its partiſans, to enſure the future independence and ſtability of the Ciſalpine republic, were followed, in leſs than two months after, by other alterations equally unexpected, and ſurprizing to the political world. Trouvé, the co-operator with Le Brune, had not, it ſeems, conducted himſelf in the buſineſs of the firſt of September, entirely to the ſatisfaction of the directory. He was for this reaſon recalled, and a member of the late convention, Fauché, replaced him. But neither did he come up to the expectations of his conſtituents, who thought him too cordially connected with the Ciſalpine directory, and

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too ready to coincide in ſome of their meaſures, of which they diſapproved, and for which they had determined to remove them from their places, together with their adherents. General Brune was, therefore, ſolely entruſted with this commiſſion. The three directors were diſmiſſed, with ſeveral of the miniſtry, and a conſiderable number of the members of the two councils.

They did not, however, paſſively acquieſce in this treatment. They proteſted againſt it, as a manifeſt violation of their independency, and made a ſolemn and reſolute appeal to the French directory. Their remonſtrances were not, it ſeems, ineffectual. In a few days the proceedings againſt them were annulled, and both the general and the ambaſſador were ſummoned to Paris, to give an account of the tranſaction, and of the ſituation of things in the Ciſalpine republic.

This unſettled conduct of the French government did it eſſential prejudice in the countries of which that ſtate conſiſted. Perplexed with commotions, of which they ſaw no end, that deprived them of domeſtic tranquillity, and burthened them with requiſitions which they looked upon as unreaſonable, the inhabitants expreſſed themſelves highly diſſatisfied with their condition, which, inſtead of being ameliorated, as they had been promiſed, was viſibly altered for the worſe. They ſcrupled not, openly, to declare, in many places, that they preferred the dominion of Auſtria, heavy as it was, to that of France, and would gladly co-operate in reſtoring it.

Theſe diſpoſitions were greatly ſtrengthened by the march of the imperial troops into the country of the Griſons, their near neighbours; and by the manifeſto publiſhed in the name of the emperor, wherein he bound himſelf to act merely as an ally againſt the French, who were threatening to invade their country, and revolutionize their government. Hoping that the houſe of Auſtria, admoniſhed by paſt misfortunes, would exerciſe a gentler ſway, the people of Lombardy were ſecretly pleaſed at the proſpect of a renewal of hoſtilities with the French, which might eventually, by compelling theſe to evacuate the countries they had conquered, deliver them from a people whom experience had proved the worſt of inmates, and the moſt oppreſſive and intolerable of conquerors.

By the conſtitution drawn up by Buonaparte, the council of juniors was compoſed of ſixty members; that of elders, of thirty; and the directory of five. The clergy and the nobles were excluded, during the firſt nine years, from the directory and the legiſlature; and, after their expiration, the clergy was only admiſſible to the councils of juniors; with an excluſion, however, even from this, to rectors of pariſhes, and prieſts entruſted with official duties that obliged them to reſide on a particular ſpot. People of property, that had emigrated, were ſummoned to return to Genoa, within the ſpace of thirty days, if in Italy; and of three months, if in a foreign country. Non-obſervers of this order, were ſentenced to pay twenty per cent. of their property, one-fourth of which was appropriated to the maintenance of the poor, another to the expence of hoſpitals, and the two remaining fourths to the uſe of the ſtate. By this edict, nobles

were alſo forbidden to borrow money on their eſtates, for any other purpoſe than making payments to the public treaſury.

In other reſpects, Buonaparte treated them with lenity. Numbers of them, confined as hoſtages, for the peaceable behaviour of the reſt, were ſet at liberty, and very few of them were detained in priſon. Of the many chiefs of inſurrections that had taken place, twenty were ſelected, of whom it was thought neceſſary to make a public example, as the moſt guilty and acceſſary to the outrages that had been committed. They were ſhot, and a prieſt, their accomplice, though out of reſpect to his cloth, reprieved him from execution, was condemned to forty years impriſonment in irons.

An alliance, offenſive and defenſive, was concluded with the Ligurian republic, and a body of their beſt military, choſen by Buonaparte, were ſent to reinforce the French army in Italy. All theſe arrangements, which were terminated towards the cloſe of December, 1797, proved very acceptable to the maſs of the people, and thoſe who diſapproved of them were too prudent to expreſs their diſapprobation.

The Ligurian republic was permitted to remain upon this footing till the period when the alterations took place in the Ciſalpine. The French directory thought fit at that time to leſſen the legiſlative body, by expelling fifteen members, who were accuſed of impeding the meaſures of government, and of oppoſing the new order of things; and to make other alterations in the Ligurian, in the ſame ſpirit, and with the ſame intent, that dictate the innovations in the Ciſalpine republic.

CHAP. IX.

Paſſive and mortifying Situation of the King of Sardinia.—Various Preludes of a Revolution in his Dominions.—Inſurgents in Piedmont encouraged and ſupported by the Genoeſe.—And the French.—Who ſeize the Citadel of Turin. Thus ſeating themſelves on the Throne of Sardinia.—State of Naples.—French Ambaſſador there.—The Neapolitans prepare, in Conjunction with the Auſtrians, to oppoſe the common Enemy.—The French, on the other Hand, augment the Number of their Forces at Rome.—Remonſtrations of the French Ambaſſador, againſt the hoſtile Preparations of the Court of Naples.—Firmneſs of that Court.—Fortified by a Victory over the French Fleet, on the Coaſt of Egypt.—Other Conſequences of that great Achievement.—Inſurrection of the People againſt the French Garriſon of Malta.—Rejoicings and Exultations throughout the Kingdom of Naples, on Account of Admiral Nelſon's Victory.—Cauſes which retarded the open Hoſtility of France towards Naples.—The King of Naples, at the Head of his Army, marches into the Roman Territory.—This made a Pretext, by the French, for ſeizing the Dominions of Sardinia.—And ſending the Royal Family, with its Adherents, to the Iſland of Sardinia.—Actions between the Neapolitan and French Armies.—Victories of the latter.

DURING theſe various events, the power exerciſed by the French, over the countries and ſtates conquered and organized on their own plan, was heavily felt by the king of Sardinia, whoſe dominions, ſtanding in the midſt of all their conqueſts, were, though not nominally, yet in reality ſubject to them much more than to him. Their requeſts were in fact commands which he did not dare to diſobey, and no remedy was now left him, but to wait with patience and reſignation to his fate, for ſome of thoſe turns of fortune, which conquerors ſo ſeldom fail ſoon or late to experience. In this paſſive and mortifying ſituation, he had remained ever ſince the pacification he had been forced to conclude with them in the ſummer of 1796. On the concluſion of the peace of Campo Formio he was deprived of all hope of emerging from this ſtate of ſubſerviency, which daily became more ignominious and intolerable. He was continually aſſailed with demands and requiſitions, which he could not refuſe, and compelled to ſuffer indignities he had not power to reſent. He was now enjoined to allow no refuge in his dominions to French emigrants or exiles, on the ground, that, being linked in amity with France, it were inconſiſtent in him to afford the leaſt countenance to its enemies, or unfaithful or refractory ſubjects.

The king experienced, about this time, a mortification, of which both he and his court were deeply ſenſible. Buonaparte, on his return to France, paſſed through Turin, his capital, without paying his reſpects to this unhappy monarch; who felt this neglect the more, that his treatment of the general, upon this occaſion, was remarkably reſpectful and generous.*

His territories were now become a line of march or paſſage to the French troops, without any other formality, than to give him notice of the time at which they were to be expected, of their numbers, and of the neceſſaries they would need, and which he was to provide for them.

Theſe various circumſtances, together with the diſcourſes and inſinuations of the Ciſalpines and Ligurians, both under the immediate influence and direction of France, and who openly ſpoke of an approaching revolution in his dominions, were ſufficient admonitions, that he was to prepare for the certain loſs of his crown, as ſoon as the plan for that purpoſe was brought to maturity.

In addition to this alarming ſtate, he was compelled, by his neceſſities, to exact large contributions from his ſubjects, and to burthen them with taxes and pecuniary regulations that excited great diſcontents, and loſt him in a conſiderable degree their former attachment. The agents of France were not tardy in availing themſelves of his diſtreſſes. Guinguené, the French ambaſſador, had the preſumption to take under the protection of the great nation, as he expreſſed himſelf, the inſurgents of Piedmont, and to inſiſt on their being pardoned. He was ſeconded by general Brune. But their joint remonſtrances could not effect that blind acquieſcence they had expected from his facility on other occaſions; and he gave them to underſtand, that by the treaty with France he was to remain maſter in his own dominions.

This inſurrection had broken out at Caroſio, a place belonging to the province of Piedmont, but incloſed by the territory of Genoa. A number of deſerters from the Ligurian troops, many of them natives of Piedmont, repaired to this place, and joined the inſurgents. As it was neceſſary to traverſe the Genoeſe territory, to arrive at Caroſio, the king ordered his troops, in their march thither, to ſhew all the reſpect due to the territory of a friendly and independent power: but the Genoeſe government would not conſent to his forces traverſing their territory, though he offered to make full compenſation for any damages they might commit. He alleged, at the ſame time, his indubitable right, which was that of all ſovereigns, to claim a paſſage through a neutral territory, to any part of his dominions lying within its precincts.

But all his ſolicitations and remonſtrances were vain. Actuated probably by the French ambaſſador and general, the Genoeſe perſiſted in their refuſal, and accuſed the king of having violated their territory, in ordering his troops to march to Caroſio, againſt the inſurgents. They even proceeded to ſequeſtrate all the property belonging to him, they could lay their hands on, drove his ſubjects out of their coun-

* The king ſent him ſome very valuable preſents.

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try, arreſted his agents, and even his envoy to the republic.

The Genoeſe would not, in all likelihood, have gone ſuch lengths, had they not been inſtigated by the ſecret intrigues of France. Aſſiſted in this open manner, the inſurgents at Caroſio increaſed in numbers and boldneſs: they intercepted the communication with Piedmont, and ſeized all the articles of trade and of ſuſtenance on their way thither. Hoſtilities were at the ſame time committed by the Ligurians, and the king found himſelf, much againſt his will, involved in a conteſt, which he foreſaw would terminate greatly to his detriment, through the clandeſtine practices of the party among his own people, that favoured French principles, and who were privately encouraged by the open and concealed agents of France, to propagate them fearleſsly, as they might depend on being ſupported, and ſcreened from puniſhment.

Whether it proceeded from the long-ſtanding enmity between the two governments of Piedmont and Genoa, the inſtigation of the agents of France, or the high ſpirit naturally accruing to a people on their emancipation from a real or imaginary bondage, the repreſentatives of the Ligurian commonwealth, influenced by the well known diſpoſition of their conſtituents, took up this buſineſs with uncommon fervour, and plainly gave the king of Sardinia to underſtand, that they would eſpouſe the cauſe of the inſurgents as far as circumſtances would permit them. A proclamation was iſſued by the Ligurian directory, on the tenth of June, wherein they ſignified, in the moſt inflammatory terms, their indignation at the averſeneſs of the court of Turin, to liſten to their ſupplications from an amneſty to the inſurgents, and their determination to take hoſtile meaſures in their fulleſt extent.

The inveteracy of the Genoeſe to the houſe of Savoy, broke out upon this occaſion with remarkable violence in both the councils. In that of the ancients, the king of Sardinia was ſtigmatized with the appellation of the little tyrant of the Alps; and every odious inſinuation was brought forward to exaſperate the public againſt the court of Turin.

What principally animated them, was the certainty of being thoroughly ſupported by France in the exertions they were preparing to make againſt that enfeebled power, and the ſtrong expectation now current every where, that the fate of that unfortunate monarch was already decided in the councils of the French directory. That expectation was well founded. The inſurrection of the malcontents of Piedmont, at Caroſio, was, in the general opinion, if not directly inſtigated by France, occaſioned by the revolutionary principles diſſeminated in all places by its emiſſaries, under the ſtrongeſt aſſurances of being effectually ſeconded, held out to thoſe who adopted and acted upon them. Theſe aſſurances were punctually fulfilled. The French envoy, at the court of Turin, formally interpoſed in behalf of the inſurgents, for whom he demanded, in the name of the French directory, an abſolute oblivion of the paſt, on condition of laying down their arms. This interpoſition was, for ſome time, reſiſted; but the Sardinian miniſtry, conſcious of the impracticability of any effectual oppoſition to France, judged it ſafeſt to comply with its requiſition,

requiſition. This did not, however, ſatisfy the French directory. Irritated at the delay and repugnance to comply with its mediation, or glad probably of ſuch an occaſion to execute the projects reſolved on, it required the immediate ceſſion of the citadel of Turin, as a ſecurity for the conciliatory diſpoſitions of that court, and its ſtrict performance of the promiſes made to the inſurgents. This ceſſion was agreed to the twenty-ſeventh of June, 1798, and a body of French troops took poſſeſſion of the citadel on the third of July enſuing.

In this manner was a deciſive blow given to the power and importance of the king of Sardinia. His troops had, during the hoſtilities with the Ligurian republic, obtained ſo many advantages, and diſplayed ſo much courage and military ſkill, that, at the period when the king was obliged to yield to the compulſory ſolicitations of the French ambaſſador, and agree to the terms of peace impoſed upon him between the inſurgents and the Ligurians, he was maſter of ſeventeen places large and ſmall, belonging to theſe, and would, in all likelihood, had hoſtilities continued, have reduced them to the greateſt diſtreſs.

By taking poſſeſſion of the citadel of Turin, the French might be ſaid to have ſeated themſelves on the throne of Sardinia. It was eſteemed the maſter-piece of the celebrated Vauban, the greateſt engineer of the age of Lewis XIV. It had proved the bulwark of Piedmont, in the war for the Spaniſh ſucceſſion, at the commencement of this century. It had ſtood, in 1706, that famous ſiege, which, by its length and obſtinacy, enabled Victor Amadeus, and prince Eugene, to come in time to its relief, and to gain that great victory, under its walls, over the vaſt army that beſieged it, which totally fruſtrated the deſigns of the French, and expelled them from Italy.

The ceſſion of this fortreſs, long reputed impregnable, but through treachery, accident, or famine, put the king of Sardinia wholly into the hands of the French. He was now become their priſoner in every reſpect. He was guarded at ſight, and his very perſonal movements were continually under their watch and cognizance.

In conſequence of the forcible reſtraints laid upon him by ſo grievous a ſituation, he became wholly paſſive in whatever related to the French and their adherents. They compelled him to reſcind all thoſe proceedings at law inſtituted againſt the framers of plots and inſurrections againſt his authority, and to model his government entirely according to their will and conceptions. They loaded his miniſters and officers, civil and military, with accuſations, falſe or exaggarated, and inſiſted on their diſmiſſion from office and employment, and baniſhment from the court and capital. They forced him to reduce his army to the loweſt eſtabliſhment, and to deliver up the moſt important places he had taken from the Genoeſe. In this manner did the French, under the denomination of friends and allies, ſtation themſelves in the heart of his dominions, and govern them with abſolute ſway. Excluſive of the citadel of Turin, they were maſters of ſeveral of the ſtrongeſt towns and fortreſſes in his dominions. Thus it was, that for having refuſed, through unſeaſonable jealouſy,

louſy, to entruſt ſome of his fortified places to the Imperial generals, by whoſe experience and bravery they might have effectually ſtopped the progreſs of the French, and probably ſaved Italy, this ill-adviſed monarch was finally conſtrained to put his very capital, the ſtrongeſt of all, into their hands, and thereby to give up in fact the ſovereignty of his dominions.

While the north of Italy was thus experiencing the conſequences of its ſubjection to the French, they were ſolicitouſly preparing the means of extending their conqueſts to the ſouth, though ſtrongly profeſſing themſelves averſe to aggreſſive meaſures, and only deſirous to procure their own ſecurity.

The kingdom of Naples, ſo frequently called the paradiſe of Italy, had hitherto, by its diſtance from France, been conſidered as placed out of the reach of revolutionary meaſures. Connected, however, by matrimonial ties, with the houſe of Auſtria, it had, in the campaign of 1796, aſſiſted it with troops and money, till, compelled, by the ſucceſſes of Buonaparte, to withdraw them, and conclude a treaty of peace and neutrality. The pacification of Campo Formio, in which one of its miniſters, the marquis de Gallo, took an active and ſucceſsful ſhare, ſeemed to have removed its apprehenſions of being again involved in a conteſt with France. But the ſituation of affairs appeared every where ſo precarious, that the Neapolitan miniſtry judged it neceſſary to prepare for the worſt that might happen, eſpecially as the diſputes between France and Rome, though ſettled in appearance, by the treaty of Tolentino, had left a ſpirit of innovation among the people of the eccleſiaſtical ſtates. The city of Rome in particular, that foreboded diſturbances of a revolutionary nature, and of which the French would probably avail themſelves, as they had done elſewhere. In this caſe they would become ſuch near and dangerous neighbours, that altercations with them would hardly be avoidable.

On this preſumption, which events juſtified, an edict was publiſhed at Naples, granting a pardon to all deſerters from the Neapolitan armies, on condition of their immediately returning to their colours. This was done with the double view of recruiting the army, and of withdrawing a number of Neapolitans from the Ciſalpine ſervice, wherein they might imbibe republican notions.

Theſe precautions were take during the two laſt months of 1797. The revolution that happened in Rome the following months raiſed ſuch an alarm in the councils of Naples, that thirty thouſand of its troops were ſtationed on the frontiers; and the roads from the Roman territories were furniſhed with cannon as if an invaſion was expected from that quarter.

Unwilling to create freſh cauſes of terror in a power, which, though not formidable in itſelf, might be rendered ſo by the junction of others, the directory appointed an ambaſſador to the Neapolitan monarch, with inſtructions to impreſs him with the perſuaſion, that the politics of France reſpecting him, were friendly and pacific.

The perſon choſen for this purpoſe, was Garrat, a man of capacity and learning, who had been one of the convention that converted France into a republic, in 1792. In his firſt audience, which was on the

the eighth of May, 1798, he addreſſed the king, in a ſpeech replete with eloquence and virtuous ſentiments. But the inſincerity of the profeſſions of amity and good will, ſo elegantly expreſſed by its miniſters to foreign princes, was too much ſuſpected in the mouth of Garrat, a violent republican, to make any impreſſion in favour of the directory. The conſciouſneſs of the mortification his preſence occaſioned to the queen of Naples, ſiſter to the unfortunate Antoinette, conſort to Lewis XVI. induced him ſhortly to renounce his embaſſy, after having vainly tried to palliate the enormities of the revolution.

In the mean time, the diſturbances in the country of the Griſons, that followed, and were cauſed by the revolution in Switzerland, had entirely altered the ſituation of things between France and Auſtria. As it was not expected that the latter would acquieſce peaceably in a change ſo materially detrimental to its intereſt, as the union of the Helvetic body with the French republic, ſo it was not doubted but the favourable opportunity of aſſuming the protection of the Griſons on their own conſent and invitation, againſt the projected uſurpations of France, would be readily embraced by the court of Vienna. As the French, on the other hand, would not deſiſt from their pretenſions, a renewal of hoſtilities was evidently unavoidable: in which caſe the intimate connection ſubſiſting between Naples and Vienna would neceſſarily induce them to make a common cauſe againſt that formidable enemy.

Such being the relative ſituation of thoſe two courts, that of Naples immediately proceeded, on the proſpect of what muſt ſhortly happen, to make as large additions to its army, and to raiſe as conſiderable ſupplies of money as could poſſibly be procured by all the means and exertions it was able to reſort to, in a criſis which it looked upon as infallibly deciſive of its future deſtiny.

Nevertheleſs all due care was taken to obviate complaints on the part of France. Proclamations were iſſued, enjoining the Neapolitans to conſider the French as their friends, and to treat them as ſuch, and particularly to avoid all occaſions of quarrel and altercation between individuals of the two nations, as tending ſo uſually to more ſerious feuds.

It was remarkable, that on the preſent emergency, the church was called upon, in a peculiar manner, to ſupply the neceſſities of the ſtate. An enumeration was made of all the convents, both of men and women, in the kingdom, and of their poſſeſſions and revenues, and in proportion to theſe they were aſſeſſed the maintenance of a ſoldier for every five conventuals. Clergymen, poſſeſſing benefices of a thouſand ducats yearly, were each charged with the expence of a man. The danger, to which they felt their profeſſions expoſed, reconciled the clergy and the monaſtic orders to this tax, to which probably they would not otherwiſe have ſubmitted. Theſe aſſeſſments maintained, it was ſaid, twelve thouſand men. The barons of the realm were, in like manner, required to raiſe and pay a conſiderable body of cavalry. In order, at the ſame time, to provide ſufficient numbers for the large army that was to be ſet on foot, every fifth man, able to

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bear arms, was enrolled for the ſervice. The ways and means, employed to find money for the ſupport of theſe numerous forces, were very productive. The requiſition upon plate alone produced near fifty millions of ducats.

In the midſt of theſe vaſt preparations, the terror inſpired by the proximity of the French armies, ſtill carried invincible influence over the Neapolitan councils. Garrat, the French ambaſſador, had, before his departure, demanded the liberation from confinement of all individuals detained for their political opinions, whom he ſtyled the unfortunate friends of France, making it a condition of its amity, and of its guaranteeing Naples againſt any attempts from the Italian republics.

The court was highly irritated at this demand; but, after a multiplicity of fruitleſs endeavours to elude it, was obliged to comply. The number of individuals ſet at liberty through this interference of France, was not ſo conſiderable as to endanger the ſtate; but they were perſons of noted character and intrepidity. In that light their releaſe from priſon was viewed as a circumſtance highly injurious to the court, on account of the liberties they would take in expoſing its conduct to them as oppreſſive and iniquitous, and of their endeavours to induce people to ſhake off the yoke of a government that exerciſed ſuch tyranny, and to uſe their efforts for the obtaining another more equitable and free.

Thus it was clear, that without a cloſe alliance with Auſtria, the revolutionary opinions, daily gaining ground in the kingdom of Naples, chiefly in the capital, would, after ſpreading through all claſſes, excite commotions that might prove finally too ſtrong to be reſiſted. It was reſolved, therefore, to arm the royal authority with all the power that could be collected at home, and with all the ſtrength that could be derived from a potent ally abroad, intereſted, from motives no leſs cogent than its own, to arreſt the progreſs of a party that ſeemed determined to ſtop at nothing for the compaſſing of its ends; and without the total extermination of which no monarch could be ſafe on his throne.

Under this conviction, the court of Naples ſaw no other method of ſecuring its exiſtence, than by renewing, without farther delay, its alliance with Auſtria, which now ſtood, though with more extenſive means of defence, much in a ſimilar ſituation. The French government, not ignorant of the ſecret intentions of both theſe powers, and hoping to ſtrike with freſh terror that which it deemed moſt ſuſceptible of fear, and thereby to prevent his junction with the other, gave formal notice to the Neapolitan miniſtry, that it expected a punctual obſervance of that article of the treaty ſubſiſting between them, by which only four Engliſh ſhips of war were admiſſible at a time into any or all its harbours; without which reſtriction the Engliſh might fill with their ſhips of war all the ports of Naples and Sicily.

But the Neapolitan miniſtry had now reſolved to liſten neither to its threats nor promiſes. It was too deeply alarmed at the expedition under the command of Buonaparte, the deſtination of which was not yet aſcertained, but who had ſeized on Malta, and was thought to menace other iſlands. Little confi-

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ding in the good faith of the French, it did not think itſelf bound in prudence to conform literally to the words of a treaty, while France, by daily extending its acquiſitions under inſidious pretences, was breaking through the ſpirit of all treaties, and authoriſing all ſtates to conſult their ſecurity and defence by all the means they could poſſibly deviſe.

In the mean-while, the French were augmenting the number of their forces at Rome, and evidently making preparations for hoſtile meaſures; which report concurred from all quarters to direct againſt Naples. It was time, therefore, to make counter-preparations, though at the expence of incurring their diſpleaſure. Additional levies of men were made, and every meaſure taken to put the kingdom in a poſture of defence.

Heavy complaints, as it had been foreſeen, were laid before the Neapolitan miniſtry, which was menaced with the ſevereſt reſentment of France, at this manifeſtation of inimical deſigns. It was explicitly warned not to place too much dependence on a power ſo diſtant as Auſtria, and to recollect what forces France had at Rome, and how ſoon they could be at Naples before it could poſſibly receive aſſiſtance from abroad. It was reminded, at the ſame time, of the numbers of malcontents that would join the French on their arrival, and with what a ſpirit of revenge they were animated for the ſeverities that had been exerciſed upon them.

Theſe threatening remonſtrances did not however produce the effect intended. The court, on the contrary, apprehending the intrigues of thoſe whom it had freed from confinement, through the interference of Garrat, remanded them to priſon, and menaced with the like treatment every perſon that ſhould endeavour to ſtir up diſcontent or ſedition, or profeſs himſelf an abettor of the French or of their principles.

The aſpect of affairs began, at this period, to prove leſs favourable to this reſtleſs nation. A treaty was concluded between the emperor and the king of Naples, by which the latter was to be aided with a powerful army. The former occupied the countries adjacent to Switzerland, with numerous forces, and his reſolution was avowedly taken to aſſiſt the Griſons againſt the well known projects of the French, who had failed in their endeavours to prevail upon that people to join them, and admit a French army into their country, notwithſtanding the intrigues and the menaces of the directory.

Irritated at the firmneſs with which the court of Naples had proceeded to arm in its own defence, and to ſuppreſs the malcontents in its dominions, the French government filled all the papers in its pay with complaints and denunciations of its vengeance. La Combe St. Michael, the ambaſſador appointed in the room of Garrat, was ordered to inſiſt in the moſt poſitive terms on its deſiſting from the hoſtile meaſures it had taken, and laying aſide the warlike appearance it had aſſumed, under pain of incurring the utmoſt indignation of France, and experiencing the conſequences that would follow.

It was now verging towards the cloſe of September, and Europe was filled with the news of a deciſive victory obtained by an Engliſh fleet, under admiral Nelſon, over a French fleet, on the coaſt of Egypt. The

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effects produced every where, by this great event (as will, by and by, appear), were aſtoniſhing. — The ſubmiſſive and adulatory ſtyle, which the dread of the French had ſo widely ſpread, vaniſhed at once from both ſpeech and writing, and people boldly expreſſed their real ſentiments. In Italy eſpecially, the rancour excited by their diſreſpect to religion, rouzed the multitude in almoſt every part of that ſpacious country, and plainly proved that fear alone had hitherto prevented men from manifeſting the abhorrence in which they held them. In all thoſe places which were not kept in awe, by the immediate terror of their arms and preſence, a ſpirit of hatred and inveteracy ſtarted up, that united all claſſes in a determination to cooperate in their expulſion.

The kingdom of Naples, which had hitherto remained unattempted, and now hoped that all dangers of this nature were at an end, teſtified the loudeſt joy at this deliverance, and the moſt zealous readineſs to ſecond the enemies of the French, in driving them out of Italy. It was not only for the inſults they were guilty of to the religion of the country, but for their inſupportable haughtineſs, that all degrees ſo unanimouſly concurred in viewing them with malevolence. Among other inſtances of tyrannical pride, general Macdonald, who commanded at Rome, had lately depoſed the conſuls of that republic, and ſubſtituted others in their places: the proclamation iſſued upon this occaſion, concluded with theſe remarkable words: "Such is the will of the great nation, and it muſt be obeyed." Such arrogance and pretenſions could not fail to expoſe them to general odium.

The people of Malta were the firſt to ſet the example of an inſurrection againſt them. Buonaparte, on his departure, had left a garriſon of about three thouſand men, in that iſland. They remained ſome time at peace with the inhabitants; but proceeded gradually to make ſo many requiſitions, particularly of the plate belonging to the churches and hoſpitals, that a univerſal riſing took place on the twenty-ſixth of Auguſt: the people, whoſe patience was exhauſted by their inſolence and their extortions, attacked them with ſuch fury, that they were obliged to take refuge in the forts, where the inhabitants kept them cloſely confined. The French government attributed this inſurrection to the court of Naples, as it did every occurrence in Italy unfavourable to them.

But the Neapolitan miniſtry, no longer intimidated by the continual effuſions of anger proceeding from the directory, continued its operations with the utmoſt vigour. It placed general Provere, who had ſo much ſignalized himſelf in the campaigns againſt Buonaparte, at the head of the army, which was kept in a continual ſtate of exerciſe, and officered by as many expert individuals as could be procured, and to whom the greateſt encouragement was given.

It was with reaſon that the king of Naples made all theſe preparations. The wrath of the French was kindled to the higheſt pitch, at the unfeigned exultation he had, in common with his people, diſplayed at the ſucceſs of the Engliſh. He had gone out to ſea, to meet admiral Nelſon, and had received him with undiſſembled joy. His victory over the French, and the deſtruction of their fleet, were celebrated at Naples, as triumphs in which the whole

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kingdom was deeply intereſted: the Engliſh cockade was worn by multitudes, who expreſſed, without diſguize, their confidence, that the time was come for the utter downfal of the French.

Theſe, however, held the Neapolitans, and their attempts to form an army capable of facing them, in abſolute deriſion. The troops they had at Rome, and in the northern parts of Italy, were, in their opinion, fully ſufficient to cruſh all the efforts of the emperor and the king of Naples. What, through the puſillanimity produced by bigotry, or by a long ſubjection to ſtrangers, they looked upon the natives of his dominions as loſt to all national ſpirit, and wholly unfit for ſoldiers. The only men among them to be relied upon were thoſe who had imbibed republican principles, and theſe were the declared enemies to his government. As to the emperor, his armies, when compoſed of the braveſt veterans, had been invariably defeated, and were now ſo thoroughly deſtroyed, that they conſiſted almoſt entirely of new levies, forced from their homes into the ſervice; and the majority were well known to fight againſt the French, much againſt their own inclinations.

Theſe notions being partly true, though greatly exaggerated by the French, prevented them from being diſpirited at the diſaſters that had befallen them at ſea, and kept up their hopes of being able ſhortly to balance them by ſucceſſes at land. In the mean while, their ambaſſador at Naples, on his arrival, which was the middle of October, endeavoured, in the ſpeech he made to the king at his firſt audience, to inculcate the neceſſity of his preſerving the good-will of France: but that prince was convinced that his real intereſt required him to take a decided part againſt it. His army was becoming numerous and well diſciplined, amounting to four ſcore thouſand men, one-fourth cavalry, and ſupplied with a number of good officers, at the head of whom was now general Mack, ſent from Germany at the king's requeſt.

In expectation of having the emperor to encounter, and that, aſſiſted by the treaſures of England, he would bring immenſe forces into the field, the directory, though full of boaſts, was extremely ſolicitous to obviate, the acceſſion of auxiliaries to him, that might neceſſitate the diviſion of the ſtrength they poſſeſſed in Italy, and which they were deſirous to employ wholly againſt him. They knew that were he to be ſucceſsful in the attempt he was meditating, their footing in Italy would be loſt, and he would recover all they had taken. This would at once give a final blow to their revolutionary eſtabliſhments and deſigns in that quarter. The navies of England and of Ruſſia, already in poſſeſſion of the Mediterranean, would quickly maſter every iſland in that ſea, and ſhut them out from the trade and navigation to the Levant, ſo prodigious a ſource of wealth to France. It was incumbent, therefore, upon them, from every motive, to collect all the force they could poſſibly procure for ſo deciſive a conteſt, and carefully to avoid the giving any provocation that might occaſion a diverſion in his favour.

This was the real motive that reſtrained them from indulging their rancour at the court of Naples, for the manifeſtations of its good wiſhes to their enemies, though they ſtrove to cloak their forbearance under a remnant

remnant of reſpect for the emperor, and of a deference for the king of Spain, their ally, and ſo nearly related to the Neapolitan monarch. The fact was, that France, though unwilling to make ſuch an acknowledgement, had been ſo forcibly impreſſed by the deſtruction of its fleet, at the battle of the Nile (of which an account will be given preſently), that it was become leſs unwilling to admit of pacific ideas, and would gladly have granted more favourable terms to the emperor, in order to detach him from his connection with England: this being an object, to attain which, it would readily have conſented to great ſacrifices.

But there were alſo other cauſes that retarded the deſigns of France againſt Naples and the emperor; both of whom, as embarked in the ſame bottom, it was reſolved to involve in the ſame treatment, whenever an opportunity arrived. Theſe cauſes were the pecuniary embarraſſments of the republic, and the difficulty of extorting money from its allies, exhauſted like itſelf, by its mercileſs requiſitions. Inſurrections had alſo broken out in the Belgic provinces, and were daily becoming more extenſive and ſerious. Till theſe were ſuppreſſed, the directory did not think it ſafe to undertake operations abroad, which would have required thoſe troops that were wanted to effect this ſuppreſſion. The levies of men in France, in conſequence of the requiſition made by the directory of no leſs than two hundred thouſand, were not yet completed, and it would take time, after they were aſſembled, to diſcipline and fit them for the field, and then to march them to the frontiers. As ſoon as theſe various embarraſſments were removed, no doubt was entertained that France would proceed to active operations, in order to replace itſelf by freſh ſucceſſes on that footing of terror to its enemies, which it ſtood upon previouſly to the battle of the Nile, and without which it hoped for no peace on advantageous conditions, or even upon terms of ſecurity.

The neceſſity of recovering this poſition inſpired the directory with the determination of employing every method either of ſolicitation or of coercion that appeared moſt convenient or moſt practicable for the effecting of this purpoſe. The Helvetian republic was called upon to put in requiſition all individuals from ſixteen to forty-five years of age. The king of Sardinia, againſt whom the moſt inimical deſigns were ſecretly formed, was compelled to advance a large ſum of money, and to hold in readineſs the contingent of troops he was bound to furniſh by the treaty of alliance with France. The Ciſalpine commonwealth was required to contribute twenty-four millions as a loan, and to prepare the ſtipulated proportion of troops. At Rome, a heavy tax was impoſed, for the ſervice of France; and, in order to facilitate its payment, aſſignats were created on the confiſcated property of the emigrants and clergy.

Theſe onerous demands and requiſitions proved, however, that the neceſſities of France were preſſing. This conſideration did not eſcape the court of Naples, the only power in Italy ſtill at liberty to act for itſelf, and convinced that the preſent was as favourable a ſeaſon for action as any it could expect. In addition to thoſe preſſures, others

of a more calamitous nature afflicted the interior provinces.—Towns, formerly populous and full of buſineſs, had loſt their inhabitants, together with the means of employing them. All occupations were at a ſtand, excepting thoſe relating to war and to the indiſpenſable intercourſes of ſociety.

A circumſtance peculiarly encouraging to attack the French in Italy, was, that the flower of that army, which had done ſuch great things in that country, had been carried away by Buonaparte, in his expedition to Egypt, from whence it was probable that few of them would ever return. Thus a variety of motives concurred to render an attempt upon the French, in Italy, highly adviſable.

Actuated by theſe inducements, the court of Naples reſolved to enter immediately upon the execution of the plan propoſed. The king put himſelf at the head of his army, accompanied by general Mack, and marched into the territory of the Roman republic, upon the twenty-third of November. His ſudden and unexpected appearance ſo much diſconcerted the French and their partiſans, that they haſtily withdrew from Rome, which was left open and defenceleſs to the Neapolitan troops.

In order to ſecond theſe operations, by cauſing a diverſion of the French forces in thoſe parts, a Britiſh ſquadron, with a large body of troops on board, ſailed to Leghorn, of which it took poſſeſſion on the twenty-eight of November. The duke of Tuſcany and his family had taken refuge there in conſequence of a requiſition to prepare quarters at Florence, his capital, for five thouſand Frenchmen.

This entrance of the Neapolitan army, on the Roman territories, furniſhed a pretext to the French, to ſeize upon the king of Sardinia's dominions. Ever ſince their occupation of the citadel of Turin, continual altercations had ſubſiſted between the French garriſon there and the inhabitants of the city, who felt indignantly the treatment of their ſovereign, and their own involuntary ſubjection to foreigners. It was reſolved, therefore, in a council held by the French generals in Italy, to proceed inſtantly to a total ſeizure of Piedmont, looking upon that prince and his ſubjects as inimical to their cauſe, and determined upon the firſt opportunity to ſhake off their yoke, and aſſiſt their enemies. Attacked by the king of Naples on one ſide, and in daily expectation of being aſſailed by the emperor on the other, they did not heſitate, conformably to the maxims of convenience, the only maxims they conſulted, to poſſeſs themſelves of a country that would, if they were obliged to give way to either of thoſe perſons, afford them a ſafe retreat, and ſecure their communication both with France and with Switzerland.

They executed their deſigns between the ſixth and the tenth of December. Conſcious of his inability to reſiſt them, and averſe to the ſhedding of blood to no purpoſe, the Sardinian monarch yielded paſſively to all their demands, and ſurrendered his towns and fortreſſes, his troops, people, and country into the hands of the French, who did not permit him to remain one day longer in his abdicated dominions. On the morrow after they had extorted theſe conceſſions from him,

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by a formal capitulation, wherein he obtained the beſt conditions he was able, for the ſafety of the religion and properties of his ſubjects, they inſiſted that he ſhould forthwith tranſport himſelf to the iſland of Sardinia, with thoſe who were willing to follow his fortunes.

Thus ended, for the preſent, the reign of Victor Emanuel. He was blamed, by many, for not having made a firmer reſiſtance to the French, from the moment they began to arrogate more authority than the articles of the peace he had made allowed them. But it was evident that all oppoſition would have been vain. He was ſurrounded on every ſide, and, to have had recourſe to arms, could only precipitate him from his throne, poſſibly with more of violence than he now experienced.

The directory endeavoured to juſtify their hard uſage of this prince, by charging him with the moſt hoſtile intentions, and with the baſeſt practices againſt the French. Probably, however, his chief, if not his only offence, conſiſted in the enmity which they were certain he muſt bear them, for the ill treatment and the inſults he was perpetually loaded with, and his preſumed reſolution to ſeek revenge when opportunity offered.

In the mean time, general Mack, at the head of the Neapolitan forces, had compelled the advanced poſts of the Roman army to retire, and occupied, with the numerous army under his command, a large extent of country. But, as ſoon as Championet, the French general, had collected the various bodies of his countrymen that were diſperſed in ſeveral places of the Roman territory, he reſolutely marched againſt the enemy, notwithſtanding his vaſt ſuperiority. The firſt action was at Porto Fermo, where the Neapolitans, who were, it is ſaid, eighteen thouſand ſtrong, were defeated by general Ruſca, at the head of leſs than four thouſand, with the loſs of their cannon, camp, and baggage, and a great number ſlain or taken. At Monteroſi, general Kellermann, with hardly two thouſand men, encountered eight thouſand, of whom two thouſand were made priſoners, with their artillery, tents, and equipage, and ſeveral hundreds killed. The remainder of this vanquiſhed body retired to Civita Caſtellana, where it was joined by ten thouſand men, commanded by general Mack, who ſurrounded himſelf with ſtrong entrenchments: but they were attacked and carried by the generals Macdonald and Mathieu: five thouſand men were taken, of whom one hundred and twenty were officers, beſides the numbers that fell. Several other engagements took place, in every one of which the French were victorious; and, in the ſpace of three weeks, from his invaſion of the Roman territory, general Mack was obliged to retire to Naples, and put himſelf on the defenſive, with a ſhattered and diſpirited army, on which it now appeared that little reliance could be placed, notwithſtanding the pains that had been taken to form it to diſcipline and tactics. The only hope, now remaining to the court of Naples, was in the ſpeedy aſſiſtance of the emperor, whoſe forces were advancing, with all expedition, on the northern confines of Italy. But this was a diſtant aid, and, before it could arrive, great apprehenſions were entertained that much miſchief might be done.

CHAP. X.

Vaſt and unbounded Ambition of the French Republic.—A formidable Armament ſails from Toulon.—Conjectures concerning its Deſtination.—Attacks and reduces the Iſland of Malta.—Reaches and makes a Deſcent on the Coaſt of Egypt.—Proceedings of the Engliſh Fleet in the Mediterranean, under Admiral Nelſon.—Signal Victory of the Engliſh over the French Fleet at Anchor in the Bay of Aboukir.—The French Fleet almoſt all taken or deſtroyed.—The Effects of this inſtantaneous and great Event over all Europe.—Buonaparte makes himſelf Maſter of Alexandria.—And of Grand Cairo.—The French in Poſſeſſion of all Egypt.—And occupied in organizing a Government there, on their uſual Plan.

THE coincident manœuvres of the directory, to overthrow the ancient conſtitution of Switzerland, to march their conquering legions acroſs the Appenine mountains, and to dictate to the congreſs of Raſtadt (of the progreſs and iſſue of which we ſhall give ſome account in our ſubſequent volume), were declared by themſelves, and appeared in reality, to be only ſubſidiary to their grand deſign of an attack on this country; without humbling which, their ſcheme of univerſal influence and domination muſt ever ſuffer interruption. There they meant to plunder the continent of Europe. Here they meant to conquer the world.

But the mighty preparations of France, notwithſtanding the diſtractions and inſurrections in Ireland, were beheld in Great Britain without diſmay, and with an elevated courage, which even ſought to encounter the enemy. From Caithneſs, to Kent and Cornwall, the united nations were in arms. Internal conſpiracies were quaſhed, and all hearts and hands were united, in defiance of the French: the greateſt fear was, leſt they ſhould not carry their threats of invaſion into execution, but purſue the lingering mode of exhauſting and cutting us off by a conſumption. While the Britiſh navy watched and cut off, or ſeized, the ſhips and ſquadrons of the enemy, gun-boats were fitted out in the Britiſh creeks and harbours. The invaders could not land any where, without being greatly crippled. In addition to all theſe circumſtances, the leaders of oppoſition, though they had too often predicted the danger and diſtreſs to be apprehended from entering into and perſevering in the war (even after an opportunity had offered for an honourable pacification), magnanimouſly determined, at the preſent criſis, to ſupport the government: burying, for a time, all paſt diſputes in oblivion.

By this formidable front, that invasion which had been so long in preparation, and so loudly threatened, was, for the present, averted.

The directory, having laid aside the project against England, thought it necessary to substitute another in its place, which might seem no less conspicuous, and balance the disappointment of the public, when it found its expectations from that project frustrated. They concerted with Buonaparte, whom they had destined for the command of what they called the army of England, but who had never entered warmly, if he at all approved, their design of invading this country, * a project which (to make use of the language of the French) was to strike all Europe with astonishment.

The preparations, for an invasion of England, were apparently continued for a considerable time after the design was laid aside, that, under the veil of those preparations, their real design might be the better concealed and accomplished. While certain bodies of troops, and stores, were drawn towards the coasts of Normandy and Brittany, others were collected at Toulon: from whence the armament, destined for the secret expedition, set sail, under the orders of Buonaparte, on the twentieth of May. It consisted of thirteen ships of the line, of which one carried a hundred and twenty guns, three eighty, and nine seventy-four, seven frigates of forty guns, besides smaller vessels, making altogether forty and four sail. The transports amounted to nearly two hundred, carrying about twenty thousand men, regular troops, with a proportionable number of horses and artillery, and immense quantities of provisions and military stores. This fleet carried also a number of artists of all denominations, with astronomers, geometers, chymists, mineralogists, botanists, physicians, men versant in ancient and modern languages, and, in a word, whatever might conduce to the improvement of the colony in view, and the advancement of knowledge.

A variety of conjectures were formed with regard to the destination of this formidable armament: the largest that had ever been equipped in France for any distant expedition. Malta and Egypt were generally pointed out as its principal objects; which they proved accordingly. The riches of the former were deemed a sufficient temptation for France to seize them, in its present need of resources, exclusive of the abundant supply of

* It has been said that Buonaparte refused to take the command of the army of England, unless he should be at full liberty to use all that moral artillery which he had exercised with so much success in other quarters; not only to make war, but also at his own discretion to make peace: and that it was his wish to settle the affairs of Great Britain, as well as those of all the rest of Europe, at Rastadt, on the basis of the treaty, and particularly the famous fourteenth article of the treaty of Campo Formio. The directory was actuated by jealousy and envy. The degree of respect he had shewn to property, to religion, and to sovereign princes, though less than what would have been satisfactory to the friends of monarchy, was greater than what accorded with a spirit of jacobinical union, fraternization, and destruction. But what was of the greatest importance of all, had the power of peace, as well as war, been lodged in the hands of Buonaparte, they would have been deprived of those personal advantages to which, it now plainly appeared, they looked in all their negociations with foreign powers.

excellent mariners to be drawn from that iſland, were the French to retain it. The latter appeared an acquiſition of the higheſt importance to the commercial intereſt of France, which it would enable to intercept and ruin the trade of England in India, one of the principal ſources of its opulence and naval grandeur.

The French fleet arrived off the iſland of Malta the ninth of June. A pretext was wanting for permiſſion to enter the harbour; but it was demanded for the procuring of water. Such a requeſt, ſo ſoon after leaving Toulon, excited the ſuſpicion of the grand maſter. Unwilling, however, to appear inimical, he conſented, on condition that only two ſhips ſhould enter at a time. This being conſtrued into a refuſal, the French prepared to attack the place; which they did on the next morning, at every point that was found acceſſible. The defence of the Malteſe was ſo ſpiritleſs and feeble, that the French effected the landing of as many troops as were neceſſary to inveſt the city of Valetta on every ſide; and a capitulation took place on the eleventh, by which the knights ſurrendered the iſland to France. It had, at this time, a garriſon of ſeven thouſand men; the ſhores were defended by ten fortreſſes of uncommon ſtrength, and the city itſelf was reputed almoſt impregnable. Two centuries before, it had been beſieged by the celebrated Solyman, the Turkiſh emperor, at the head of two hundred thouſand men, who was obliged to withdraw, after a prodigious ſlaughter of his army. Theſe particulars induced all Europe to believe that it fell into the hands of the French as much through treachery as cowardice. The advantages reſulting to the invaders, from the reduction of Malta, were certainly great. They found here, two ſhips of war, four gallies, and one frigate, with twelve hundred cannon, and immenſe magazines of military ſtores.

The poſſeſſion of the iſle itſelf was of the higheſt importance, having the beſt and ſafeſt harbour in the ſtreights; commanding the navigation between the European, Aſiatic, and African, diviſions of the Mediterranean, and affording every convenience for the refitting and conſtruction of ſhipping.

This conqueſt filled the French commander and his army with the brighteſt hopes: leaving a ſufficient force to guard it, Buonaparte ſailed from hence on the twentieth of June, 1798, and reached his ultimate deſtination, the coaſt of Egypt, on the firſt day of July. What were the final projects of the French government, or rather of the extraordinary genius who commanded this extraordinary expedition, remain doubtful at this day. To record, however, the moſt plauſible ſpeculations on this ſubject may not be quite foreign to the deſign of deſcribing the relative ſituation of ſtates and kingdoms, at given periods, and the views to which this naturally gives birth.

Buonaparte who, to a mind naturally lofty, and fertile in expedients, had added all the advantages of a learned and liberal, as well as a military education, viewed things on a grand ſcale, and under a vaſt variety of relations, and was animated by the contemplation of ancient times to a love of glory. He had often expreſſed in converſation, even

even for ſeveral years before, his opinion, that there could not be a nobler enterprize, or one more conducive to the intereſts of the human race, than to relieve India from the domination of the Engliſh, and to open the richeſt commerce to the whole world. His plans, therefore, of exalting France on the ruins of England, were tinctured with ideas ſomewhat ſublime and generous, and what might be expected to conciliate the grateful affection as well as the admiration of the world. As he could not take India, the great ſpring of Britiſh wealth and naval power in London, he conceived the deſign of ſhutting it out from England, by the poſſeſſion of Egypt: whether by making that country, ſo ſingularly and happily ſituated,* only a ſtepping-ſtone to the coaſt of Malabar,† where he might be joined by Tippoo: or whether by making it a permanent ſettlement; by colonizing it, improving it, and raiſing all thoſe productions in which it is ſo fertile, and which are proper to countries in the ſame latitude in different parts of the world; by uniting the Indian trade to that emporium, by means of canals, harbours, and forts, on the Red-Sea; and, on the whole, gradually, and by a courſe of harmonized actions, to turn the tide of commerce againſt England. The firſt of theſe projects, to go directly to India, though romantic and full of danger, was generally held to be the moſt congruous both to the character of Buonaparte, and the French nation. The laſt, which was the moſt natural and ſolid, is that which appears to have been embraced by Buonaparte.

But this, however great and comprehenſive, it is fair to preſume, from meaſures previouſly taken by this daring chief, as well as his character, impatient of repoſe, and enjoying tranquillity only in action, was not his only object. There were other collateral plans which he had in contemplation, the execution of which might go hand in hand with his deſigns on Egypt and India, if theſe ſhould be favoured by fortune and crowned with ſucceſs. Corfou, with other iſlands, Malta, and Egypt, while they would open, on the one hand, outpoſts for undermining the power of England in the eaſt, would open alſo, on the other, various avenues for exciting inſurrection and revolt in ancient Greece and other parts of the Turkiſh empire; republican ideas might be cheriſhed in Hungary, and the ſouthern provinces of Auſtria; and political independence with civil freedom reſtored to Poland. Such, probably, were the animating views, and ſuch the wide and ſplendid theatre of action, that were originally in the contemplation, or would certainly have been opened by ſucceſs to the ardent and aſpiring genius of Buonaparte.

The project of ſeizing and colonizing Egypt, had been ſuggeſted, by the count Vergennes, to the French government during the monarchy; and, at one period, it had

* Egypt was happily denominated, by Auguſtus Cæſar, "the key of the land and the ſea."

† For which navigation, a ſufficient quantity of ſhipping might be furniſhed by the trade between the coaſts of Malabar and Arabia.

been very ſeriouſly thought of. There were ſome circumſtances which not only pointed out the preſent time as very opportune for carrying it into execution, but which ſeemed to threaten danger to the French republic if this ſhould be much longer delayed. The power of the Ottomans over the pachas, and other officers, had now become more nominal than real. Paſſawan Oglou, of Widdin, was in open rebellion, and not only maintained his independence but threatened to advance to the gates of Conſtantinople. The Greeks, in the two laſt wars between Ruſſia and the Porte, had ſhewn a ſpirit worthy of liberty, and capable, with a due proportion of foreign aid, to aſſert it. They would unqueſtionably, in the preſent juncture, be ready to join any foreign power that promiſed and was likely to afford them protection; they might, if neglected by France, become the friends, allies, and, in ſome meaſure, the dependents of Ruſſia, of Auſtria, or of Great Britain. The Turkiſh empire, verging faſt to a diſſolution, was preciſely in the ſituation of the Mogul empire, when the authority of the emperor had ceaſed, and was aſſumed by the governors of the different provinces. It was ſoon, if France ſhould not interfere, to be divided among the three great allied powers, Ruſſia, England, and Auſtria, lately become a maritime power, by the acquiſition of Venice and a large tract of coaſt on the Adriatic. The commerce with India was about to fall back into its ancient channel. The bulky commodities of that country might ſtill be carried round by the Cape of Good Hope: but the lighter and more precious articles of trade would find their way by Syria, Egypt, and the Mediterranean. A ſucceſſion of travellers had lately ſhewn there were different routes from Bombay to Leghorn, and London, much ſhorter than had been imagined. In 1779, private traders in India had riſked a caravan by the way of Egypt, to the value of ſeveral millions ſterling. This caravan was, indeed, plundered by the Arabs; inſtigated by the Engliſh Eaſt-India company and government: but ſtill it was a proof of the facilities for commerce, preſented by the iſthmus of Suez. The channel is natural that is ſhut only by the intrigues of monopoliſts and the power of governments. If Egypt and the Red-Sea ſhould not be occupied by France they would be occupied by England, with whom, while the coalition ſhould be held together, and Ruſſia, ſome commercial arrangements would be made for the mutual advantage of all the contracting parties. On the whole, if the imbecility of the Turkiſh empire ſhould not be improved to the advantage of France, and freedom, its approaching fall muſt become the means of ſtrengthening the hands of deſpotiſm.

Buonaparte, in the midſt of his proceedings in Italy, found means to carry on a correſpondence with the Greeks, under the veil of commerce, through the agency of different individuals of that nation, attached to his perſon and cauſe, by pecuniary gratifications. Pamphlets, poems, ſongs, in ancient and modern Greek, with fabricated gazettes, had been in circulation for two years, throughout Macedonia, Epirus, Albania, the Morea, and the iſles of the

the Archipelago, rouzing the Greeks to an emulation of their anceſtors, under the auſpices and protection of the great nation. There was an aged Greek, named Dimo, who had taken refuge, for a long ſeries of years, from Turkiſh inſolence and oppreſſion, with his family, in the iſland of Corſica, where he became acquainted with Buonaparte. Him the general ſent for, and diſpatched, with a letter, to the patriarch of the Mainotes, Chriſtians of the Greek church, and deſcendants of the ancient Lacedemonians, who had maintained, in a very conſiderable degree, the independence of their anceſtors; the whole tribe, or nation, being conſtantly armed, from the firſt irruption of the Turks in Europe to the preſent moment. To the letter of Buonaparte, fraught with ſentiments of reſpect and benevolence, to the patriarch, the Mainotes, and all the Greeks, the reverend father ſent an anſwer, pointing out many circumſtances in the preſent ſtate of the Greek nation, and the Turkiſh government, which invited the co-operation of the French republic, for the emancipation of the former, and the chaſtiſement of the latter. "Through the weakneſs of the Ottomans, he ſaid, and their inability to maintain ſubordination and peace, the Greeks in Albania and Epirus had been under the neceſſity, and even allowed by the Porte, to take up arms in defence of their property. Bands, from two to five and ſix hundred men, had, for a long period of time, occaſionally ſcoured the country, and laid the villages under the heavieſt contributions, beſides other acts of an inſolent and enormous nature. Thoſe maraudings, and the neceſſity of reſiſting them, had come to even an unuſual height, during the courſe of the laſt war with Ruſſia; ſince which time the Greeks had become ſo inured to arms and military exertions, that they were able and well-diſpoſed to face a Turkiſh army, if any foreign power ſhould obtain a footing in Greece: without which, they were ſenſible that the Turkiſh force muſt ultimately prevail over all their efforts. The Turkiſh empire, the patriarch obſerved, haſtened to the laſt ſtage of its fall. The public treaſury was not repleniſhed by the wonted ſupplies of the provinces. A great number of pachas, not leſs than ſixteen, had declared themſelves to be independent of the grand ſeignior and divan of Conſtantinople. Nor were they ſatisfied with detaining in their own hands the cuſtomary contributions; but would not ſuffer caravans with contributions to the Porte, from other provinces, to paſs through their diſtricts. Paſſawan Oglou having ſet out from Widdin, in Bulgaria, with only a ſmall army, on his way to Conſtantinople, had found it increaſed to the number of forty thouſand by the time he arrived at Adrianople; from whence he had ſent a meſſage to the grand ſeignior, in a haughty and imperious tone, charging him with the introduction of various European cuſtoms and violations of the law of Mahomed.* In the vicinity of Burſa, there was another pacha,

* It does not fall within the deſign of this ſketch of the Hiſtory of Europe to give a detailed account of the rebellion of a Turkiſh pacha. It may be a ſatisfaction to our readers,

pacha, at the head of a ſtrong army, who intercepted the revenue of the Porte from that quarter. So that, on the whole, Greece, at the preſent moment, belonged to any power that would deliver the Greeks from the yoke impoſed on them by the Turks.

So ſenſible, the patriarch continued, were the Ruſſians of the imbecility of the Turkiſh government, and of what might be effected by the Greeks if duly ſupported, that a prince of the Imperial family had been baptized, by the name of Conſtantius, as the legitimate heir of the throne of Conſtantinople; and received a Grecian education. He ſpoke no other language than Greek; he had few beſides Grecian chiefs about his perſon; and evidently aſpired to the Grecian empire." But he declared, in concluſion, that the Greeks, being more attached to a free government than ariſtocracy, would prefer the protection of France to that of any other country whatever: and, above all, if Buonaparte ſhould be its principal organ!" This letter, written in Greek, was ſigned Trephanopoli.

Without charging the patriarch with aught of the *Græcia mendax*, or of voluntary exaggeration, it may be obſerved, that his ſtatement is not exactly accurate, and that he has probably given ear, as is very natural, to every report that favoured his wiſhes. Yet it is, on the whole, in conformity with the moſt authentic accounts of the diſpoſitions of the Greeks, and the internal ſtate of the Ottoman empire.

The letter of Trephanopoli, together with an account of certain miſchances, which rendered a farther ſupply of money neceſſary for farther correſpondence with the Greeks, was carried, by Dimo, to Buonaparte, who ſaid, "I will read this report with all the intereſt that I have taken in thoſe you have already ſent me: I will take care of all that you mention." As Dimo retired, the general ſaid, "in four days I ſhall want to ſee you." But, from this moment, Dimo ſaw him no more. On the fourth day, Buonaparte ſet out for Toulon: ſo that Dimo concluded that it was in the interval of thoſe four days that the expedition to Egypt was reſolved on.

Beſides this ſecret correſpondence, Buonaparte, when in Italy, endeavoured to encourage and excite revolt among the Greeks, by open declarations. The iſlands, lately acquired by the French republic, in the Ionian Sea, were divided into three departments, Corcyra, Ithaca, and the Ægean Sea. By the orders of Buonaparte, a manifeſto was publiſhed by the adminiſtration of the central department of thoſe iſlands, which was, that of Corcyra, proclaiming to

readers, juſt to obſerve, that Paſſawan Oglou is, by birth, a Greek; that he enliſted, at twelve years of age, into a corps of Janiſſaries, ſubmitting to the rules of the Mahomedan faith, of which he is, or pretends to be, a zealous votary: yet he is a warm friend to the Greeks, and condemns the injurious and brutal treatment of this people by the Turks, as a groſs contempt of the law of the prophet. Before he declared his own independence, and ventured on hoſtilities againſt the grand ſignior, he had been at war and obtained an aſcendancy over his neighbouring pachas. He is chiefly diſtinguiſhed by an inflexible perſeverance in his reſolutions.

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the whole Greek nation the reduction of Malta, inviting the Greeks to liſten to the general cry of liberty, reſounding from ſhore to ſhore; and holding out to them the greateſt hopes, from the victories and conqueſts of the French in the Mediterranean. By the orders of Buonaparte, too, emiſſaries of ſedition were ſent abroad, into every quarter, by all the French conſuls in the Archipelago.

The French ſquadron, under the orders of admiral de Brueys (who had left Toulon, with a numerous fleet of tranſports, having on board the flower of that army which had with rapidity over-run Italy, and then under the orders of their celebrated general, Buonaparte), excited conſiderable apprehenſion, with ſome anxiety, reſpecting their deſtination.

That the Britiſh miniſtry had formed a tolerably correct conjecture thereof, but were not poſitively certain, may be aſcertained by the traverſe which the Britiſh ſquadron made in queſt of them.

The command of this ſquadron was veſted in rear-admiral ſir Horatio Nelſon, by private recommendation, from the firſt lord of the admiralty to the commander-in chief, off Cadiz.

The rear-admiral had been previouſly detached into the Mediterranean, with his flag, on board the Vanguard; accompanied by the Orion, Alexander, and ſome ſmaller ſhips and veſſels: theſe, except the Orion and Alexander, were ſeparated from him by a gale of wind, in which the Vanguard's foremaſt was carried away. He repaired to Cagliari, in Sardinia, and refitted with a jury-maſt in the beſt poſſible manner.

During that period, the earl St. Vincent, who was off Cadiz, blockading that port, had victualled, and otherwiſe prepared, ten ſhips of the line, to be detached into the Mediterranean; ſo ſoon as a reinforcement from the channel-fleet, under the command of rear-admiral ſir Roger Curtis, ſhould join, and thereby enable him to ſpare ſuch a detachment, and ſtill maintain the blockade.

The expected ſquadron was no ſooner announced to be in ſight of the look-out ſhips in the N.W. quarter, than the noble admiral made ſignal for the others to weigh and proceed under the orders of the ſenior captain, Trowbridge, of the Culloden, to whom he had previouſly given his inſtructions. The whole of that fleet, and theſe ſhips, were habitually alert in their movements. They were ſoon all under ſail, and, ſteering for the Mediterranean, were actually out of ſight in their courſe before the ſquadron from the channel, under ſir Roger Curtis, had anchored.

The paſſage of this ſelect ſquadron was ſomewhat tedious, before they effected a junction with the rear-admiral Nelſon, who was by that time refitted, and again cruizing; but had not been rejoined by any of the frigates who had before ſeparated.

The ſquadron, together, now were,

Vanguard	74	Rear-admiral ſir H. Nelſon. Capt. Berry.
Orion	74	—— ſir J. Saumarez.
Culloden	74	—— Trowbridge.
Alexander	74	—— Ball.
Zealous	74	—— S. Hood.
Goliah	74	—— Foley.
		Bellerophon

Bellerophon	74	Capt. Darby.	
Minotaur	74	——	Louis.
Defence	74	——	J. Peyton.
Audacious	74	——	Gould.
Majeſtic	74	——	Weſtcott.
Swifture	74	——	Hallowell.
Theſeus	74	——	Miller.
Leander	50	——	Thompſon.

And Mutine, brig, Hardy.

No time was loſt after the junction, of proceeding in ſearch of the enemy, and arranging the ſquadron in an eſtabliſhed order of battle;* which the rear-admiral divided into two diviſions, placing his own ſhip in the centre of the van and the Orion, captain ſir James Saumarez, in a ſimilar ſtation of the rear; the next ſenior captain, Trowbridge, in the Culloden, to lead the line on the ſtarboard tack;† and the next ſenior captain, Darby, in the Bellerophon, to lead on the larboard tack. By that arrangement, the rear-admiral conformed to the old faſhion, of paying a compliment to ſeniority, ſhewing a confidence which their acknowledged character merited, and thereby avoided cauſe for diſſatisfaction among the commanders; by a partial ſelection of junior officers to lead in the line of

* Order of Battle.

Ships Names.	*Guns.*	*Men.*	*Commanders Names.*
1 Culloden	74	590	Captain T. Trowbridge.
2 Theſeus	74	590	—— R. W. Miller.
3 Alexander	74	590	—— J. A. Ball.
4 Vanguard	74	590	Rear admiral ſir Horatio Nelſon, K. B. Captain Edward Berry.
5 Minotaur	74	640	Captain J. Louis.
6 Leander	50	343	—— J. B. Thompſon.
7 Swifture	74	590	—— B. Hallowell.
8 Audacious	74	590	—— D. Gould.
9 Defence	74	590	—— J. Peyton.
10 Zealous	74	590	—— S. Hood.
11 Orion	74	590	—— Sir James Saumarez, knt.
12 Goliah	74	590	—— Thomas Foley.
13 Majeſtic	74	590	—— G. B. Weſtcott.
14 Bellerophon	74	590	—— H. D. S. Darby.
Total	1012	8068	

† The terms of ſtarboard and larboard tacks are familiar to men acquainted with a ſea life: for the information of others, it muſt be underſtood, that, when ſtanding aft, or near the ſtern, and looking forward, toward the bow, the ſide of the ſhip, or veſſel, then on the right hand is called the ſtarboard ſide, and that on the left the larboard ſide; farther, when a ſhip is ſailing cloſe or near to the wind, on the right-hand ſide, ſhe is ſaid to be on the ſtarboard tack. On the other hand, when blowing on the left-hand ſide, ſhe is ſaid to be on the larboard tack. To apply this, let it be underſtood that the wind blows from N. W. as was nearly the caſe in the inſtance this ſubject alludes to, and the ſquadron were ſailing towards the S. W. in the order of the preceding note, they would be ſaid to be in the order of battle a-head on the ſtarboard tack, when the Culloden would be the leader, and the Bellerophon bring up the rear: on the contrary, were they to be formed with their heads towards the N. E. or be directed to wear or tack together in the order of battle, and ſail in that direction, then they would be ſaid to be in the order of battle a-head on the larboard tack, when the Bellerophon would lead and Culloden bring up the rear of the ſquadron; and the order would be the more perfect as the keels of each ſhip wear on a ſtraight line with each other, and at ſuch equal diſtance from each other as might be ordered.

battle:

battle; which, in ſome inſtances in the preſent war, had been done.

The duty which the rear-admiral now had to perform was of the moſt important nature to his country, and many of the other ſtates of the world. The enemy had ſailed with a great armament, and their purpoſe remained yet unknown to any, but thoſe of their private council, and the commander of the expedition. Whatever it was, certain we may be, that the orders of the Britiſh admiral were, to fruſtrate their attempts. To effect theſe, he muſt have viewed with high ſatisfaction the ſquadron which was placed under his command: on whom he might with confidence rely on all being done that human exertion could accompliſh with ſuch a force.

The captains were men of unqueſtionable zeal and profeſſional talents, aſſiſted by officers who highly merited their reſpective ſtations; and theſe were ſupported by crews who had been long practiſed in the habits of all that appertains to naval war.

The greater part of the ſhips had borne a ſhare in ſome of the diſtinguiſhed actions which had previouſly taken place during the war; and the others were partly filled with officers and men who had been engaged in much real ſervice.

With this ſquadron, the admiral proceeded toward Naples, in queſt of the enemy, and detached captain Trowbridge in the Mutine-brig for intelligence: none being obtained there, he bent his courſe toward Sicily, where he was informed the enemy's fleet had been ſeen off Malta. Thither he preſſed all ſail, and on arrival was informed, they had departed from thence a few days before, and ſteered to the ſouth-eaſtward. Concluding they were bound to Egypt, he ſteered direct thither; but, on arrival off Alexandria, had the mortification to find that not a ſhip had made its appearance there. That diſappointment was ſevere to the hopes of the whole ſquadron, who were anxious for a meeting, fearleſs of the conſequences, and confident of the reſult terminating favourably, whatever their ſtrength might be. Conjecture was much ſtrained to gueſs whither the enemy had gone: no time was loſt in continuing the ſearch. The Britiſh ſquadron was led to Rhodes, where the enemy had not appeared, nor been heard of: from thence the ſquadron plied weſtwards, by Candia, to Sicily, and entering the bay of Syracuſe, by great exertions completed their water and wood in a few days, and, taking on board a conſiderable ſtock of live cattle, proceeded again to the eaſtward, in queſt of the enemy.

When off the ſouth coaſt of the Morea, captain Trowbridge, who was detached to Coron for intelligence, learned from the Turkiſh governor that the enemy had been heard of being off Candia a month before, and had gone towards Alexandria. Thither the Britiſh admiral preſſed all ſail which the Culloden could keep company with, her rate of ſailing being ſomewhat leſſened by the incumbrance of a ſmall veſſel laden with wine, in tow, which had been lately taken: independent of this, the rate of ſailing of the whole ſquadron were nearly equal; a circumſtance of great importance when any evolution was required to be performed.

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It was the firſt of Auguſt before the Pharos of Alexandria was got ſight of by the ſquadron, who were then ſteering direct for it towards the S. S. E. and as they approached diſcovered a wood of maſts in the harbour. The advanced ſhips (the Alexander and Leander about two leagues a head) made ſignal for having diſcovered ſhips of war to eaſtward. The admiral, who, with the bulk of the ſquadron, was in cloſe order of ſailing, being thus directed to a view of the long ſought-for ſight, immediately altered his courſe accordingly, and made ſignal to recal thoſe on the look-out. The Culloden was then about two leagues to the eaſtward of the admiral, and, after ſome time and ſignals exchanged, obtained leave to caſt off the veſſel towed from off Coron. The Alexander and Leander, who had run in nearer Alexandria, were thereby obliged to hawl more to the wind than between N. N. W. and N. W. in order to round the point off Aboukir; which threw them conſiderably later than the main body; who ſailing with a free wind reached about, or ſoon after five o'clock, the point; which having rounded and got the bay fairly open, the admiral hawled up on the larboard tack, under an eaſy ſail, probably for the purpoſe of viewing the ſituation of the enemy, or more likely for giving time for thoſe of his own ſquadron to cloſe; the Culloden being ſtill about two leagues diſtant in the N. W. quarter. While the Alexander and Leander were ſtill farther diſtant in the W. S. W. the ſquadron of the enemy, which ſhewed 13 ſail of the line of battle, were but a few miles off, bearing from S. W. to ſouth, and anchored in a line extending nearly N. W. and S. E. with their admiral's flag on board a three deck ſhip in the centre, and four frigates, with ſeveral gun-veſſels, diſperſed inſide towards the van and rear.

The ſquadron did not remain long with their heads from the enemy. The admiral ſpeedily determined on what plan of attack was to be adopted. He gave orders, by ſignal, to prepare to anchor by the ſtern, and wore with the whole ſquadron together by ſignal. That manœuvre at once changed the ſituation of the ſquadron, by giving the lead to thoſe, who were, while their heads were to the offing, dropping a-ſtern to join their ſituation in the rear, in the order of ſailing: or, as ſome have alleged, loitered a-ſtern from an unwillingneſs to be drawn off even a few hundred yards from the enemy. If ſuch were the ſentiments of any, they were now indulged by the admiral bearing up toward the van of the enemy, and making the ſignal to form the line of battle a-head, or moſt convenient: that is, for each ſhip to fall in as their ſituation at the time beſt ſuited, without regard to the eſtabliſhed order of battle.

On that occaſion, there were ſuch diſplays of emulation by each ſhip to gain an advanced poſt in the attack, as muſt have tended to inſpire each other with an invincible confidence. But ſo alert were the whole, that no one ſhip could gain the point of getting a-head of another, who had the advantage of laying their heads towards the enemy. The admiral, as they were drawing into a form of battle, made the ſignal to attack the enemy's van and centre: and ſoon after, added the ſignal for a cloſe engagement, which was kept flying.

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The wind, which was between N. W. and N. N. W. had been a freſh top gallant ſail breeze, and, though moderated as the day drew towards a cloſe, ſtill ſwelled out the lighter ſails. Before the Goliah (the leading ſhip) had approached within a mile of the enemy's van ſhips, they commenced a briſk cannonade with their ſtarboard guns, as did the batteries at the caſtle of Becquires and the gun-veſſels, which galled the Britiſh ſquadron much as they cloſed. But the ſituation of the enemy's anchorage, and the ſhallowneſs of the water around, rendered it impoſſible to evade that annoyance. It was therefore borne with a firmneſs worthy of their character. The period was but ſhort when it became theirs to return the annoyance. The gallant leader* in the Goliah, on that occaſion diſplayed a conduct which ſhewed him worthy of the poſt he had taken. Keeping his ſhip under all convenient working ſail, he kept as near to the edge of the bank as the depth of water would permit, and paſſing a-head of the enemy's van ſhip, Le Guerrier, poured into her a moſt deſtructive fire; and bearing round up ſhortened ſail,† and anchored by the ſtern inſide of the ſecond of the enemy's line, Le Conquerant.

The Zealous followed in the track of the Goliah, but not ſo far, having dropped her ſtern anchor, ſo as to preſerve a ſituation on the inſide bow of Le Gurrier, whom ſhe handled in the ſevereſt manner, without being expoſed to annoyance in return. The Orion next followed, and paſſing to windward of the Zealous, and round her, plying her larboard guns on Le Guerrier, while they bore, continued on a S. E. courſe, and paſſed the inſide of the Goliah: when, being annoyed by a frigate's fire, ſhe yawed as much as was neceſſary to bring her ſtarboard guns to bear, and gave her ſo complete a doſe as to ſilence her for ever. Then hawling round toward the enemy's line, ſhe dropped the ſtarboard bower anchor inſide between the third and fourth ſhips from their van, and with ſome exertions, by ſpreading all her after-ſail, (probably to force her keel over the ground, which it moſt likely touched) got her ſwung round abreaſt of L'Aquilon, who had, without annoyance, ſuffered the Orion to place herſelf in this ſituation. The Theſeus, who followed the Orion, paſſed between the Zealous and Le Guerrier, ſo cloſe to the latter, (whoſe foremaſt was by this time over the ſide) only preſerving ſufficient diſtance to avoid entangling her rigging with the jib-boom of the enemy's ſhip, and when abreaſt of her bow, poured in a broadſide,

* The paſſing around the bow of the enemy's van and inſide of their line appears to have originated with the leader, captain Foley, as no ſignal was made to direct ſuch a manœuvre: and the ſuggeſtion, ſo apropos, was highly worthy of a ſeaman, having ready and clear ideas of what appertained to his profeſſion. The example was followed by four other of thoſe who compoſed the van, and the advantage which was derived from that manœuvre may be beſt calculated by a reference to the reſult.

† The wind had become ſo moderate, that it was not neceſſary to furl the ſails, that the anchor may hold; they were only hawled as cloſe up as was poſſible, which circumſtance allowed the men to remain at their quarters on the principal batteries.

until

until then reſerved, the effect of which on the enemy was inſtantaneous. The main and mizen-maſts were alſo brought down. Thus, in leſs than fifteen minutes was the van ſhip of this line reduced to a mere hulk, incumbered with the wreck of her own maſts and yards, and doubtleſs the crew much mutilated. That deſtructive broadſide was given juſt as the ſun dipped in the horizon; after which the Theſeus paſſed on the outſide of the Goliah, and dropped her ſtern-anchor a-head of her; and thus was placed inſide of the third ſhip of the enemy, Le Spartiate, and had commenced the cannonade about the time or before her leader, the Orion, was got completely placed, from the little interruptions before-mentioned.

The Audacious followed next, and paſſing between Le Guerrier and Conquerant, increaſed the miſfortunes of thoſe ill-fated ſhips, by a deſtructive fire, and afterwards dropped her ſtern-anchor, ſo as to preſerve her ſtation inſide bow of the latter, over whom the Goliah had already got a decided ſuperiority, by the comparative fire maintained. The breeze by this time (as above obſerved) had leſſened as the day cloſed: moſt probably too, it had been lulled the more by the effect of the cannonade, which had for ſome time been maintained: hence the ſhips which were in the rear of the Britiſh ſquadron were not enabled to cloſe with the celerity ſuitable to their ardour on that occaſion.

The Vanguard was the follower of the Audacious; but did not like the five who had preceded her paſs the enemy's line: the rank of the admiral (whoſe flag this ſhip bore) gave him a privilege of deviating from the example of his leaders, whoſe manœuvres were to be guided by his direction: ſhe was anchored by the ſtern on the outſide, and cloſe to the third ſhip from the van, Le Spartiate. Her followers reſpectively paſſed on a-head of their leader, anchoring by the ſtern as they came up on the outſide as the admiral had done. Thus the Minotaur, Defence, and Swiftſure, took poſition a-breaſt of the fourth, fifth, and ſixth ſhips from the van; by which arrangement it was left for the Bellerophon to attack the French admiral's ſhip, L'Orient, of three decks:* nor was the undertaking ſhrunk from, becauſe of the apparent inequality of the conteſt: the Bellerophon's ſtern-anchor was dropped on the outſide bow of the L'Orient, whoſe collection of heavy batteries was reſerved for the cloſing. The effect of theſe will be beſt judged of by the reference to the liſt of killed and wounded of the hardy aſſailants, in which ſtands enrolled the names of almoſt every officer of that ſhip. By that time the day was ſo much cloſed, as to obſcure from general view the conduct of each ſhip; particularly towards the centre, which was covered with the clouds of ſmoke blown thither from the van, by the light breeze which yet continued. Under theſe circumſtances, the Majeſtic, who followed the Bellerophon, had to grope for an antagoniſt;

* The difference of force between L'Orient and Bellerophon, or any other of the ſquadron, by eſtimating the weight of ball fired from one broadſide of each was above ſeven to three, and the weight of ball from L'Orient's lower deck alone exceeded that from the whole broadſide of the Bellerophon.

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in doing which, it is ſaid, ſhe found her jib-boom had entered the main rigging of one of the enemy's ſhips a-ſtern of their admiral; by whom, ſhe was moſt ſeverely treated while thus entangled: but, after ſome time, ſhe ſwung clear, and avenged herſelf completely on another of the enemy farther a-ſtern.

Having thus got all the ſhips into action, that had formed the body of the ſquadron, the Culloden, who had been detained by the towing of the wine-veſſel, may now be looked after; alſo the Alexander and Leander, who had been thrown out a-ſtern, by their having been on the look-out towards Alexandria.

It was with extreme mortification obſerved, before the day had cloſed, that the former had run a-ground on a ſhoal, which was found to extend N. E. from the point on which the caſtle ſtood. It may be better imagined than deſcribed what were the feelings of the gallant commander and crew of that ſhip, to be ſo arreſted in their paſſage to the participation of the fatigues and glory of the combat then depending. The loſs of the aſſiſtance of ſuch a ſhip, on ſo important occaſion too, muſt have excited emotions of deep regret among thoſe engaged, many of whom had witneſſed, on an important and ſplendid occaſion in the preceding year, how eminently that ſhip, under the command of the ſame officer, and with the ſame crew, had been diſtinguiſhed.—Great as the loſs of this ſhip's aſſiſtance was, it yielded ſome conſolation to conclude, that her running a-ground ſerved as a beacon to induce the two ſhips (Alexander and Leander, then to the weſtward of her) to haul more out to the offing than they might otherwiſe have done, from an anxiety to be as ſoon as poſſible up to the aſſiſtance of their companions; in which caſe the aſſiſtance of two ſhips would have been loſt inſtead of the Culloden. The Mutine brig made towards her, and remained to render her aſſiſtance in getting off the ground; and the Leander, in paſſing, had communication to know if ſhe could render her effectual aid: that being judged impracticable, ſhe followed her companion, the Alexander, who, having rounded the end of the ſhoal, was then ſteering for the centre of the enemy, under all ſail: nor did ſhe ſhorten any, until cloſed with the French admiral's ſhip, whom ſhe paſſed and anchored in a moſt judicious poſition inſide of that tremendous ſhip, whom ſhe attacked with a briſkneſs, and maintained with ſuch vivacity, as indicated the impatience of the crew in having been thrown out ſo long from entering into the action. Without pretending to minute accuracy with regard to time, this may be ſtated to have taken place about, or ſoon after eight o'clock. Soon after, the Leander ran in under the ſtern of the fifth ſhip; and, anchoring there, took a poſition whereby ſhe could, without annoyance, fire her guns of one ſide in the ſtern of Le Peuple Souverain, and thoſe of the other ſide into the bows of La Franklin. It is unneceſſary to remark on what muſt have been the effect of ſo deſtructive a raking fire, even from a ſhip of the Leander's ſmall force.

Thus did each of the Britiſh ſhips enter into action. The reſult ſhews the manner in which each performed its duty. By the time the laſt-mentioned ſhips got placed in

their reſpective poſitions, thoſe which formed the van of the enemy were ſilenced, and ſome had ſtruck. Their ſubmiſſion had extended as far as the fourth ſhip, about nine o'clock. And, ſoon after, l'Orient, in their centre, was diſcovered to be on fire, which ſpread with ſuch rapidity that ſhe was ſoon in a general blaze, and precluded even a ſhadow of hope for her preſervation. The cannonade was, in the mean time, maintained with equal briſkneſs by the Britiſh ſhips, whoſe opponents had not yet ſurrendered, while ſome of them, very much ſickened, were barely able to maintain reſiſtance.

While the flames were conſuming l'Orient, great were the exertions made by the Alexander to remove to ſuch diſtance as her captain judged neceſſary to ſave her from danger of being covered with the wreck of her unfortunate antagoniſt. About ten o'clock, the fire had reached l'Orient's magazine, when ſhe blew up with a moſt tremendous exploſion, by which fragments of her wreck were thrown to a conſiderable diſtance on every ſide; and thoſe ſhips, who were neareſt to the place of the exploſion, were for ſome time completely obſcured, by the thick column of ſmoke which ſpread around. The cannonade at that moment ceaſed, and a ſilence enſued, ſtrongly expreſſive of the awe with which the minds of the combatants were impreſſed by that dreadful event.

That impreſſion appeared to be effaced, by the recollection that there was ſtill duty left to be performed; for, in about ten minutes after, the cannonade was renewed around the ſpot were l'Orient had exploded, and in a few minutes was maintained with vivacity, and continued with little abatement until after midnight, when it became ſlacker, with ſome intermiſſions, indicating the exauſted ſtate of the combatants, by the fatigue already undergone: * but the firing did not intirely ceaſe until three o'clock.

Thurſday morning, the ſecond of Auguſt.—When the day opened, how different was the proſpect from that which the preceding evening had cloſed! The greateſt part of the ſhips, which formed the van of the French line, diſmaſted, and all ſtruck! Not a veſtige of their admiral's ſhip to be ſeen! The frigate (la Sérieuſe), whom the Orion had ſilenced the preceding evening, now ſunk! The Bellerophon was obſerved ſeveral miles to the eaſtward along ſhore, at anchor, diſmaſted. Some of the Britiſh ſhips, which had attacked and defeated the van, now ſhifted more towards the rear, and others moving thither, to complete the conqueſt of the enemy's ſhips. In that part, this led to a recommencement of the cannonade, in the outſet of which, a frigate (l'Artémiſe), in the centre, diſplayed a conduct mean and unworthy of the ſquadron to which it was attached. After firing a broad-

* As an inſtance of the fatigue, it may here be noted, that one of the ſhips, which were inſide of the van, and had finiſhed her duty there, did, in the morning, ſome hours before day-light, weigh her ſtern anchor for the purpoſe of going towards the rear, to attack the enemy there; and, as the men unſhipped the capſtan-bars, many of them lay down among them, being ſo much overcome with fatigue as to fall aſleep, notwithſtanding that they muſt have known the anchor was got up, and the ſhip then moving toward the enemy, to begin a freſh cannonade.

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ſide, ſhe ſtruck; but, before ſhe was ſent to, by any of the Britiſh ſhips, was obſerved to be on fire, and the crew making for the ſhore in their boats, where they were ſo ill received by the natives, that a remnant of them were fain to return, and truſt to the generoſity of their enemy, whom they had ſo recently offended, by a flagrant breach of the laws of war.

Without entering into any farther detail of the whole, after the cannonade had been long maintained, with ſome intermiſſions, it was cloſed with the ſurrender of l'Heureux and Mercure, and diſmaſting of le Tonnant. The two rear ſhips, le Guilliame Tell and Genereux, obſerving all their companions either ſurrendered, or in a diſabled ſtate, prepared to get under ſail, which they did, without interruption, before two o'clock, and were accompanied by la Dianne and Juſtice frigates, neither of whom had been annoyed. Le Timoleon made an attempt to follow, but, caſting with her head into the bay, and not being alertly managed (probably, not in a manageable ſtate), her head was not got out to the offing, but run aſhore at a little diſtance from whence ſhe had laid, in the ſouth-eaſt part of the bay, where they ſet her on fire. The Zealous, who was under ſail when the rear ſhips of the enemy left the bay, ſtood after them; but, as there was not any other then under ſail, to accompany and ſupport her, ſhe was called in by the admiral.

There yet remained, to be taken poſſeſſion of, le Tonnant, intirely diſmaſted, but who had not ſtruck, and had ſhifted a conſiderable diſtance, to leeward, from her original poſition. In that ſtate, incapable of moving or helping herſelf, a meſſage was ſent, to demand her ſurrender, which the captain refuſed, without the condition of veſſels being furniſhed to carry him and his crew (which he ſtated to be then 1,500) to France. This requiſition was communicated to admiral Nelſon, who deſired him to be informed, that the ſurrender muſt be unconditional, elſe force would be employed, againſt which reſiſtance would not avail. Theſe communications were not exchanged till late in the evening of the ſecond, owing to the diſtance.

Friday morning, the third of Auguſt, the French flag was obſerved to be ſtill diſplayed on the ſtump of le Tonnant's main-maſt. The admiral made ſignals to the Theſeus and Leander, to attack her. It appeared they had, in ſome meaſure, recovered from their late fatigues, by the alertneſs of their movements. They were ſoon under the neceſſary ſail; and, on the Theſeus approaching her rear, the flag of truce was hoiſted. An officer was then ſent from the Theſeus, to deſire the colours to be ſtruck unconditionally, which was complied with. Thus was the cloſe put to that diſtinguiſhed battle.

Whether a retroſpect is had to the unremitting perſeverance in continuing the ſearch after the enemy, to the promptneſs of deciſion in attacking them when found, or to the ſkill and intrepidity with which the attack was executed, it is difficult to decide which has the higheſt claim to admiration. The renown of this action has reached to every part of the globe, and been re-echoed back with the high praiſes ſo juſtly merited.

The thanks of the houſes of parliament, in both kingdoms, were voted to the whole. Diſtinguiſhed notice was taken of the commander under whom that celebrated action was achieved, by his majeſty's advancing him to the dignity of a peer of the realm; and the parliament of the ſiſter kingdom, alſo the Eaſt-India company, voted liberal annuities to ſupport that dignity, as a recompenſe for his ſervices. The captains were honoured with a gold medal, as a teſtimony of his majeſty's approbation of their conduct. The oldeſt officer of the marines, captain Oldfield, was promoted to the rank of major in the army; and the firſt-lieutenants of each ſhip of the line were promoted, by the lords of the admiralty, to the rank of commanders. There, immediate diſtinction and reward reſted. The remaining thouſands were left, for the time, to the enjoyment which an inward conſciouſneſs muſt produce, of having done their duty. The high ſatisfaction which that reflection muſt produce, cannot be confined to any rank. Even the humbleſt ſurvivor muſt feel an honeſt pride, that he was one who contributed his aid toward that glorious achievement. The bounty of individuals was great and general, too, on this occaſion: liberal ſubſcriptions were collected, and impartially diſtributed, under the direction of ſome patriotic men, among the wounded, and widows and orphans of the ſlain.

With the admiral, Bruyes, who commanded the French fleet, and who was eſteemed as brave and expert a ſeaman as any in France, fell two other admirals, and three captains. The French fleet, at the commencement of the action, conſiſted of thirteen ſail of the line, and four frigates, carrying twelve hundred guns, and from ten to eleven thouſand men. Nine ſail of the line were taken, two were burned, and two eſcaped. Of the frigates, one was ſunk, another burned, and two eſcaped. The loſs of men was calculated at nearly eight thouſand: but the priſoners and wounded were all reſtored, on condition of not ſailing againſt England, until exchanged.—The Britiſh ſquadron, conſiſting, as already ſtated, of thirteen ſail of the line and a fifty-gun ſhip, carried a thouſand guns, and eight thouſand men. Of the Engliſh, the ſlain and wounded were nine hundred. Among the former, was captain Weſtcott, of the Majeſtic, who fell greatly regretted. He was an officer of uncommon abilities, and had raiſed himſelf intirely by his merit.

The roaring of the cannon, the flaſhings of the lightning, interrupted only by ſhort intervals of ſuſpenſe, ſhook the Egyptian ſhore for many leagues around, and filled the alarmed and trembling inhabitants, both ſtrangers and natives, with unſpeakable agitation. The French tranſports in the harbour, and garriſon in Alexandria, waited in ſuſpenſe for their perſonal doom, as well as the fate of the French navy. Even as far as Roſetta, diſtant about thirty miles from Aboukir, the battle, by the aid of glaſſes, was ſeen by French officers, from its minarets and towers, though confuſedly. And the exploſion of l'Orient was accompanied by a ſhaking of the earth, perceptible at that diſtance. Bodies of Arabs, drawn to the ſhore by the aweful ſight and ſound, and learning the

fate of their invaders, felt their reſentment and indignation awakened by the hope of revenge on their enemies. They lighted up fires on the ſhore, in teſtimony of their joy and exultation at the ſucceſsful bravery of the Engliſh. They gave no ſhelter, but, on the contrary, committed every outrage on parties of the vanquiſhed who made their way to the villages, for ſafety, from their wrecked and burning ſhips. They interrupted the communication of the French, for ſome time, between the bay and neighbouring towns, until Buonaparte made arrangements for their ſecurity by ſuperior force.

This victory was the moſt ſignal that had graced the Britiſh navy ſince the days of the Spaniſh armada. Its effects were ſurprizing and inſtantaneous over all Europe. The enemies of France every where recovered from the deſpondency they were in, previouſly to this great event; and an evident reanimation took place in all their councils, which were now occupied with the means of improving a ſucceſs of ſo much importance.

It was the intention of Buonaparte, as alleged in his diſpatches to the directory, that the French fleet, as ſoon as poſſible after the landing of the troops, ſhould ſail ſtraight to Corfu, if they ſhould find it impracticable, by the ſhallowneſs of the water, to take ſhelter in the old port of Alexandria. It has been aſſerted, on the contrary, by different French officers of rank and character, that admiral Bruyes was detained in the bay of Aboukir by the expreſs orders of the commander-in-chief, who was unwilling to deprive himſelf of the means of retreat, until he ſhould have reaſon to think that he had obtained a firm footing in Egypt. Buonaparte acknowledges that he ſent orders to the admiral not to put to ſea, at one period. But this was after the lapſe of ſeveral weeks after the debarkation, and after the Engliſh fleet were cruizing on the coaſt of Syria and Egypt. Yet the general imputes no blame to the brave admiral, on whom he beſtows merited praiſe. He had probably diſcovered a paſſage, he ſays for the heavieſt ſhips, into the old port of Alexandria, where he wiſhed to ſecure them, rather than in Corfu or any other diſtant port, that they might be in a ſituation for co-operating, on any emergency, with the army. Reluctant to give credit to ſo foul a blemiſh, in ſo ſplendid a character as Buonaparte, we leave the deciſion of the point in queſtion, between him and Bruyes, to the developement of time and future inquiry.

In the mean time, Buonaparte, who arrived on the coaſt of Egypt, and effected a landing, had made himſelf maſter of Alexandria, which he took by ſtorm, with the loſs of about three hundred of his men, killed or wounded. The inhabitants of this and other places in the neighbourhood, finding themſelves unable to reſiſt the French, ſubmitted to them. Buonaparte, in order to obtain their good will, and engage their fidelity, publiſhed a declaration, to inform them, that the French were the friends and allies of the grand ſeignior; that they were come to chaſtiſe the beys, who were his enemies; and would pay every reſpect to their laws and religion, and provide and pay regularly the due tribute to the ſublime porte.

Having provided for the ſecurity of his acquiſitions on the ſea-ſhore, Buonaparte, on the ſeventh of July, began his march for Cairo, defended by Murad Bey, a diſtinguiſhed chief of the mamelukes, who were in great force, to the number it has been ſaid of twenty thouſand, but wholly compoſed of cavalry. The mamelukes made ſeveral brave but ineffectual charges on the French, who had only infantry. The diſpoſitions of the French were ſo ſkilful, that Murad Bey, after loſing three hundred of his beſt men, was obliged to retire towards Cairo, and from thence afterwards to the Upper Egypt.

At Cairo, he aſſembled the whole of his forces, and advanced into that vaſt plain, where ſtand the pyramids. He was at the head of a numerous army, commanded, under him, by three inferior beys, all men of determined bravery, but uſed, like their ſoldiers, to fight only on horſeback. They were all mounted on the fineſt horſes, provided with the moſt ſplendid arms, and, along with theſe, rich purſes of gold; it being the cuſtom of the mamelukes to carry along with them what they deem moſt valuable. Being excellent horſemen, well acquainted with the defiles and contour of the country, and of intrepid courage and reſolution, though barbarians, they were no contemptible enemies. They attacked the French with much courage and impetuoſity, endeavouring to ſurround them, or at leaſt to make an impreſſion upon their flanks and rear, but were every where repulſed with ſuch a ſlaughter that they were compelled to fly on all ſides, leaving two thouſand killed or wounded on the field. An entrenchment, which they threw up to protect their camp, was carried, together with fifty pieces of cannon that defended it, and all their baggage. Many of the beys were killed or wounded. Cairo, evacuated in the night, was taken poſſeſſion of by the French the next morning. This deciſive action took place on the twenty-firſt of July.

Buonaparte, maſter of the capital of Egypt, proclaimed peace and amity to the inhabitants, with the full enjoyment of their laws and religion. He ſecured its authority to the Turkiſh government, and confirmed his undertaking to make good the receipt of the uſual revenue. After eſtabliſhing a divan, or council, conſiſting of the chief prieſts and notables of Cairo, for the adminiſtration of the police, he ſet out in purſuit of Ibrahim, the next in power to Murad Bey, who was retreating towards Syria. He overtook the bey on the confines of Egypt, when he attacked, defeated him, and took part of his baggage. Ibrahim defended himſelf valiantly, and was wounded in the engagement. It was with difficulty he continued his march. His troops were in want of water, which was their principal, and other proviſions, and had an extenſive deſert to traverſe, in their way to Gaza, the place to which they directed their retreat. Murad Bey, after the defeat at Cairo, had retired, as already mentioned, along the Nile, to the upper parts of the country. But his forces were ſo reduced, that he did not attempt to act on the defenſive: while the French were preparing to follow him, in order to deſtroy the remains of his army.

The French were now in poſſeſſion of all Lower Egypt, and occupied

occupied in the organization of that country, upon the uſual plan.

But, notwithſtanding theſe ſucceſſes, their whole fleet of tranſports, together with ſome frigates, lay blocked up at Alexandria: their communication with France and Europe was entirely cut off, and all hopes of relief and reinforcement to their army completely intercepted. Their invaſion of Egypt had converted the Turks, ſo long their well wiſhers, into decided enemies. The divan at Conſtantinople had formally declared war againſt France, and was preparing a fleet and numerous army to drive them out of its Egyptian dominions.

CHAP. XI.

Ireland.—State of Catholic and Proteſtant Parties.—Innovations projected.—Petitions for a Parliamentary Reform.—Rejected.—United Iriſhmen.—Orange Men.—Defenders.—French Miſſion to Ireland.—Plan of Inſurrection for the Purpoſe of facilitating a French Invaſion.—A military Organization in ſeveral of the Provinces.—Military Law proclaimed.—Miniſter ſent to France from the Chiefs of the Iriſh Aſſociation.—Jealouſy of the Deſigns of France on Ireland.—Military Committee of United Iriſhmen.—Fourteen of the Delegates apprehended.—Inſurrection.—Inſurgents defeated in various Encounters.—Yet proceed in very conſiderable Force againſt Wexford.—Which they reduce.—Other Proceedings of the Inſurgents.—The Inſurrection in the South of Ireland ſuppreſſed.—And in the North.—Lord Camden ſucceeded in the Viceroyalty of Ireland by the Marquis Cornwallis.

WHILE Buonaparte was employed in his expedition to Egypt, of his ſucceſs wherein the French entertained little doubt, particularly after the capture of Malta, the directory had turned its attention to an object of more importance, and nearer home, in which, were fortune to favour them, the impreſſion thereby made on the capital enemy of France, would be truly great and deciſive.

This object was the kingdom of Ireland, which France had a century before attempted to diſmember from England; and to erect into a ſeparate dominion, under the expelled houſe of Stuart. The political expediency of ſuch a meaſure, to the intereſt of the French monarchy, was no leſs obvious at that epoch, than the ſevering of that iſland from its connection with Great Britain, would eſſentially forward the ſyſtem of the French republic at the preſent day.

Since the breaking out of the war between England and France, in the beginning of 1793, thoſe who held the places of government there ſoon perceived the probability of exciting diſturbances in a country ſo full of diſcontented people as Ireland, and of which not above one-eighth of the inhabitants has hitherto been reputed cordially attached to the Engliſh; few, but members of the church of England, being conſidered as well affected to this country.

During the ſpace that elapſed, between the American and the French revolution, the Britiſh miniſtry, taught by the fatal experience of its colonies to renounce the ſyſtem of coercion, had adopted a ſeries of liberal meaſures in Ireland, which had, in the hopes of the pacifically inclined, put an end to all cauſes of diſſention. The penal ſtatutes againſt the Roman catholics had been repealed; they held their land

on the like terms with the proteſtants; they enjoyed, in ſhort, every right and franchiſe in common with the former, ſaving only the offices of ſtate, and the privilege of ſitting in parliament.

Theſe exceptions, however, were viewed in the light of perſecutions for difference of religion; and, as a boundleſs liberty of conſcience began at this time to be the favourite maxim of the European world, the Iriſh catholics deemed themſelves injured by the reſtrictions laid, or to ſpeak more properly, continued upon them, through the united ſeverity and bigotry of intolerant ages.

But the proteſtants, dreading the conſequences of putting themſelves in the power of the Roman catholics, whoſe diſpoſition they ſtill conſidered as unaltered, maintained the propriety of thoſe reſtrictions. Without theſe it was affirmed the whole authority of the ſtate muſt be lodged in the hands of the catholics. Their numbers would overpower them in parliament. Supported and ſtimulated by the vaſt ſuperiority and zeal of their adherents, they would hardly refrain, when inveſted with authority, from treating the proteſtants with harſhneſs, and availing themſelves of the opportunities now afforded them to retaliate for the injuries they had ſuffered, and to do themſelves what they might imagine was no more than ſtrict juſtice, by claiming and recovering the poſſeſſions of their anceſtors, as alienated from them through force, and detained through manifeſt uſurpation.

Theſe being the ſentiments of the proteſtant party, they were extremely tenacious of thoſe privileges, on the excluſive exerciſe of which they depended for the ſecurity of their eſtates, reſolved on no account to permit a participation in the power they enjoyed, to men who undiſguiſedly ſtigmatiſed them as intruders, whom they were entitled by the cleareſt equity to eject from their ill-gotten lands, and to call to account for damages and dilapidations.

Such being the relative ſituation of the proteſtants and the Roman catholics, no real confidence or cordiality could ſubſiſt between them. The rancour of the lower claſſes of the latter was particularly violent, and was ſcandalouſly encouraged by the Romiſh clergy, who, with ſome exceptions, were mortal foes to the proteſtants, and excited the maſs of the people to hold them in utter abhorrence.

It was the ſincere deſire of the Britiſh miniſtry to extinguiſh this religious inveteracy; but it was ſo ſtrongly connected with political conſiderations, that no remedy appeared fully adequate. The Roman catholics aſſerted that they were the lawful owners of the property held by the proteſtants, whom, for this reaſon, they hated as plunderers, as much as they deteſted them for being heretics: which of theſe motives excited the moſt antipathy, may not eaſily be determined, when the exceſſive ignorance and bigotry of the common people, and the influence of their prieſts, are jointly conſidered.

From the commencement of the French revolution, innovations had been projected in Ireland, by thoſe who expected that ſome would take place in England, thinking probably that the apprehenſion of exaſperating the great body of the Engliſh nation, by the refuſal of a demand they

they had ſo perſeveringly inſiſted on for more than twelve years, would induce the adminiſtration to liſten to the petitions for a parliamentary reform, in order to prevent the people at large from taking that buſineſs into their own hands, as the French had already done: a precedent which at this time was frequently held up, as an admonition to government, to beware of imitating that of France, leſt a ſimilar fate ſhould attend it.

When thoſe extraordinary events happened, on the tenth of Auguſt, 1792, which overturned the French monarchy, the hopes of the reforming parties, both in England and Ireland, were equally elated. They now thought their wiſhes would infallibly be accompliſhed, and that the dread of the people would operate ſo powerfully upon their rulers, that theſe would hardly venture any longer to reject their demands, with ſuch terrifying conſequences before their eyes, of the king of France's oppoſition to popular requiſitions.

It was with deep felt reſentment that theſe parties ſtill experienced as firm a denial as ever. That in England continued with unabated perſeverance to act on the plan of uniting gradually the people in every part of the kingdom to an unanimity of ſentiments on this matter; confident that in time, the majority would become ſo numerous and powerful, as to bear down all oppoſers, and convince them of the inefficacy of reſiſting the national will, when clearly and reſolutely expreſſed.

But the people of Ireland proceeded with more celerity. They had in the foregoing year inſtituted a ſociety to which they gave the name of United Iriſhmen. Its intent was to connect the whole Iriſh nation firmly together, for the purpoſe of obtaining, not only a reform of parliament, but an entire deliverance for the Roman catholics from all the reſtrictions laid on them on religious accounts, and of placing them on a parity with the proteſtants in every reſpect. This inſtitution was projected and organized by the celebrated Wolfe Tone, a gentleman well-known for his abilities and unhappy end. The independence of his country was an object he had long had in contemplation, and the tempeſtuouſneſs of the times appeared favourable to ſuch an attempt, through the vigour and activity they communicated to men of daring diſpoſitions, and the proſpect of ſucceſs held out in the example of thoſe who had ſucceeded in the moſt extraordinary enterprizes.

The plan of union and of action, drawn up by Wolfe Tone, was equally ſimple and judicious. It formed a concatenation of agents, and a unity of deſign, that combined at once order, expedition, and ſecrecy. For the more effectual concealment, no meeting conſiſted of more than twelve perſons: five of theſe meetings were repreſented by five members in a committee, veſted with the management of all their affairs: from each of theſe committees, which were ſtyled baronial, a deputy attended in a ſuperior committee, that preſided over all thoſe of the barony or diſtrict: one or two deputies from each of theſe ſuperior committees, compoſed one for the whole county, and two or three from every county committee compoſed a provincial one. The provincial committees choſe in their turn five perſons to ſuperintend the

the whole buſineſs of the union: they were elected by ballot, and only known to the ſecretaries of the provincial committees, who were officially the ſcrutineers. Thus, though their power was great, their agency was inviſible, and they were obeyed without being ſeen or known.

It has been a matter of doubt, whether the deſigns of this great aſſociation terminated, as given out, in a reform of parliament, and the admiſſion of the Roman catholics to all the rights they claimed, or whether, like the jacobins in France, they concealed their ultimate ideas, keeping them for diſcloſure and execution as opportunities aroſe. Certain it is that the ſhrewdeſt members in the Iriſh parliament, conſidered the real object of thoſe who contended for a parliamentary reform and a catholic emancipation, to be finally an entire disjunction from the ſiſter kingdoms. On this conviction the zealous friends to their permanent union, firmly perſuaded that its only ſecurity depended on ſupporting the proteſtant cauſe uninjured, and upon its eſtabliſhed footing of ſuperiority, entered into formal aſſociations every where for this purpoſe. They aſſumed the name of Orange-men, in honour and remembrance of king William, to whom the proteſtants in Ireland acknowledged themſelves indebted for their deliverance from the oppreſſion of the Roman catholics.

The object propoſed by theſe aſſociations was, to diſarm the Roman catholics: they began the execution of this plan in the county of Armagh, but carried it beyond its original intention, burning the houſes of the catholics, and expelling them from the country. Irritated by this uſage, the catholics alſo aſſociated for their defence, whence they were called Defenders. They retaliated upon the Orange-men, plundering their habitations, and committing the ſame outrages that had been exerciſed upon themſelves.

Theſe diſturbances were accompanied at the ſame time by a bold and turbulent ſpirit in the metropolis, that threatened, if not ſpeedily ſuppreſſed, to involve the kingdom into ſtill greater confuſion. As it was hoſtile to government in the extreme, the legiſlature paſſed an act to ſuppreſs the aſſembling of people for political diſcuſſions and other purpoſes of the like nature, without permiſſion from a juſtice of peace. This was looked upon as the prelude to thoſe ſimilar prohibitions in England, known by the name of Pitt and Grenville acts.

The feuds and hoſtilities between the Orange-men and the Defenders, had filled various parts of Ireland with great confuſions. The latter acted with ſuch rancour and inveteracy, that many of the former heartily repented that any occaſion had ever been given for ſuch deeds of deſperacy and revenge as were daily taking place, to the reciprocal terror of each party. The Defenders, it was ſaid, became at laſt the more active and formidable of the two. Their incurſions and depredations were conducted with the utmoſt fierceneſs and animoſity. They had bound themſelves to each other, by the ſtrongeſt oaths of fidelity and ſecrecy, and they were inceſſantly laying ſchemes to circumvent their adverſaries, who were obliged to remain continually on the watch: ſo quick and ſudden were their motions.

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As their numbers encreaſed and occaſioned conſiderable alarm, an act was made to prohibit them from adminiſtering thoſe oaths; and ſuch as committed irregularities were puniſhed with the extremeſt rigour of the law. But this did not deter them from proſecuting their plans of vengeance with the more eagerneſs, that they thought themſelves juſtified in ſhewing no mercy to thoſe whom they conſidered as the primary aggreſſors.

Theſe inteſtine broils did not eſcape the notice of thoſe at the helm in France. They were at this period in the full career of their victories, and graſping at every plan that could humble or diſtreſs their enemies. None could be more acceptable to them, than one that ſeemed to point out an invaſion of this kingdom, the ancient and moſt dangerous enemy of their country. Hither one of their emiſſaries was diſpatched in the courſe of the year 1794, to the intent of reconnoitering the ſituation of parties in England, and to encourage the diſaffected, with the hope of meeting with ample ſupport from the French republic. This emiſſary, whoſe name was Jackſon, was a native of Ireland, and had been a clergyman of the church of England. On his arrival here, not finding matters in that ſtate he had expected, he thought it more adviſeable to make a trial in Ireland, where he knew that the diſcontents of his countrymen would afford him a much more extenſive field of action. He had, in the meanwhile, in an evil hour for himſelf, entruſted the ſecrets of his errand to a perſon in whom he repoſed entire confidence, but who diſcloſed them to the Britiſh miniſtry, by whom he was directed to keep a vigilant eye upon Jackſon. This latter, on coming to Ireland, formed a connection with Hamilton Rowan, Wolfe Tone, and ſome of their aſſociates, to whom he communicated the purport of his miſſion from France, and propoſed a plan of inſurrection at home, in order to facilitate a French invaſion. But while thus occupied, he was arreſted upon the information of the perſon whom he had truſted, brought to trial, and the charge of high-treaſon clearly proved againſt him. Averſe to die by the hand of the executioner, he put an end to his life by poiſon. Hamilton Rowan, Wolfe Tone, and others implicated, in this buſineſs, found means to eſcape, and it was ſuſpended for more than a twelvemonth.

In the year 1795, the Britiſh miniſtry placed lord Fitzwilliam at the head of affairs in Ireland. He was commiſſioned, as he conceived, to terminate all diſputes in that country, by making the conceſſions demanded by the Roman catholics. Such was the general perſuaſion; but as it was fruſtrated, and lord Fitzwilliam recalled, the diſcontents became greater than ever.

From this time the united Iriſhmen proceeded with more diſpatch and deciſion in their arrangements: a military organization took place in the ſeveral provinces: arms were procured, and pikes fabricated, and every preparation made to enter upon the execution of the ſchemes they had in view.

Theſe differed however according to the character of thoſe concerned in them. The chiefs, and men of ſuperior abilities and weight that had now joined the aſſociation, intended nothing leſs than a thorough revolution,

revolution, and an abolition of all church eſtabliſhments; while the common people ſought principally to be diſcharged from the payment of tythes and eccleſiaſtical dues to the proteſtant clergy; in order to obtain which, it was eaſy to perſuade them, that a total change of government was neceſſary. The activity of thoſe who guided theſe various meaſures was indefatigable: through their influence, the maſs of the Iriſh nation was gradually and effectually organized in the manner propoſed.

In the mean time, thoſe members of the aſſociation who had abſconded, on the diſcovery of Jackſon's plot, and had ſince taken refuge in France, were buſied in ſettling a communition between their aſſociates and the French government; a propoſal was made, by which to aſſiſt the Iriſh with a conſiderable body of forces, to enable them to throw off their connection with England, and to form themſelves into a republic. The offer was accepted, and lord Edward Fitzgerald and Mr. Arthur O'Connor were appointed to ſettle the terms of a treaty. To this purpoſe, they went over to France, and were met by general Hoche, with whom the whole buſineſs was arranged, and the time and manner of the projected invaſion agreed upon. This tranſaction took place about the middle of 1796, and in November following, the heads of the Iriſh aſſociation were informed that a fleet and army were in readineſs to ſail, according to agreement: but this intelligence was, to their aſtoniſhment, ſhortly after countermanded, and they were told, that, France being to attack Great Britain itſelf in the enſuing ſpring, the attempt upon Ireland would be made at the ſame time, when it would be more likely to ſucceed, from the neceſſity of keeping the ſtrength of England at home for its own defence. Hence it happened, that, when the French armament arrived on the coaſt of Ireland, towards the cloſe of the year, the Iriſh that were to ſecond them, being wholly unappriſed of their coming, were in no ſtate of preparation; and the determined ſpirit of loyalty diſplayed by the friends to government was ſuch, that their adverſaries were kept in awe; and the French, perceiving no ſigns of inſurrection in their favour, and that forces had been collected to oppoſe their deſcent, did not think proper to attempt one, but returned immediately to France.

The cauſe of this inaction, on the part of the Iriſh, was, doubtleſs, the falſe information they received of the intended proceedings of the French; but whence this information came has never tranſpired. Some have thought it a deception, fabricated by ſome ſecret partiſan of the Engliſh: by others, it has been attributed to the French themſelves, with the view of lulling friends and foes into general tranquillity, thereby to effect their deſigns without either oppoſition or interference.

It ought, however, to be noticed, that the vigor exerted by government, ſometime previouſly to the appearance of the French armament, had eſſentially contributed to ſtrike the diſaffected with terror. On the firſt rumour that an expedition was preparing at Breſt, the uncertainty of its deſtination was a ſufficient warning to put every part of the Britiſh dominions in a poſture of

of defence. The Iriſh Roman catholics, who had long teſtified the higheſt diſcontent, were of courſe obſerved with the ſtricteſt vigilance. An act had been paſſed, in March preceding, to authorize magiſtrates to proclaim military law, in caſe of imminent danger: it was reſorted to upon this occaſion, and had been duly put in force a whole month before the arrival of the French. This accounts in no ſmall degree for the inactivity of one party, and the reſolute exertions of the other.

The diſappointment of the united Iriſhmen, and of the French government, from whatever cauſe it proceeded, did not diſcourage either of them from proſecuting with the greateſt ardour the plans they had in contemplation. In hopes that the year 1797 would prove more auſpicious than the anteceding, a miniſter was ſent to France, from the chiefs of the Iriſh aſſociation, inveſted with fuller powers than any before. This was Doctor M'Nevin, a man of abilities, and of the higheſt conſequence in his party: he laid a project before the French government for an attack upon Ireland, informing them, for their encouragement, that the numbers ready for inſurrection were immenſe: in Ulſter alone, they amounted to one hundred and fifty thouſand. He demanded a ſupply of arms and money, and particularly recommended that the French plenipotentiaries, then treating at Liſle with lord Malmeſbury, ſhould be inſtructed to make the diſmemberment of Ireland from England a condition of the peace. He obtained all his requeſts, that for money excepted; notwithſtanding a ſolemn aſſurance, on the part of the aſſociation, that all the advances made, for the ſervices required in Ireland, and all the expences already incurred, ſhould be reimburſed, as ſoon as its affairs were ſettled, and its independence ſecured. The ſcarcity of money was ſuch both in France and Spain, that neither of them were in a condition to furniſh any, though for the accompliſhment of an object they both ſeemed equally to deſire.

In the meanwhile, this vaſt conſpiracy had hitherto been carried on with profound ſecrecy. The Iriſh government ſuſpected, indeed, that machinations were on foot; but had procured no preciſe information either of the men or of the meaſures. It was not till the month of April in that year, that they obtained any certain intelligence of the tranſactions that were taking place in ſo many parts of the kingdom. They were informed that, on the fourteenth, a number of ſeditious people were to meet at a houſe in Belfaſt: on this information, it was entered by a party of the military, and two of the aſſociation-committee were found actually ſitting; their papers were ſeized, and ſufficient documents appeared to bring at once to light the nature and extent of the plot in agitation. This important diſcovery led to others in various places, and the danger and magnitude of the conſpiracy were clearly aſcertained, to the conviction of all men.

Precautions of every kind were immediately taken by government; the inſurrection-act was enforced wherever it appeared neceſſary: additions were made to the army, and ſearch was made for arms, of which large quantities were ſeized. Heavy complaints aroſe, that the military employed on thoſe occaſions

ſions were guilty of many barbarities; but it was retorted, on the other ſide, that the united Iriſhmen had ſet the example, by breaking open houſes, and pillaging them; and by murdering the inoffenſive dwellers.

The increaſe of theſe confuſions and calamities ſpread conſternation every where. The moderate party in the Iriſh houſe of commons, which conſiſted of ſome of the moſt reſpectable and popular characters in the kingdom, endeavoured to put a ſtop to them, by moving for a parliamentary reform; which they hoped would prove conciliatory to the contending parties: but the motion was negatived, by one hundred and ſeventeen againſt only thirty that ſupported it. It was alleged, by the majority, that the turbulence of the times was unfavourable to ſuch conceſſions as had been demanded: the party that required them would not be ſatisfied with them alone; they would inſiſt upon others, and if not gratified, would remain as diſcontented as before. Foiled in this attempt, the moderate, or whig, party withdrew from parliament. This ſeceſſion, which was final, took place in May, 1797.

Ireland was, at this period, in the moſt deplorable ſituation: the buſineſſes and occupations of civil life ſeemed to have been deſerted, and the people intent every where on preparations for war. Thoſe who were peaceſully diſpoſed could promiſe themſelves no ſecurity; they were plundered by the malcontents, who collected in numerous and armed bodies, and committed every ſpecies of outrage and devaſtation. Proclamations were iſſued, threatening ſevere puniſhments to the offenders; but they were as little regarded as the offers of pardon to thoſe that forſook the rebellious aſſociations, and which were extended to all that were not guilty of murder, burglary, or houſe-burning.

The military were now in motion throughout every part of the kingdom; the malcontents muſtered in ſuch force, that every effort was become neceſſary to reſiſt them. They had projected, about this time, a general inſurrection, which would have taken place had the promiſed aſſiſtance from France been at hand, to ſecond them. After waiting for it, with impatient expectation, during the months of June and July, they were appriſed, at laſt, by their agents at Paris, that two armaments were fitting out for the attack of Ireland, one in the ports of France, the other in thoſe of Holland; but the latter was the only one that ever appeared at ſea: nor was it completely ready till October, when it received orders to proceed on the intended expedition; but had no ſooner ventured out of the Texel, than it was attacked by the Engliſh fleet, under admiral Duncan, who defeated and took the greater part of it as already recorded.

This was the more fatal a blow to the united Iriſh, that they began to entertain little hope from the naval ſtrength of the French. As theſe had made no attempt to join the Dutch ſquadron with any of their own, it was inferred, that either they had none in readineſs, or that it was too feeble to hazard an engagement: theſe inferences were juſt. France now relied entirely upon the maritime exertions of Holland and Spain; but both theſe had been ſo unfortunate, that it was not expected that either of them

them had at preſent any inclination to expoſe themſelves to farther defeats.

Nor were other cauſes wanting to diſcourage the Iriſh. Their agents plainly perceived that the aid of France was prompted by baſe motives: ſubjugation more than aſſiſtance appeared the ultimate object of the French government in the intereſt it was ſo eager to take in the affairs of Ireland, of which it ſought to transfer the connection with England to itſelf. The number of French auxiliaries required by the Iriſh was ten thouſand: they were decidedly averſe to accept of more, from the ſuſpicions which they harboured of this ally: they would even have been ſatisfied with half that number: but the French were poſitive that without an army of fifty thouſand men all attempts upon Ireland would be fruitleſs. Inſtead of ſo large a number, it was recommended to them to divide the moderate force propoſed into ſeparate bodies, and to land them at different places, in order to divert the attention of the enemy, and compel him to break his ſtrength into ſmall parts. Whether the French were unwilling or unable to make the efforts demanded of them, they paid little regard to the ſchemes laid before them by the Iriſh deputies. This was the more ſurpriſing that they had accompliſhed their deſigns in moſt countries on the continent. The greateſt part of Italy was under their immediate controul, Holland and the low countries obeyed them. Spain acted wholly by their impulſe, and they had concluded an advantageous peace with Auſtria. This, in the opinion of politicians, ſeemed a favourable opportunity to aſſail their only remaining enemy, with all the ſtrength they could poſſibly collect, in that part where he was deemed the moſt vulnerable: but probably both they and their allies were ſo diſpirited by their late defeats at ſea, and felt themſelves ſo unequal to their enemy on that element, that they dreaded another meeting. The French government was alſo meditating deſigns of more facility in the execution, as its numerous armies were in the vicinity of the theatre of action; and the immediate employment of them was judged indiſpenſable for the repoſe and ſafety of the republic. To theſe cauſes were owing the neglect and inactivity of the French reſpecting Ireland for a conſiderable time.

This conduct in the rulers of France excited great diſſatisfaction in the Iriſh. Miſtruſting their aſſurances of aid, which, however, were continually reiterated with their uſual warmth, and impatient of a delay which was evidently ruinous to the cauſe of the aſſociates, they came to a determination to proceed to action, without waiting any longer for the co-operation of their French confederates. In the month of February, 1798, a military committee was named, which drew up a body of inſtructions for their officers and commanders. A letter of a moſt preſſing nature was alſo written to the directory, urging them to loſe no time in diſpatching what ſuccours they were able; but the means of communication with the continent were ſo completely intercepted, by the vigilance of government, that this letter could never reach its deſtination.

In the mean time, great numbers of the united Iriſhmen, that were now

now preparing for inſurrection, were wholly deſtitute of arms and military accoutrements. They had relied on the importation of theſe by the French, and were now reduced to a forlorn condition, through the want of them. Nevertheleſs, ſo enthuſiaſtic was their ardour, that they crowded every where to the ſummons of their chieftains. In the courſe of February and March, they had gradually ſpread themſelves over many of the ſouthern diſtricts, and had eſtabliſhed an extenſive correſpondence with thoſe of the north. Their behaviour was ſo mercileſs and atrocious to their adverſaries, that all the loyal inhabitants fled before them to the garriſon towns; the only places where they could find ſecurity.

As parliament was ſitting, efforts were made to bring about a pacification between the inſurgents and government, by ſeveral members in both houſes. In that of peers, lord Moira pronounced a very pointed and pathetic ſpeech, on the nineteenth of February: — the purport of which was to expoſe the cruelties inflicted upon many individuals, againſt all forms of law. Houſes, he ſaid, had been burned, with the property of the owner, upon the looſeſt accuſations; people had been put to the torture, to extort from them a charge againſt their neighbours. Such were his words. He imputed the miſeries of Ireland to the errors of the Britiſh adminiſtration, and urged the neceſſity of adopting conciliatory meaſures, in the preſent circumſtances of the Iriſh nation. He did not deny the exiſtence of conſpiracies, and the commiſſion of enormities; but argued againſt the inflicting of puniſhments upon the whole community, for the tranſgreſſions of its members. He explicitly declared for the conceſſions claimed by the Roman catholics, and was of opinion, that if the general wiſhes were for a parliamentary reform, they ought to be complied with, for the ſake of national tranquillity.

It was replied to lord Moira, that the united Iriſhmen were, in reality, the promoters of the calamities of their country, by their machinations againſt government. Their enmity was ſo determined, that, during the negociations at Liſle, they had agents there, who made it their buſineſs to perſuade the French plenipotentiaries to refuſe their aſſent to all pacific propoſals. Their publications were poſitive incitements to rebellion; and their inſurrections had undeniably been attended with every kind of outrages, and, in ſeveral inſtances, with the moſt inhuman murders. Such were the affirmations of lord Glentworth.

It was aſſerted by the lord-chancellor, that government had proceeded upon the ſyſtem of conciliation with the Iriſh malcontents, but had found it utterly ineffectual: the object of the united Iriſh was to ſubvert the exiſting government, and to diſſolve the connection between the ſiſter kingdoms. He acknowledged that enormities had been committed by the adherents to government, but they were unavoidable, amidſt tumults and confuſions. He affirmed, that the hoſtile diſpoſition of the malcontents was ſuch, that they would treat with lord Moira no more than with himſelf.

Other lords ſpoke on the ſame ſubject, and recriminations paſſed

on both ſides. But the motion of lord Moira, for endeavours to effect a conciliation, by conceſſions, was rejected by a great majority.

The fact was, that, had conceſſions been offered, they would no longer have been accepted. On the very day that lord Moira made his motion, the Iriſh committees took a formal reſolution to pay no attention to any offers from either houſe of parliament, and that nothing ſhould be deemed ſatisfactory but a total emancipation of their country.

Still, however, theſe reſolves, and the authors of them, remained undiſcovered. The exiſtence of the conſpiracy had been aſcertained, but the heads and principal conductors lay hidden, together with their tranſactions. They were detected at laſt by one of their own people: his name was Reynolds: he had formerly been an eminent manufacturer in Dublin, but had retired from buſineſs, and ſettled in the county of Kildare: after becoming an united Iriſhman, he was promoted to the rank of colonel, and employed in truſts of importance. Struck with remorſe at what he had done, he opened himſelf to a perſon with whom he lived on terms of intimacy, and who prevailed upon him to make a full diſcloſure of the buſineſs to government. In conſequence of his informations, fourteen of the chief delegates were ſeized at the houſe of Mr. Oliver Bond, in Dublin, together with himſelf and ſeveral others, on the twelfth of March. Lord Edward Fitzgerald was included in the warrant of arreſt, but made his eſcape. On diſcovering the place of his concealment, which was not till two months after, ſeveral perſons were ſent to apprehend him; but he ſtood on his defence, and wounded two of them deſperately. He was, however, mortally wounded himſelf, and died a few days after.

The death of a perſon of his courage, zeal, and conſequence, with the apprehenſion of ſo many of their chiefs, decided, in a great meaſure, the fate of the whole party. Their places were ſupplied by freſh elections, but their ſucceſſors were equally unſucceſsful. An officer in the Iriſh militia, of the name of Armſtrong, enrolled himſelf among the united Iriſhmen, ſeemingly as a proſelyte, but, in reality, with the intent of coming at their deſigns, and revealing them to government. He was received the more readily, that they were anxious to procure adherents among the military, of whom they ſtood in particular need at this time, purpoſing to attack the troops encamped in the vicinity of Dublin. He was introduced to the heads of the party, who hoped, through his means, to gain over others, and employed him as one they could truſt.

A general inſurrection had been reſolved on. The plan was, to ſurprize, in one night, the camp, the artillery, and the caſtle: other places were to have been ſeized at the ſame time. But they differed in many particulars relating to this plan, each adhering to his opinion ſo pertinaciouſly, that a quarrel enſued; the one threatening the other with a denunciation to government, unleſs he came into his meaſures. But it was ſo opportunely apprized of their deſigns, by captain Armſtrong, that the two Sheares, of Dublin, Neilſon, of Belfaſt,

faſt, and ſeveral other chiefs, were arreſted on the twenty-third of May, and the metropolis was put into a ſtate of perfect ſecurity againſt any attempt.

Diſappointed in this unexpected manner, they ſtill were determined to execute their project of a general inſurrection, though deprived of the leaders in whom they chiefly confided, and ſcantily provided with arms and neceſſaries for an enterprize of ſuch a nature. They began their operations on the twenty-fourth of May, by attacking Naas, a town fifteen miles diſtant from Dublin: but they were forced to retire by lord Goſtard, the troops under whoſe command ſlew and took about two hundred.

A body of them had, the ſame day, taken poſſeſſion of the heights near Kilcullan; but they were diſlodged by general Dundas, and between one and two hundred were killed and taken. On the other hand, a detachment of the army was ſurprized at a place called Proſperous, and another at Clare; and both ſuffered conſiderably.

Some hundreds of the inſurgents aſſembled, on the twenty-fifth, at Rathfarnham, but were attacked by lord Roden, at the head of ſome cavalry. They were totally routed, and numbers killed and made priſoners: among theſe, were the two chiefs, Ledwich and Keough, who were both ſentenced to die, by a court-martial, though acting, as they alleged in their defence, by compulſion.

Another party of them was, on the following day, defeated on its march to Dublin, near Tallang-Hill. Between three and four hundred were ſlain, with their commander, who was a French officer.

The town of Carlow had been attempted by them on the twenty-fourth, the firſt day of the inſurrection; but, by the ſkilful diſpoſitions of major Dennis, they were repulſed, with the loſs of four hundred men. Sir James Duff encountered them on the twenty-ninth, at Kildare, which they were obliged to abandon, with the loſs of two hundred men.

They proceeded againſt Wexford on the twenty-fifth, about fifteen thouſond ſtrong. Part of the garriſon marched out, to give them battle; but they were ſurrounded, and entirely defeated. The commanding officer, colonel Foote, and two ſoldiers, were all that eſcaped. Three days after, the inſurgents marched to Enniſcorthy, which they took, with the help of the catholic inhabitants, but with the loſs of nearly five hundred men.

The town of Wexford, being no longer tenable, in the reduced ſtate of the garriſon, ſurrendered to the inſurgents on the thirtieth of May. Some of the proteſtant inhabitants eſcaped, with the remains of the garriſon, to Duncannon fort, near Waterford, but the majority were left behind; and the inſurgents, on taking poſſeſſion of the town, plundered their houſes, and threw moſt of them into priſon.

Here the inſurgents found ſeveral gentlemen of their party, who had been arreſted, and whom they delivered from confinement. Among theſe was Mr. Bagenhal Harvey, a man of large property, whom they placed at their head. They now advanced againſt New Roſs, a town lying upon the confines of Kilkenny, and guarded by a ſtrong diviſion of the army under major-general Johnſon: on the fifth of June they at-

tacked it with much fury and obſtinacy, but were driven back with a very great loſs of men: nearly three hundred of the army fell upon this occaſion; lord Mountjoy, colonel of the Dublin militia, was one. A cruel act of vengeance, for this defeat, was perpetrated by the inſurgents upon their proteſtant priſoners at Wexford, of whom upwards of a hundred were maſſacred in cold blood.

On the firſt of this month, a ſtrong body of the inſurgents made an attempt upon Newtown Barry, from which they compelled colonel Leſtrange to withdraw; but being reinforced, he returned to the charge, and expelled them from the town, with the ſlaughter of five hundred men; a larger number than that under the colonel's command. A reverſe was experienced on the fourth: colonel Walpole was ſlain in the attack of a ſtrong poſt of the inſurgents, and his party defeated and obliged to fall back upon Arklow. They were followed by the enemy, who, after collecting a large force, made a fierce attack upon the place: general Needham, who commanded there, received them with ſuch a fire of cannon and muſketry, that, notwithſtanding their repeated efforts, they could make no impreſſion, and were totally diſcomfited, ſuſtaining a heavy loſs of their beſt men.

As the inſurgents were maſters of ſeveral ſtrong holds in the ſouthern counties, it was neceſſary, for the re-eſtabliſhment of tranquillity, and the protection of the loyal inhabitants, to reduce them with all ſpeed: as ſoon therefore as the force requiſite for this purpoſe was in readineſs, general Lake advanced with it, to attack the principal ſtation of the inſurgents, which was on a ſtrong ground called Vinegar-hill, in the neighbourhood of Eniſcorthy. He made his approaches with great ſkill, and having nearly ſurrounded the enemy, aſſailed him on the twenty-firſt of June: the reſiſtance was vigourous for ſome time, but, fearing to be inveſted on every ſide, he at laſt gave way, and fled: the victory was complete; the multitudes that fell, both in the battle and the purſuit, equally weakened and diſheartened the whole party. The inſurgents at Wexford, hopeleſs of retaining it, offered to capitulate upon terms of ſecurity to their lives and property; but the conditions offered in return were, a general pardon to the common men, provided they returned to their allegiance and delivered up their chiefs. To this laſt condition they unanimouſly refuſed (and this certainly is not to be condemned) to aſſent. It was not inſiſted on: and the town was evacuated on the twenty-ſecond, and entered by the army without any oppoſition.

Thus the rebellion was entirely ſuppreſſed in the ſouth of Ireland: the defeat of the inſurgents at Vinegar-hill put an end at once to all their hopes; they diſperſed in various directions, and nearly the whole of thoſe multitudes that had joined ſo eagerly in the revolt now retired quietly to their former occupations, happy to think that they would be permitted to remain unmoleſted in their dwellings, after the enormities of which they had been guilty. Some of the moſt obſtinate ſtill continued in a body, and occaſionally attacked thoſe towns and villages that were leaſt upon their defence, and infeſted thoſe parts where they expected to

meet with plunder; but they, too, were, in a ſhort ſpace, compelled to deſiſt from thoſe vagrant hoſtilities, and were glad at laſt to ſhelter themſelves, from puniſhment, under the amneſty that was proffered to thoſe inſurgents, with a very few exceptions, who returned, within a given time, to their allegiance.

During theſe tranſactions in the ſouth, the north of Ireland had alſo ſhared conſiderably in the rebellion. Both the counties of Down and Antrim joined in this inſurrection; and, having muſtered a numerous force, ventured to oppoſe the troops that were ſent againſt them: but, on the twelfth of June, after an obſtinate engagement near Ballinahinch, they were at length totally defeated.

Shortly after, lord Camden was recalled from the lieutenancy of Ireland, and ſucceeded by lord Cornwallis, who brought over with him a general pardon to all that ſubmitted, with a very ſmall number of exceptions. The two Sheares, M'Can, and Byrne, conſpicuous actors in the conſpiracy, were brought to trial and execution. Mr. Bond had alſo been tried and condemned; but he was given to underſtand, his life would be ſpared, provided he made an unreſerved diſcloſure of all he knew reſpecting the conſpiracy. To this he conſented, on condition that no information from him ſhould affect the lives of his fellow-priſoners. A commutation of death into baniſhment was next proffered to theſe, on their making the like diſcloſure: the only reſtraint put upon them was, that they ſhould not chooſe, for the place of their exile, any country at war with Great Britain. It was ſtipulated, at the ſame time, that all proſecutions, relative to the conſpiracy and the rebellion, ſhould ceaſe, and that murderers only ſhould be puniſhed.

Attempts were ſtill made, by the French, to re-animate the expiring flame of rebellion; but theſe were neither well-timed, nor of any conſiderable magnitude, nor, what ſometimes ſheds an intereſt and importance even on ill-concerted projects, ſucceſsful. About 900 men, under the command of general Humbert, landed at Killala, on the twenty-ſecond of Auguſt, and proceeded, without a moment's loſs of time, to Caſtle-Bar, being joined, on their march, by a few of the country people. They repulſed a force, more than thrice their number, under general Lake, whom they forced to retreat, with the loſs of ſix pieces of cannon. They continued to advance towards Tuam, but, after diſplaying the moſt reſolute courage, were overpowered, by the ſuperiority of numbers, led on to receive them, by the marquis Cornwallis, and forced to lay down their arms.

A French ſquadron, of one ſhip of the line, the Hoche, and eight frigates, with troops and ammunition on board, deſtined for Ireland, was, on the eleventh of October, taken or diſperſed, by a Britiſh ſquadron, under ſir John Borlaſe Warren. The whole French ſquadron, with the exception of two frigates, fell ultimately into the hands of the Engliſh. Among the priſoners taken in the Hoche, was Wolf Tone, who, being tried and condemned, haſtened out of life by a voluntary death. The famous chieftain, Holt, ſurrendered himſelf to the Britiſh government: no other leader remained to be ſubdued: and thus, through the vigilance, ſagacity, and ſeaſonable vigour, of the Britiſh adminiſtration, of whom it is but juſtice to ſay, that their moderation and humanity, on this unfortunate occaſion, were equal to their activity and abilities, an end was put to the rebellion.

CHAP.

CHAP. XII.

Meeting of Parliament.—His Majeſty's Speech.—Debates on the Addreſs in Anſwer to it in the Houſe of Lords.—And in the Houſe of Commons.—Documents relating to the Negociation at Liſle.—Debates thereon in the Houſe of Lords.—And in that of the Commons.

THE Britiſh parliament aſſembled on Thurſday, the ſecond of November, 1797. The ſpeech from the throne touched on the inefficacy of the meaſures that had been taken by his Majeſty for the reſtoration of peace; the flouriſhing ſtate of our revenue, national induſtry, and commerce; the public ſpirit of his people; the ſucceſſes of his navy, and particularly of his fleet under admiral lord Duncan; and the neceſſity of continuing the moſt ſpirited exertions in defence of all that is dear to us, till a more juſt and pacific ſpirit ſhould prevail on the part of the enemy.

In the houſe of lords, an addreſs to his majeſty, in anſwer to his ſpeech from the throne, was moved by the earl of Glaſgow. The ſpeech, he ſaid, proved to him, and certainly alſo to their lordſhips, that the confidence of government in the object of the preſent great conteſt, their reſources to carry it on with vigor, and the proſpect of bringing it to an honourable concluſion, was in no reſpect diminiſhed from what it originally was. For, his majeſty's miniſters, in the centre of intelligence, embrace, at one glance, the whole complete machinery of our domeſtic and foreign politics. And this being the caſe, the people of England could not but rejoice that their ſituation was not worſe, and repoſe themſelves contentedly in a government thus enlightened, as well as happily diſpoſed to do every thing for the beſt. Our late victories, particularly that obtained by admiral lord Duncan, (which had perfectly annihilated the enemy's fleet) ſubſtantiated our competence to extort from the French more eligible terms than they ſeemed inclined to grant. We never had been ſucceſsful on any occaſion in the commencement of hoſtilities: which ought to encourage our perſeverance. From theſe and other conſiderations, urged by lord Glaſgow, he truſted that their lordſhips were prepared to ſtrengthen the hands of government, and would accordingly agree with him in moving an addreſs, in anſwer to his majeſty's moſt gracious ſpeech.

Lord Gwyder eſteemed it a duty, which he owed their lordſhips and the public, to declare the principles which had hitherto governed his public conduct. He had ſupported the war from its commencement: every act of the enemy, every event of the war, every conſequence that had followed, had ſerved to confirm

him in the opinion he had at firſt formed. Thrice had his majeſty's miniſters gone every length that prudence and honour permitted to terminate the miſeries of war in vain; nay, perhaps, farther than honour permitted: honour, which was almoſt the only rational ground for war. A diſpute about feuds or territorial poſſeſſions might be eaſily compromiſed; but the honour of this country once gone, it would ſink from its preſent rank among nations into deriſion and contempt. His lordſhip proceeded to ſpeak of the unprincipled ambition, inſolence, and fury of France, and the good faith, the reſources, and ſpirit, of England. "Thoſe, ſaid his lordſhip, who, in France, ſupported by public opinion, wiſhed for peace on fair and honourable terms, have been ſeized and tranſported like criminals; and with them, all appearance of liberty and juſtice have vaniſhed alſo. The jacobin deſpotiſm is now at its height: let the powers of Europe, which ſtill retain their independence, look well to its exploſion." He concluded by calling on their lordſhips for their ſupport of the motion.

The earl Fitzwilliam ſaid, that his concurrence with the addreſs ſhould not be withheld, on condition of allowing a trivial alteration in a few words. The ſame luſt of univerſal empire, which poiſoned and debaſed the old French government, ſeemed the only principle that diſtinguiſhed the new. Diſorganization, in all its extent, had uniformly ſucceeded every eſtabliſhment it had been able to overthrow. The French had, indeed, but one character, which diſcriminated them at the beginning of the revolution; which had never ſince changed; and in all probability never would; an incompatibility of coaleſcing with any other power whatever. Wherever they penetrated, by art or arms, the revolutionary mania followed them in its full effects. Had not the object for which, as advanced by his majeſty, in a former ſpeech, we fought, (order, morality, and religion), the ſame value in their eſtimation, and the ſame claim on their deciſion or exertion as ever? His lordſhip concluded by moving, as an amendment, to leave out that part of the addreſs which reſpected "his majeſty's endeavours, to procure for his people the bleſſings of peace," which, in his lordſhip's opinion, went to acknowledge the juſtice and legality of the French government.

Lord Grenville by no means intended to offer any ſentiments in oppoſition to the well-grounded doctrines thrown out by lord Fitzwilliam with reſpect to the conduct of the French. It was only by a vigorous reſiſtance of their principles, a manly diſregard of their threats, and a zealous maintenance of our own principles, that we could ſecure to ourſelves the bleſſings of our eſtabliſhed government: but, acting on theſe ideas, and truſting to our own genuine vigour, he differed from the noble earl ſo far as to believe that even with the French republic, as now conſtituted, peace on theſe terms might be both practicable and permanent.

The marquis of Lanſdown lamented to ſee the houſe deſerted by ſo many noble peers; which, though it did not ſurprize, afflicted his heart. He did not, however, know whether their ſeceſſion was not even a wiſe, ſalutary, and patriotic meaſure. It was a meaſure

on which he had himſelf often contemplated with ſerioufneſs, and which he had more than once thought of adopting. For what availed it for a few men, unſupported by public opinion, to ſpend their breath againſt a ſyſtem not to be aſſailed by wiſdom, nor moved by patriotiſm; which repoſes itſelf on other baſes than diſcuſſion, experience, and truth? If, ſaid he, I come down thus ſingle, it is not from any motive of ſelf-conceit, but becauſe I think the times themſelves demand from every man exertion in every way in which it is poſſible. It is this, my lords, that induces me yet to trouble you with my faint, perhaps my unavailing voice. The declaration, he ſaid, publiſhed by order of his majeſty on the twenty-fifth of October,* had made a moſt ſerious impreſſion upon him. That the French directory have no intention to make peace with us was a moſt ſerious and important matter: for then the queſtion came to be, what are we to do in ſuch a predicament? The noble earl ſays, continue the war? I aſk how you are to continue it? I leave all that has been ſaid about Geneva and Genoa, and the other ſtates which have ſuffered from the conduct of France, to men better acquainted with the circumſtances. We have nothing to do with thoſe details. Our caſe is not parallel. Great Britain is not to be put on a footing with the petty ſtates, which the drunkenneſs of the French revolution has diſturbed, and we ought not to be diverted from the contemplation of our own caſe by ſuch references. I leave them with all the ſpeeches, books, and pamphlets predicting the ruin that muſt follow the depreciation of aſſignats and mandats, and the impoſſibility of the French continuing their ſyſtem, which have ſo long and fatally deluded your lordſhips. We are now come to that point when we are doomed to act by ourſelves, and I need not tell your lordſhips, that through the whole of this buſineſs, it has been the invariable principle of thoſe who have carried on the war, that we could not make any impreſſion on France, without a continental ally. Lord Lanſdown having inſiſted much on this argument, the inefficiency of our naval victories for the purpoſe of humbling France, and the ſtrong and menacing ſituation into which we had driven that country, ſaid, "I profeſs to God, I ſee but one means and one chance for ſafety: I ſee but one powerful reſerve left to the nation, and that is a change of miniſters. The directory of France could not have any confidence in the ſincerity of our preſent adminiſtration in negociating for peace. If he were aſked upon what line and baſis a peace ought to be concluded, he could only ſay, that, provided it were concluded in the ſpirit of peace, he would not be very anxious to ſpecify the conditions. He did not think our colonies, either Eaſt Indian or Weſt Indian, a ſufficient argument for continuing the war: not even Trincomale itſelf. Let us come to our ſenſes: our ſyſtem ought to be purely defenſive: a defenſive war is not a great evil to this country compared with that which we have been doomed to endure. But let us, above all, regain the good opinion of Europe;

* See State Papers, vol. XXXIX. p. 223.

which

which good opinion we had loſt by our intemperance, our pride, and rapacity. Let us proclaim freedom of commerce to neutral nations. We ſhall be forced to do it, and that with an ill grace. The preſent is the moment favourable to conciliation. If thus we recognize the commercial freedom of the world, we ſhall be the firſt to profit from the grand and generous ſyſtem. On the ſubject of Ireland, he ſaw no means of reſtoring the people to the ſecurity of property, and the ſatisfaction of repoſe, but by making peace with that mighty people, who, to the enthuſiaſm of liberty, added all the reſources of a nation yet before them." The marquis ſaid, that he had had ſome intentions of putting ſome words into the ſhape of an amendment, but he knew it was uſeleſs. He had now, for forty years, ſeen the fate of amendments in parliament. He looked to a nobler quarter for our remedy. We had on the throne, a prince of experience, who had friends capable of giving him ſerious and ſound advice. It was, perhaps, come to the critical moment when, acting on their counſel, he might yet reſcue us from the fate that impends over our heads. May God grant, he ſaid, that we may ſtill owe to his paternal care the national ſafety.

Lord Mulgrave ſaid, it was indeed true, that originally, and early in the conteſt, the varied and prodigious efforts of the common enemy; their publicly declared hoſtility to the religion, the government, the crowns, and the venerable eſtabliſhments of Europe, had neceſſarily provoked a gigantic coalition againſt them: but time had ſoftened the paſſions which had given birth to thoſe enormities, and the coalition againſt them had gradually vaniſhed. The neceſſity that then exiſted for our not carrying on war without an ally had ceaſed, and we were to ſeek, in the dignity, the courage, and the reſources of the country, the means of repelling or treating with the common enemy. As to a change of miniſters, his lordſhip was very far from imagining that greater talents, more virtue, or more wiſdom could be collected and formed into any adminiſtration, from the moſt diſtinguiſhed claſſes of ſociety, than were to be met with among the preſent miniſtry.

The duke of Norfolk ſaid, that he would not have attended the houſe that night had not his hereditary ſituation (that of the earl Marſhal) impoſed it on him as a duty; yet as this had been the caſe, he would make one or two remarks on what had been advanced by lord Mulgrave. He could not concur with the noble lord, in attributing to his majeſty's miniſters either great talents or great virtues. After a victory the moſt brilliant but deſperate that ever adorned our annals, miniſters ſeemed not to poſſeſs the calm and ſettled paſſions of lovers of peace, but the ſtormy turbulent paſſions of minds projecting war. His grace, after ſome obſervations on certain paſſages in the late declaration above quoted, complained that this piece was unaccompanied with thoſe documents which are things neceſſary to ſuſtain facts.

Lord Grenville, after a ſatisfactory apology on this point, aſſured the houſe, that he ſhould, to-morrow, lay before the houſe ſuch of the papers referred to in his majeſty's ſpeech, as his majeſty might deem it prudent to communicate.

The

The queſtion on the addreſs to his majeſty, re-echoing as uſual the ſpeech from the throne, was then put and carried. But, on the day following, the earl Fitzwilliam, entered in the journals of the houſe a proteſt againſt the addreſs, for the following among other reaſons: "Becauſe, the amendment, which had been rejected, appeared to him to be neceſſary to ſave the honour of the houſe from being implicated in approving a negociation of which they knew little more than that it had drawn down new calamities and indignities, new injuries and outrages on his majeſty and people. Becauſe the ſacrifices which his majeſty had been lately adviſed to offer, and to declare himſelf ſtill ready to make, could not now have the ſame object which the ſame or ſimilar offers had on a former occaſion: when they were anxious, by the ceſſion of our own acquiſitions, to redeem the moſt important part of the ancient eſtabliſhed ſyſtem of Europe, in which a breach had been made, and which was menaced with ſtill farther danger. And becauſe, the pecuniary diſtreſs and embarraſſments of the enemy had encreaſed ſo as to have been a pretence for ſome of the late violent proceedings in France, while, on the contrary, the inquiries of their committees had long ſince prepared the houſe to anticipate the pleaſing aſſurance of his majeſty, "that we poſſeſs means and reſources proportionate to the objects which are at ſtake; that our revenue has continued highly productive, our national induſtry extended, and our commerce ſurpaſſed its former limits."

The addreſs, in anſwer to the ſpeech from the throne, was moved for in the houſe of commons, by Mr. Wilbraham Bootle. The reſtoration of tranquillity, and of uninterrupted commerce, he ſaid, were objects of as much importance to the ſovereign, as to the ſubjects of a commercial country. The ſincerity with which the negociation at Liſle had been entered into, on the part of the Britiſh government, was, therefore, not to be doubted. Since the revolution of laſt September, the executive directory had taken no pains to conceal their intentions of continuing hoſtilities. In order to remove the poſſibility of doubt upon this ſubject, the revolution had no ſooner taken place, than they took the negociation out of the hands to which it had been entruſted, and ſent creatures of their own to Liſle, charged with pacific profeſſions, but with expreſs orders to break off the negociation, or at leaſt to advance propoſitions which had been before rejected and abandoned, and which they well knew could not be accepted. As it muſt be evident that the reſtoration of peace could not be attained by any relaxation of efforts on our part, and as the continuance of the calamities of war ſeemed to be for a time unavoidable, we ſhould conſider the ſituation in which we ſtood at preſent, with reſpect to the means of carrying it on. Upon looking only to the events of the three laſt years, we ſhould find ample ſubjects of triumph and exultation. We had ſwelled the liſt of our prizes to a degree unheard of in former wars. We had ruined the wars, and crippled the navy of the enemy. We had kept poſſeſſion of the ſea againſt three formidable allied powers. We had blockaded their ports, while ſuperior fleets lay

mouldering in inaction within them. And when, at laſt, the menaces and reproaches of their indigent countrymen had forced them reluctantly to battle, the reſult had invariably been what we had expected.—Among the innumerable good effects, ariſing from the late victory, obtained by the fleet under the command of admiral lord Duncan—one perhaps of more real importance and incalculable advantage than any by which our arms had hitherto been diſtinguiſhed, it had tended to reſtore the confidence of the nation, to a quarter from whence it had lately been withheld; it had ſhewn to the world, that, though the ſpirit of Britiſh ſeamen might have been for a time directed to improper objects, and miſled by the artifices of deſigning men, yet when neceſſity required, and their duty called for their exertions, it would fall with ten-fold vengeance on the enemies of their country. Mr. Bootle, in concluſion, truſted that the houſe would be unanimous in their vote of that day. It was of material conſequence in the eyes of the nation, and of foreign powers that they ſhould be ſo.—The motion for the addreſs was ſeconded by Mr. William Drummond, who, among a variety of conſiderations urged with great perſpicuity and animation, obſerved, that it was ſome conſolation to Engliſhmen, if the evils of war muſt ſtill continue, if greater treaſures muſt yet be expended, and if more blood muſt yet flow, the blame was not imputable to them, but ſolely to the inſatiable ambition of their enemies—enemies who had ſo often and ſo oſtentatiouſly profeſſed the love of peace; but who had, nevertheleſs, ſo uniformly, ſo invariably, and ſo ſyſtematically perſevered in the practice of war. If this enemy, continuing their exhorbitant demands, and denying the reſpect which we have always claimed, and always received from other nations, refuſe to grant us peace on fair terms, let us not be wanting to ourſelves: let our union be the ſignal to our foes, that we will reſiſt their aggreſſion on our national independence, with all the zeal, all the energy, and all the perſeverance, which the love of juſtice, the love of liberty, and the love of our country, can inſpire.

Mr. Bryan Edwards cordially aſſented to that part of the addreſs which related to the late glorious victory obtained by our fleet, under the command of the gallant admiral lord Duncan, over that of Holland. But how feeble the conſolation that a ſingle victory can ſupply? the triumph of an hour: a triumph dearly bought: a triumph which may, perhaps, have diſconcerted a hoſtile expedition, but has certainly thinned the ranks of our gallant defenders. Amidſt the rejoicing for ſuch a diſplay of our naval ſuperiority, what ſort of heart muſt that be which reflects without ſorrow on the havoc of that day? which, without regret and horror, reads the bloody detail in the gazette?—that regiſter of a ſlaughter-houſe—that muſter-roll of death. Two hundred millions of money have been the waſte of four years, and two hundred thouſand the number of lives loſt. And now, at the end of this frightful, irreparable loſs, what does the king's ſpeech hold out to us? Does it hold out the effectual relief of our burdens? No! Does it hold out the promiſe of *indemnity for the paſt, and ſecurity for the future?* No! Does it hold out peace? No, no ſuch

ſuch thing, but the reverſe. It promiſes a renewal of the waſte and devaſtation we all lament, or have cauſe to lament. It menaces us with more carnage and ſlaughter, with new ſcenes of blood, with more tears, more ſighs, more, and perhaps, deeper groans of widows and orphans. But ſome gentlemen will ſay, "Why this mournful recital? What uſeful end can it ſerve to draw this gloomy picture? Have not efforts been made to obtain a peace?" To this, ſir, I ſhall anſwer, that I am ſure efforts ſuitable to the occaſion have not been made; efforts founded in ſincerity and breathing a true ſpirit of peace. The terms which the French would have granted, on the firſt miſſion of lord Malmeſbury to Paris, and which the miniſter then refuſed, were ſuch as he would now gladly accept, but which they now decline to give. The French would have granted peace on condition of holding what they then had: but the miniſter would be contented with nothing ſhort of the reſtitution of Belgium; and the ſafety of England was ſacrificed to the intereſt of the emperor. Mr. Edwards, for his part, was perſuaded that it would have been a happy circumſtance if lord Malmeſbury had been empowered, at the outſet, to make the reſtitution deſired by France. It had been ſtated by ſir Francis Baring, whoſe acquaintance with the Britiſh intereſts in India was undoubted, that the Cape of Good Hope, inſtead of being an advantage, would be a burden: he had alſo ſtated, and Mr. Edwards was ſure that he ſtated no more than the fact, that Trincomale, in Ceylon, could not be kept in our poſſeſſion unleſs we become maſters of the whole of that iſland; an acquiſition utterly hopeleſs. And, as to the Weſt Indies, if it was to-morrow in our power to capture the whole of the French iſlands, ſo far from being productive or advantageous, they would either be untenable or ruinous in the holding.

Mr. Edwards, in an enumeration of the various circumſtances that threatened various imminent evils mentioned "the diſgrace of the peerage, by the introduction of men without abilities or praiſe-worthy ſervices, to entitle them to that diſtinction." The laſt reſource of the wretched, Mr. E. obſerved, in concluſion of a very warm and pathetic ſpeech, was, the hope that, when things are at the worſt, they would mend. But, he ſaid, even this conſolation ſeems to be denied to us: for the right honourable gentleman, who has ſo long, and with ſuch diſtinguiſhed ability influenced the opinions of this ſide of the houſe, I am ſorry to perceive, has retired from the conteſt. "Sir, if the advice of that right honourable gentleman, whoſe tranſcendent talents are his ſmalleſt praiſe, had been attended to, we ſhould not, as at this day, have to mourn over the calamities of our country. He has retired, I fear, wearied and hopeleſs, in prophetic and ſilent anguiſh. And when he deſpairs, when talents, eloquence, and firmneſs like his, which once, in ſpite of parliamentary majorities, ſaved the kingdom from a ruinous war with Ruſſia, are withdrawn, in the preſent juncture, what remains for men of inferior endowments, but, like him, to retire from the ſcene, to mourn in ſecret over thoſe evils

they

they cannot prevent, and ſilently expect the diſſolution which awaits this unhappy kingdom.

Mr. Wilberforce, with regard to what had been alleged concerning the merit and the retirement of Mr. Fox, ſaid, that, for his own part, he knew of no good reaſon why the right honourable gentleman ſhould refuſe his aid and advice to the great council of the nation now, any more than upon any former occaſions: nor ſhould he be at all ſurpriſed to ſee him immediately enter the door, and walk up to his ſeat, as he was wont to do in the preceding ſeſſion. As to the melancholy and ſilent anguiſh aſcribed to him, it appeared from a public newſpaper of the eleventh of October, that his melancholy was merely of a temporary nature: for although the right honourable gentleman had been found beginning the day of his annual feſtivity with regret and lamentations for the hopeleſs condition of his country, the ſame vehicle of intelligence had informed us, that after ſeveral toaſts were drank, with great applauſe, the conviviality of the evening was heightened by ſome jovial ſongs. Reſpecting the efficacy of Mr. Fox's propoſition, which Mr. Edwards had deemed infallible, he not only entertained doubts but abſolute diſbelief. He did not, therefore, at all regret the abſence of the right honourable gentleman, becauſe he did not think his counſel worth the accepting. He was willing to make any ſacrifices that might be deemed neceſſary: not to the Hollanders, nor to the Spaniards, nor to the French, but to his country. Nay, he would go farther than the honourable mover in this ſurrender, to put a period to the war: for he would not only make a ſurrender of all our conqueſts, but make a ſacrifice of all things, of every kind, which, as an individual, he either poſſeſſed or valued. Nothing then remained but to call on the country to ſubmit cheerfully to the ſad alternative to which it was reduced, to join in returning thanks to providence for the ſignal victory which had improved their condition, and to unite zealouſly and firmly to ſave the country from the deſtructive hatred and immoderate ambition of the enemy.

Sir Horace Man, having ſpoken in vindication of the ſincerity of both lord Malmeſbury and miniſtry, in the late negociation at Liſle, and of the hoſtile ſpirit of the French rulers, who had baniſhed the two directors who had betrayed a diſpoſition to peace, proceeded alſo to vindicate the character of the new peers from the aſperſions of Mr. Bryan Edwards, and particularly that of his noble relation, the late maſter, now lord Powis. They were gentlemen, he ſaid, who had uniformly ſerved their country with ardour and fidelity. As to the addreſs, he perfectly agreed with the honourable gentleman by whom it had been moved and ſeconded.

Mr. Elford put it to the honourable gentleman, Mr. Edwards, whether or no it was fair or juſt to ſay any thing that might tend to do away any part of the effect of the glorious victory over the Dutch fleet. He had brought into a prominent point of view that unhappy circumſtance which was not peculiarly characteriſtic of this particular action, but the neceſſary concomitant of all ſplendid victories; becauſe the ſeverity of the conteſt was one ſource of their celebriety.

Mr.

Mr. Nichols was heartily diſpoſed to join with thoſe who lamented the abſence of Mr. Fox, on whoſe parliamentary conduct and public ſervices, particularly the ſhare he had had in terminating the American war, and giving a true ſtatement of the Eaſt-India company's affairs in his India-bill * he beſtowed much praiſe. It was his ſincere wiſh to ſupport royalty, the nobility, and the rights of the commons, not forgetting epiſcopacy, eſſential to our political exiſtence, the whole of which he now ſaw, with pain, were in extreme danger. But while he ſaw it was neceſſary to wage a war *pro aris et focis*, he could not ſtifle the reſentment and indignation that roſe up in his breaſt againſt a miniſter, by whoſe ill-adviſed raſhneſs it was begun, and through whoſe incapacity its conduct and progreſs had been diſgraced by diſaſter and defeat. He could not but concur with Mr. Edwards, and for the reaſons which that gentleman had given, for his opinion, that miniſters were not ſincere in their endeavours to negociate: no, not in the late attempt. Should the war be continued for three years, the funds muſt give way, the middling claſs of the people inevitably be ruined, and the whole country be oppreſſed and overwhelmed with burdens. Our finances are our main object; to theſe we muſt attend. Even ſhould ten ſhillings in the pound additional be laid on land, we ſhould not be able to continue the war for three years. We owe it as a duty to his majeſty to recommend to him a change of his miniſters. They have long been tried, and tried to no purpoſe.

Sir William Young aſked whether, becauſe a menace had been thrown out by the enemy, it was prudent or neceſſary that we ſhould ſit down in deſpondency? But it was ſaid, that if we had ſent out a perſon with full power to ſurrender all our conqueſts we ſhould have been enabled ſtill to treat with the enemy. To treat? for what? for our navy? Yes, aſſuredly. Such would be the final demand of the enemy; and we ſhould be permitted at laſt, like Carthage, under the tyranny of ancient Rome, to keep up ſo many ſhips only on the ſea as muſt eventually deſtroy our commerce, our liberties, our ſecurity, and our exiſtence.

Mr. J. H. Browne obſerved, that when the taxes were ſtated to be grievous, gentlemen ought to review the increaſed value of eſtates, manufactures, and of commerce, to defray them. The internal wealth of the kingdom, he ſaid, was never ſo abundant as at preſent. And this, he ſaid, was the permanent cauſe of the courage in our troops and ſeamen.

The queſtion on the addreſs was then put and carried.

On the 8th of November, 1797, the order of the day in the houſe of peers, for taking into conſideration the papers relative to the negociation at Liſle being read, lord Grenville, after a long exordium, called their lordſhip's attention to the papers before them. After a copious detail of the points on which he ſhould not inſiſt, though in this detail he touched on them *en paſſant*,

* By which it was made to appear, that they were in arrears more than four millions ſterling.

ſuch

ſuch as the conduct of the enemy in the commencement of the late negociation, the inſinuations thrown out againſt the character of lord Malmeſbury, the unexampled liberality and frankneſs of his majeſty's miniſters, in giving almoſt, in the firſt interview between the plenipotentiaries, a full and detailed plan of the terms on which they were willing to make peace, &c. Lord Grenville, after a long ſtatement of what he would not do, came at laſt to the great point on which the failure of the negociation turned. Although, at the beginning of the negociation this demand had been abandoned, they again renewed the propoſal which had been declared inadmiſſible, viz. the complete renunciation of every thing that had been taken during the war from them or their allies. They would not enter into any diſcuſſion of the *projet* delivered by lord Malmeſbury, nor did they want to ſee whether the terms propoſed by this country would admit of any modification by mutual facilities and mutual compenſation. They demanded, as a preliminary, to renounce all that we had to aſk, and to declare all that we had to concede. The motives, by which the majority of the directory were actuated in the courſe which they purſued, it would not be difficult to explain. It would eaſily be recollected in what circumſtances, amid what violence, the conſtitution of 1795, overthrown by the revolution of the fourth of September, 1797, was eſtabliſhed. In no ſenſe was any freedom of election permitted till about the middle of April laſt, when a very conſiderable change in the temper of the councils, as well as the people at large, was apparent. A majority in the legiſlative bodies ſeemed diſpoſed to put an end to the miſeries under which the French nation groaned; and to oppoſe the progreſs of that revolutionary principle which the directory endeavoured, with too much ſucceſs, to ſpread over Europe. They were deſirous of enjoying the bleſſings of peace. Theſe views, however, ill ſuited with the ſchemes of a majority of the directory. They wiſhed to ſpread confuſion over Europe, on jacobin principles and by jacobin means. Had the majority of the directory, by whoſe influence the whole of the proceedings at Liſle were conducted, choſen to break off the negociation on the terms which this country offered, they would have put the councils on their guard, they would have made all France and Europe judges of their conduct, and they would have anticipated that event which the directory were preparing. Again, had they brought forward another *projet* of their own, they muſt have diſappointed the object they had in view; that of breaking off the negociation without ſpecifying any terms. At the very moment, however, when they were practiſing every evaſion, creating every delay, conſtantly refuſing to deliver in a *counter-projet*, they held a language directly oppoſite in their meſſages to the council. In theſe they threw the charge of delay on the coaleſced powers; and to whom could this inſinuation apply, but to this country in conjunction with its ally? At this very moment their plenipotentiaries were daily apologizing for the extraordinary delays which took place. In theſe circumſtances, does it not moſt plainly appear, that delay was their object; that they wiſhed to gain time till their plot was ready to be executed

executed, and till it would be ſafe to throw off the maſk? In their views they unhappily ſucceeded, by the weakneſs of their enemies, and the frail fabric of the conſtitution of 1795 was overturned. Had they broke off the negociation abruptly before this period, they would have defeated their own object. It was clear to every man who watched the progreſs of events, and of opinion in France, that it was not at Liſle, but at Paris, that the reſult of the conferences would be determined. It was obvious that it muſt depend upon the reſult of the diſputes which agitated the councils of the government. It depended upon the deciſion of the ſtruggle, and if the majority of the directory ſucceeded, every man was prepared for what followed. Perhaps, indeed, this forms the only excuſe which his majeſty's miniſters could urge for having ſo long ſubmitted to the delays and evaſions of the enemy. They could only be juſtified by their deſire to wait an event which might promiſe a favourable reſult to the negociation, and facilitate the attainment of peace. This conſideration alone ſhields them from the reproach of having ſo long endured the trifling and the evaſion of the enemy, and contributed to aid the fatal deception which the directory wiſhed to paſs upon the people of France, by keeping up the appearance of negociation, and cheriſhing the hope of peace.

When at laſt the fourth revolution of September arrived, the directory immediately changed their ſyſtem, and avowed their objects. They immediately recalled the men whom they had formerly inſtructed to ſupport their views, and whom they had authorized to make profeſſions which they no longer meant to perform. Every thing which had been done was retracted, and demands required which two months before had been abandoned. But it is needleſs to enter into a detailed expoſition of their conduct. Their preſent avowed objects explain their former chicane. They now ſhew, without concealment, the purpoſes for which the diſguiſe had been aſſumed. They now declare, that it is our conſtitution, our laws, our religion, with which they war; that it is the whole ſyſtem of our public glory, and of our private happineſs, that they wiſh to overthrow. They avow that the government of this country, and that of France, cannot be co-exiſtent. They wiſh not peace with this country, but the utter annihilation of our government, and the deſtruction of the whole ſcheme of our political exiſtence.

With ſuch avowals lord Grenville confeſſed himſelf at a loſs to conceive in what manner the conduct of the enemy could now be excuſed or palliated. On the other hand, with regard to our own conduct and ſituation, this was not the moment to deſpair. The reſources of this country were great and powerful; and hitherto there had been no preſſure to call them with all their vigour into action. "I have the fulleſt confidence, ſaid lord Grenville, in the public ſpirit and determined diſpoſition of the people of this country. From you, my lords, I only aſk that you will perſevere in the ſentiments you have expreſſed, and in the conduct you have purſued. I aſk you to carry to the foot of the throne the addreſs that I have drawn up, and now lay before you. His lordſhip then moved, "That an humble addreſs be preſented to his majeſty, aſſuring him,

him, that they had taken into their moſt ſerious conſideration the papers which had been laid on the table, relative to the negociation for peace; that, in the ſteps which had been taken, they had recognized the pacific diſpoſition evinced by his majeſty throughout the whole of its progreſs, and obſerved the inveterate hoſtility of the enemy; that while, on the one hand, his majeſty had given an example of the greateſt moderation, the enemy on the other have abandoned every pacific diſpoſition; that they entertain the moſt determined hatred and animoſity to the conſtitution, laws, and liberties of this country; that the deſtruction of our conſtitution and government was the object at which they aimed; that the lords know that great exertions were neceſſary, but that they were prepared and reſolved to ſtand or fall with the conſtitution, laws, and liberties, upon which the happineſs of every claſs of the community eſſentially depended."

After a few words in ſupport of this reſolution, by lord Darnley, who alſo took occaſion to beſtow much praiſe on lord Malmeſbury, and to compliment lord Duncan on his very brilliant and deciſive victory, the addreſs, being read by the chancellor, was unanimouſly agreed to. That this act might be rendered as ſolemn as poſſible, lord Grenville wiſhed that it might be preſented to his majeſty as the joint addreſs of the two houſes of parliament. For this end, a conference was held with the commons: and Mr. Dundas, on the tenth of November, moved, that the commons do concur with their lordſhips in that addreſs: to which an amendment was propoſed by

Sir John Sinclair. He confeſſed himſelf perfectly aſtoniſhed at the mean and degrading manner in which miniſters had carried on the negociation. When the renewal of overtures for peace was firſt talked of, he had meant to move, that no plan ſhould be delivered to the French government until the latter ſhould have preferred their counter-plan. That he had refrained from making that motion afforded him now much regret. For miniſters, being left to themſelves, had carried on the negociation in the moſt diſgraceful manner. It was begun againſt the cuſtoms and uſages eſtabliſhed in the intercourſes of different nations. It was carried on when every idea of moderation and juſtice, on the part of the enemy, had been abandoned. What muſt be the effect of this? Muſt not ſuch a mode of conduct tend to the debaſement of the country? And would it be eaſy to revive the ſpirit of the nation after it had been ſo humbled? To the declaration of the twenty-fifth of October he objected, as full of raſh and violent invective, and as intended for the expreſs purpoſe of eſtabliſhing between the two countries inveterate and laſting animoſity. To juſtify this inveteracy, government brought various charges againſt France, which they had by no means been able to make out. If, indeed, it were the wiſh of the people of France to overturn the government of this country, he frankly confeſſed that he ſhould give his aſſent to the addreſs. But the fact, he believed, was, that if the French were inveterate againſt this country, it was becauſe this country had been inveterate againſt them. If they wiſhed to overturn our conſtitution, it was becauſe miniſters had

evinced a desire to overturn theirs. The French people, he really thought, would be glad to let us alone, and to be at peace and in amity with us. On these grounds he moved an amended address, expressing the firmest resolution to maintain the honour and dignity of the crown, and independence of the nation, but avoiding any thing that might seem to imply animosity; and, in the spirit of conciliation, the concluding paragraph of the amended address proposed was as follows: "We trust that the two nations will see the wisdom and policy of speedily renewing a negociation so favourable to the interests of humanity, and of concluding the war in terms just in themselves, and honourable to the parties interested, the only true foundation on which a lasting pacification can be expected. But if unfortunately such hopes should not be realized, your majesty may be assured of the firm and unalterable support of your faithful commons, in making every exertion that circumstances may render necessary for procuring a safe and honourable peace." This amendment, or rather amended address, was seconded by Mr. Bryan Edwards, but opposed by the earl Temple, in his first speech in parliament, in which he deemed it not only improper but impossible for him, in the relations in which he stood to give a silent vote that night, on the subject before them. He reviewed the conduct of the French since the revolution, and particularly in the late negociation on the one part, and that of his majesty's ministers on the other, to whom he thought the warmest thanks were due for the manly manner in which the negociation had been concluded, and which he rejoiced had proved unsuccessful. He was convinced that there was a great antipathy in France against this country. The amendment he decidedly opposed. The honourable baronet, who brought it forward, asserted every thing and proved nothing. Lord Temple thought, that if it passed the house, the country would be sunk to a lower pitch of degradation than ever.

Mr. Pitt confessed himself to be in some degree disappointed, even by the speech of his noble cousin (much as he rejoiced in the specimen he had given of his talents), and still more by the speech of the honourable baronet, and the amendment he had moved. We ought not to rejoice that the negociation for peace had not proved successful. Nor was this negociation concluded by his majesty's ministers, but by others. The merit of his majesty's ministers, if they had any, consisted in their persisting, in every attempt, to conduct that negociation to a pacific termination, as long as their enemies had left them not the prospect but the chance of doing so, consistently with their honour, dignity, and safety. As to the amendment proposed by the honourable baronet, who had left every thing out of it that was honourable to the character of his own country, was it possible that such an amendment could be proposed by the same gentleman, who had, in the same breath, brought a charge against his majesty's ministers, for having even commenced the negociation in the manner and under the circumstances in which they did commence it? — and also for persevering in it, after violations

of

of form and practice had been inſiſted on, in the earlieſt ſtage of it? Does he diſcover that the French government, whom they had accuſed of inſincerity, had been ſincere from the beginning to the end of the negociation? The charges of the honourable baronet were ſufficiently refuted by his own ſpeech. He complains much of the declaration, by order of his majeſty, on the rupture of the negociation, as tending to perpetuate animoſities between two nations which muſt one day be at peace. But what does that declaration expreſs on the ſubject? His majeſty's language is diſtinctly this: "While this determination continues to prevail, on the part of his enemies, his majeſty's earneſt wiſhes and endeavours, to reſtore peace to his ſubjects, muſt be fruitleſs: but his ſentiments remain unaltered; he looks with anxious expectation to the moment, when the government of France may ſhew a temper and ſpirit correſponding with his own."—Mr. Pitt proceeded at great length, and with his uſual perſpicuity and energy, to illuſtrate the ſincerity of the Britiſh government, in the late negociation, and the ſtudied evaſions and arrogant and repulſive demands of the French directory.

The amendment propoſed by ſir John Sinclair was highly diſapproved by Mr. Pollen, Mr. Martin, Mr. Gerard Noel Edwards, Mr. John Lloyd, Mr. Tyrwhit, Doctor French Lawrence, who ſpoke much againſt our either allowing the freedom of the ſeas, or his majeſty's renouncing the title of king of France,* and who rejoiced, with lord Temple, that the negociation had proved unſucceſsful. It was alſo oppoſed by Mr. Wilberforce, who regretted that doctor Lawrence, at the ſame time that he ſtrenuouſly recommended unanimity, had made uſe of language very likely to produce a contrary effect. He was ſorry that this learned gentleman had not followed the example of his right honourable friend, the chancellor of the exchequer, who had purpoſely waved the ſubject introduced by the former, and had ſaid expreſſly, that whether his majeſty's miniſters had gone too far in conceſſions, or not, was a queſtion on which he would not give an opinion: to introduce that queſtion, and make it a ſubject of diſcuſſion, at a time when all ſhould be

* The doctor, who was a political pupil and enthuſiaſtic admirer of Mr. Burke, on this occaſion, ſaid, that "he could not bring himſelf, with Mr. Pitt, to regard his majeſty's title, of king of France, as a harmleſs feather: ſhould that feather go, other feathers, cloſely connected with it, and which borrow from it their chief ſupport, muſt go alſo, and ſhare the ſame fate. He recommended to the contemplation and imitation of this country, certain precedents in the hiſtory of the wars of Edward III. who, ſupported by his parliament, invaded France, conquered the French, and brought their king a priſoner to England. The ſame reſult, the doctor ſaid, might perhaps attend the preſent conteſt, did the ſame ſprings of action animate and direct our efforts, that animated and directed thoſe of our anceſtors!" There would, doubtleſs, be even greater glory, in bringing Buonaparte a priſoner to England, than there was in bringing John, king of France, captive thither, by the prince of Wales, in the reign of Edward III.

unanimity and harmony, was, in his mind, exceedingly improper; and, therefore, he proteſted againſt what had fallen from that learned gentleman, who, in endeavouring to interpret his right honourable friend, had but too fully ſpoken for himſelf.

Sir John Sinclair ſaid, that he had not propoſed the amendment without due conſideration. But he was not inſenſible to the diſplay of eloquence he had juſt heard. He, therefore, withdrew his motion, in compliance with the earneſt intreaties of all the members who had ſpoken on the ſubject.

CHAP. XIII.

Meaſures of Finance.—Reſtriction on the Bank, from Payments in Caſh, continued.—Army Eſtimates, and Supplies for 1798.*—Treble Aſſeſſment Bill.—Debates thereon in both Houſes of Parliament.—Land Tax Redemption Bill.—Debates thereon.—Farther Supplies.—New Duties.*

THE inquiries and diſcuſſions concerning the negociations for peace, broken off at Liſle, were naturally followed by others relative to the ways and means for maintaining our government, and carrying on the war. On the fifteenth of November, 1797, Mr. Pitt, chancellor of the exchequer, moved for a committee of inquiry into the expediency of continuing the reſtriction upon the bank, which had been laid, in the preceding ſeſſion, by an act, intituled, "An Act for confirming and continuing, for a limited time, the reſtriction contained in the minute of council, of the twenty-ſixth of February, 1797;" a meaſure, he ſaid, which the avowed policy of our enemy, and other circumſtances, rendered neceſſary.—Though, by this bill, the reſtriction was nominally continued during the war, ſtill it empowered the bank, at any intermediate period, to reſume its payments in caſh, by communicating its intentions to the ſpeaker of the houſe of commons, and giving one month's notice. It was neceſſary to ſhew to the enemy, that the country was prepared to meet all the efforts of deſperation: but it did not follow that the reſtriction would be continued during the whole war. The bill went through the ſeveral ſtages, in both houſes, with little oppoſition, and was paſſed into a law.

On the twentieth of November, 1797, the ſecretary of war moved, in the houſe of commons, the uſual reſolutions on the army eſtimates. In the eſtimate of the preſent, compared with that of laſt year, there appeared to be a ſaving of one million. The whole of the regular force, Mr. Windham ſtated, would amount to 78,627 men. Regulars and irregulars (theſe laſt conſtituting the militia and ſencible regiments, infantry and cavalry), amounted, together, to the number of 140,829 men. The regular force in Ireland and the Eaſt Indies, amounting to 30,018 men, was not, in this account, included. On this occaſion, general Fitzpatrick ſuggeſted a material alteration in the mode of recruiting the army. It had often been obſerved, he ſaid, that in this country, where we boaſted of ſo high a degree of liberty, the condition of the ſoldier was worſe than in any other part of Europe. In this country, the ſoldier was bound to ſerve for life. In other parts of Europe, the term of ſervice was limited. He urged ſeveral reaſons why the period of ſervice ſhould be limited; but the principal of

theſe was humanity. It was well known that men were too frequently entrapped into the ſervice. The idea of fixing the period of ſervice was not new. He had, twenty years ago, voted for ſuch a meaſure, when it was brought forward by colonel Barré; and when that period was propoſed to be fixed for ſix years. If colonel Barré's bill had paſſed, the nation would at this moment feel an additional ſecurity, in knowing that there were ſpread over the country a large body of men accuſtomed to the uſe of arms. Mr. Windham ſaid, that, previous to his coming into office, the meaſure now ſuggeſted, or ſomething like it, had often been in contemplation: but it had always been found to be attended with obſtacles which it was not eaſy to ſurmount, and particularly in time of war. However motives of humanity, and conſiderations of policy, might incline him to ſuch a meaſure, he was not prepared, for the preſent, to ſay any thing, one way or other. He, therefore, proceeded on the buſineſs which he had opened; and a great number of reſolutions, as uſual, were moved and carried.

The houſe again formed itſelf into a committee of ſupply on the twenty-ſecond of November, when the chancellor of the exchequer moved and carried a ſeries of reſolutions for various miſcellaneous ſervices; as our civil eſtabliſhments abroad, in Canada, Nova Scotia, New Brunſwick, the iſland of St. John, Cape Breton, Newfoundland, Bermudas, the Bahama Iſlands, Dominica, and New South Wales. For the civil liſt, for theſe eſtabliſhments, there was a demand of 32,246*l.* For bills that were or might become due for the ſettlement of New South Wales there was a farther requiſition of 36,000*l.* For the ſuffering clergy and laity of France, 168,000*l.** For penſions and allowances to the American loyaliſts, 44,000*l.* For ſecret ſervice abroad, 150,000*l.* For maintaining convicts at home, 33,325*l.* For bills on Douglaſs Harbour, 2,500*l.*

On the twenty-fourth of November, Mr. Pitt ſtated in the houſe of commons, the general outline of the meaſures propoſed as the foundation for raiſing the ſupplies, and for meeting the exigencies of the enſuing year. He ſtated, under the uſual heads, the amount of the ſupplies which would be required, and from the whole of which he made it to appear, that the ſum now to be provided for, was about twenty-five millions and a half.† The navy eſtimates for the preſent

* We cannot help remarking, that ſo ſmall a ſum, for ſuch a purpoſe, is wholly unworthy the humanity and munificence of the Britiſh nation.

† Navy - - - - - - - £. 12,539,000
Army - - - - - - - 10,112,000
Ordnance - - - - - - - 1,291,000
Miſcellaneous ſervices - - - - - - 674,000
Reduction of national debt - - - - - - 200,000
Deficiency of grants - - - - - - 680,000
Total 25,500,000

year

year had been made out in a new form, intended, with more correctneſs than formerly, to preſent a full view of the expence that would be neceſſary. Inſtead of the former allowance, for the ſervice of the navy, of 4*l.* per month, which was found to be inadequate, the full expence was taken into view. But, even in the preſent ſtate, the eſtimates were not to be conſidered as ſo accurate as to exclude the poſſibility of any exceſs. Beſides, the above-mentioned ſum, there was a navy debt, owing to the exceſs of the preceding year above the eſtimate, amounting to three millions. There were other incumbrances, which he mentioned, to the amount of juſt other three millions.—Theſe ſix millions, however, formed no part of the expence for which it was neceſſary to make a caſh-proviſion. The ſum of 12,539,000*l.* was all that entered into the account of naval ſupplies for the enſuing year. Suppoſing the ſtatements of the army and navy to be correct, there would be a reduction, on theſe branches, to the extent of two millions and a half: and, including the reduction on the head of extraordinaries, the ſavings on the whole amounted to the ſum of 6,700*l.* But, notwithſtanding this diminution there ſtill remained the above-mentioned ſum of 25,500,000*l.* to be provided for, as the ſupplies of the enſuing year.

Mr. Pitt then proceeded to ſtate the uſual articles which compoſed part of the annual ways and means. Theſe were the growing produce of the conſolidated fund, and the land and malt tax. The former he took, along with the lottery, at 750,000*l.* making, with the land and malt tax, the ſum of three millions and a half. There then remained the ſum of twenty-two millions to be ſupplied by ſome other means. The bank would agree to advance on exchequer-bills, to be repaid at ſhort periods, the ſum of three millions. According to the received ſyſtem of our finances, the ordinary mode of proceeding, for the remaining nineteen millions of the ſupplies, would be a loan. But, in lieu of a part of this, he would propoſe a new mode; namely, that of raiſing, by a general tax, ſeven millions of this ſum within the year. This plan was, an augmentation of the aſſeſſed taxes.

Thoſe who contributed to the aſſeſſed taxes, he ſaid, compoſed a number of about ſeven or eight hundred thouſand houſe-keepers and maſters of families, including a population of nearly four millions, on whom the ſum propoſed would be raiſed. The number of thoſe who were not included at all, on account of their poverty, he eſtimated at five hundred thouſand houſe-keepers and maſters of families, covering a population of from two to three millions. The aſſeſſed taxes amounted, as far as could be aſcertained, to 2,700,000*l.* The additional aſſeſſment, on the whole ſum of the aſſeſſed taxes, would amount to ſomething leſs than a treble contribution. The greateſt contribution, he calculated, would not exceed a tenth part of the income of the higheſt claſs of thoſe by whom its was to be paid. To prevent evaſion, not future but paſt aſſeſſments were to be made the baſis of the new contribution: becauſe the moſt impartial evidence that could be obtained of the ability of each individual to contribute to the exigencies of the ſtate, was the

amount of the expenditure of his income before he had any temptation to lower it, in order to elude taxation. Mr. Pitt, having given the outlines of his plan of a treble aſſeſſment, adverted to the remaining twelve millions, to be raiſed by loan. Four millions, he ſaid, might be borrowed, without making any additional debt, for the ſinking-fund would pay that ſum. For the other eight millions he propoſed that the increaſed aſſeſſed taxes be continued till the principle and intereſt be completely diſcharged: ſo that, after ſeven millions ſhould be raiſed for the enſuing year, the ſame taxes in one year more, with the additional aid of the ſinking-fund, would pay off all that principle and intermediate intereſt. His propoſitions, therefore, if carried into effect, would not only furniſh a current ſupply, but quicken the redemption of the national debt. And this, he ſaid, would ſpeak a language to the enemy, which, by cooling the ardour of their expectations, and ſhewing them the abſurdity of their deſigns, would afford the beſt chance of ſhortening the war, and of leſſening the duration and weight of our taxes. He concluded his ſpeech, by moving the following reſolution, which was agreed to, "That it is the opinion of this committee, that there ſhall be paid a duty, not exceeding treble the amount of the duties impoſed by ſeveral acts of parliament now in force, on houſes and windows, and inhabited houſes, and likewiſe the ſeveral additional duties of ten per cent. per annum, impoſed thereon by ſeveral acts of parliament, with certain exceptions and abatements." This aſſeſſment, with the other funds juſt ſtated, would make up the whole of the ſum wanted.*

Mr. Tierney wiſhed to be ſatiſfied upon what grounds the bank refuſed the people payment in ſpecie, while it increaſed its advances to government? The preſent meaſure would occaſion an emiſſion of paper to an extent conſiderably increaſed: beſides its tendency to raiſe an expectation of ſtill farther and farther advances. As to the raiſing of ſeven millions within the year, it would ſerve to ſhew, that our funding ſyſtem was approaching its end, even in the opinion of the miniſter. He aſked, what was to be done in the next year of the war? For, with the preſent miniſter he held it to be impoſſible that the country could have peace. He wanted the confidence, not only of France, but of Europe.

Mr. Pitt, with regard to the alleged impropriety of advances made by the bank, aſked, what ſimilarity there was between the limited and voluntary advances of the bank to an amount which would

* WAYS and MEANS for 1798.

	£.
Growing produce of conſolidated fund, with probit on lottery -	750,000
Land and malt tax - - - - - -	2,750,000
Exchequer-bills - - - - - -	3,000,000
New loan - - - - - -	12,000,000
Increaſe on aſſeſſed taxes - - - - -	7,000,000
Total	25,500,000

ſhortly

ſhortly be repaid, and the *cedules hypothecaires*, aſſignats, and depreciated millions and milliards of the French government? As to the perſonal objection of Mr. Tierney to the miniſter, Mr. Pitt aſked why was not he and his colleagues equal to the taſk of concluding a peace? Becauſe they had *not the confidence of the enemy*. This argument of Mr. Tierney's, Mr. Pitt, with much felicity turned to his own account, and againſt its author, at whoſe expence there was raiſed, on one ſide of the houſe, great laughter. It had alſo been objected to the miniſter, that he had not the confidence of the other powers of Europe. On this ſubject he could not expreſs himſelf better than by uſing the very words of Mr. Tierney: who had complained "that theſe powers had deſerted us, had deceived us, had failed in the payment of every debt due to us, and, after all this, they had loſt confidence in the Engliſh government." Why? becauſe the Engliſh government had uniformly performed every one of its engagements to its allies, and had met with no reciprocity on their part. If any other claims to confidence were required, than the fulfilment of engagements, neither he, nor his colleagues, could hope for the confidence of the enemies of Great Britain, nor that of Europe, nor that of the honourable gentleman. On the great point, which was the ſubject of this night's debate, he had heard nothing new. It had not been contended by Mr. Tierney, that a leſs ſupply was neceſſary. On the contrary, he even argued that a greater ſupply would be neceſſary: though he had not propoſed a better mode for raiſing it. As to Mr. Tierney's argument, that the meaſure for raiſing ſeven millions within the year would ſhew that we were near the end of our funding ſyſtem, he had not ſaid a word that could lead to ſuch a concluſion. In fact, it was a part of the propoſed plan, by huſbanding, to prolong the reſource of funding.

Mr. Tierney, after complaining of the ſevere and unmerited attack on him by Mr. Pitt, who appeared to have got by heart a ſtring of fine flouriſhing ſentences, for the purpoſe of chaſtiſing any body who ſhould doubt the excellence of his plans, and alſo of the laughter of his friends, for which he ſaw no reaſon, repeated what he had ſaid on the ſubject of confidence, which was, that the enemy knowing that he acted with a cabinet, one half of which was hoſtile to him in general principles of policy, and agreeing with him in nothing but hatred to the French revolution, could never have any confidence in him with regard to his profeſſed pacific intentions. Mr. Tierney, ſmarting ſtill from the phillippic of the miniſter, conſoled himſelf with the obſervation, that a man might be in that houſe as if he had gone to live in a mill. "He might be a good deal frightened at firſt, but he would ſoon become acquainted with the noiſe: ſo with me. After a dreſſing or two more from the honourable gentleman, I ſhall care nothing for his noiſe."

Mr. Nicholls conſidered the increaſed number of ſtockholders as one of the calamities of war; and the funding ſyſtem, by which it was carried on. Hence no money could be raiſed by the tradeſman, for the purpoſe of his buſineſs; while the money borrowed by government was enormous in amount, and bor-

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rowed at enormous intereſt, the trade of the country muſt be greatly prejudiced.

Mr. Curwen contended that the war was no longer a war of neceſſity: and it became gentlemen to conſider whether as a war of indemnity, that indemnity was worth the price at which it was to be bought. It was replied by Mr. Dundas and Mr. Vanſittart, that the negociation for peace had been broken off, not from difference about terms, but, from the implacable hatred of the enemy to this government.

On the fourth of December, 1797, the chancellor of the exchequer ſtated to the houſe of commons the particulars of his plan for increaſing the aſſeſſed taxes, of which he had before given only the outline. The aſſeſſed taxes, he obſerved, conſiſted of two deſcriptions: the firſt comprehended the tax on houſes, windows, the commutation-tax, and the two additional ten per cent. duties on the amount of theſe; making in all the ſum of 150,000*l.* This was but a ſmall proportion of the whole ſum collected by the aſſeſſed taxes; which ſhewed that care had been taken to avoid too hard a preſſure upon thoſe who could not bear it. The other deſcription contained all the ſame charges on houſes, windows, the commutation-tax, and the twenty per cent. additional duties; while, over and above, 1,300,000*l.* was raiſed upon male ſervants, horſes, carriages, dogs, and watches. It was his intention, therefore, as the latter were chiefly articles of luxury, to triple the duties upon theſe, while he took care to have the proportions of the former modified.

Mr. Pitt next ſtated to the committee the different proportions of contribution which he propoſed to affix to the different claſſes of thoſe houſekeepers who came under his firſt deſcription, of ſubſcribing only to the houſe, window, and commutation, taxes. He afterwards ſtated the different proportions of additional aſſeſſment which thoſe were to pay who came under his ſecond deſcription, of contributing not only to the houſe, window, and commutation, taxes, but alſo to the taxes raiſed upon male ſervants, horſes, dogs, and watches. Of the bill, when, after various alterations in its various ſtages, it paſſed into a law, the following is an outline. More, did our limits admit of more, would be trifling with our readers time, as, early in the ſubſequent ſeſſion of parliament, it was repealed, or rather (the principle of contribution within the year, according to the reſpective abilites of indivriduals, being preſerved entire) moulded into another form.

Perſons paying aſſeſſed taxes were divided into three claſſes. The firſt claſs conſiſted of thoſe perſons who payed for male ſervants, carriages, and horſes, on or before the ſixth of April, 1798, and were to pay as follows: where the amount of the old duties did not exceed 25*l.* per annum, an additional duty was to be paid, equal to three times the preſent amount; that is to ſay, if the amount of the old duties was 25*l.* an additional duty was to be paid of 75*l.* From 25*l.* to 30*l.* three times and one-half the amount, from 30*l.* to 40*l.* four times the amount, from 40*l.* to 50*l.* four times and one-half, and from 50*l.* the old amount, and upwards, five times the amount. The ſecond claſs conſiſted of perſons paying duties on

houſes, windows, dogs, clocks, and watches. Where theſe taxes did not amount to 1*l.* the perſons were exempt from the additional duty: perſons paying 1*l.* or upwards, but under 2*l.* were to pay an additional duty equal to one-fourth of the preſent amount; perſons paying 2*l.* and under 3*l.* one-half of the preſent amount; perſons paying 3*l.* and under 5*l.* three-fourths; perſons paying 5*l.* and under 7*l.* 10*s.* were to pay an additional ſum, equal to the old amount, and ſo on, in a ratio increaſing, in ſimilar proportions, to 50*l.* and upwards, when an additional aſſeſſment was to be paid, of five times the old amount. The third claſs conſiſted of perſons keeping boarding-ſchools (not leſs than ten boarders), ready-furniſhed or lodging houſes, ſhops, and licenſed victuallers. Thoſe perſons of this claſs, the amount of whoſe laſt aſſeſſment, for duties on houſes, windows, dogs, clocks, and watches, did not amount to 3*l.* were exempt from the additional duty: where the amount of ſuch taxes was 3*l.* and under 5*l.* an addition was impoſed equal to one-tenth of the amount. Where the amount of ſuch taxes amounted to 30*l.* and upwards, an additional duty was impoſed equal to twice the preſent amount. Intermediate amounts were taxed in intermediate proportions.

To this bill there was added, alſo, a ſcale of reduction of duties, according to certain gradations of income. Perſons whoſe annual income was leſs than 60*l.* and under 65*l.* were to pay an additional duty of only a one hundred and twentieth part of ſuch income; thoſe whoſe income was 100*l.* and under 105*l.* to pay an additional duty of one-fortieth part, and ſo on, in an increaſing ratio, to incomes of 200*l.* per annum, and upwards, which were to pay an addition equal to one-tenth part of ſuch income. No abatement of the treble duty was to be allowed to perſons with an income above 200*l.* per annum.

Mr. Pitt eſtimated the amount of this treble aſſeſſment at ſeven millions; and contended that there could not be a plan which embraced more neceſſary abatements, allowed more juſt and neceſſary exemptions, or which regulated the proportions of wealth, circumſtance, and ſituation, with more fair and equal juſtice. Mr. Pitt, after a variety of obſervations on the neceſſity of the moſt ſpirited exertions for ſurmounting difficulties and repelling dangers, thought it proper, though it was not perfectly regular, that all the reſolutions on the ſubject of the meaſure propoſed ſhould be read before the committee proceeded to the diſcuſſion of any of them. Theſe being read accordingly,

Sir William Pultney ſaid, that he approved the plan of taxation before the committee very much: he thought the ſyſtem of raiſing the ſupplies of the year within the year extremely proper, and therefore he ſhould ſupport it as far as it went. He thought the chancellor of the exchequer entitled to the ſupport and to the approbation of the houſe, not only for the general plan, but for the modifications he had ſuggeſted. But he was afraid that, notwithſtanding every modification that could be ſuggeſted, there would be ſtill very conſiderable inequality in the operation of his tax. There was not a doubt but ſome men of large property

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ſpend leſs than men poſſeſſed of much inferior fortunes, and would conſequently pay leſs to this tax. In many of the ſubdiviſions, too, of this general tax, the burden fell only on the honeſt part of the community, for the ſmuggler and contraband dealer paid nothing. Yet he did not from thence mean to argue that the plan, which might be amended, ought to be rejected. He was inclined to carry this principle of providing the ſupplies farther than the chancellor of the exchequer had done; being ſure that the burden would be leſs felt by the community at large, if the plan had been formed on a larger ſcale. The great difficulty that would ariſe from carrying the preſent plan into execution would be, that many perſons now lived up to the full extent of their incomes. The law required, and very properly, that the king's taxes ſhould be paid firſt; but, if a man had no money what was he to do? could he borrow money? certainly not; and for a very obvious reaſon: government gave ſuch exorbitant intereſt, that an individual could not expect any body to lend him money at 5 per cent. But, ſuppoſe that, inſtead of raiſing a ſum of ſeven millions in the manner now propoſed, it had been propoſed to raiſe the ſum of nineteen or even twenty-one millions in the year, it would be felt lighter by the country than raiſing ſeven millions. If the whole ſum had been raiſed within the year, government would not have had occaſion to borrow any money: and if government did not borrow, then individuals might. There was to be a loan of twelve millions: every body knew what large intereſt government muſt, in the preſent ſtate of the funds, give for money; then, how could a private perſon borrow any money, who was not allowed by law to give more than 5 per cent.? It was very well known, that the conſequence of people's getting ſuch large intereſt in the public funds was, that the country was in a manner drained of money. If the plan propoſed were adopted in the extent ſir William propoſed, this inconvenience would be avoided: as the public would have no occaſion to borrow money, then a private individual might borrow it. The ſaving that would be made by the adoption of this plan, of raiſing the whole of the ſupplies within the year, was obvious; for government now paid 6 per cent. for money, an expence which fell upon the public at large: but, in the way he propoſed, the public would only have 5 per cent. to pay. This was a new idea, and certainly might, at firſt view, appear rather objectionable: but he was convinced that it might eaſily be carried into effect. Sir William did not expect to find many gentlemen who would go to the whole extent of his ideas on this ſubject; but he thought it his duty to ſtate them to the houſe. For a like reaſon, it has been judged proper to give in this place ſir William's project, though conciſely, yet more fully than is ſtrictly conſiſtent with the plan and limits of this narrative. Many projects, deemed impracticable at firſt glance, have been carried into effect by perſeverance in a gradual removal of obſtacles, and modification of adverſe circumſtances.

Lord Temple entirely aſſented to the meaſure propoſed, and only regretted, with ſir William Pultney, that it was not more extenſive.

Sir Robert Macreth propoſed a tax on mortgages, and an equal land-tax; and the abolition of all other taxes: to ſell the foreſts and mortmain lands, and to throw the progreſs into the ſinking-fund, for the purpoſe of diſcharging the national debt.

Mr. Nicholls objected to the tax propoſed by the chancellor of the exchequer, as not being either juſt or neceſſary. If it was conſidered as a tax upon luxury it was not juſt, becauſe it was not optional; if it was conſidered as a tax upon expenditure, it was alſo unjuſt, becauſe expenditure was not proportional to property. As to the point of neceſſity, he ſaid, the tax was not neceſſary, becauſe the war was not neceſſary. This obſervation, ſo often made by Mr. Nicholls, occaſioned loud and inceſſant laughter, as uſual: which he encountered by declaring, that he ſtood there as one of the repreſentatives of the people, and that he did not believe ſincere meaſures had been purſued for the attainment of peace. Diſmiſs the preſent miniſters, he ſaid, and the war may then be terminated.

The debate now turned chiefly on the trite ſubjects of the primary object, and the queſtion concerning the neceſſity of continuing the war: though ſome financial ideas were alſo introduced, not unworthy of ſummary notice.

The ſecretary at war, with his uſual logical alertneſs, ſaid, ſurely Mr. Nicholls muſt have been off his guard, in attributing the continuation of the war to the inſincerity of his majeſty's miniſters: as this obſervation muſt bear equally hard on the ſincerity of the French directory, whoſe conduct ſome gentlemen, on all occaſions, were ſo anxious to defend. The honourable gentleman's argument was, that in negociations, whenever people are ſincere, they can never fail of accompliſhing the wiſhed-for object. Had the French directory, therefore, been ſincere in their wiſhes for peace (as, doubtleſs, the honourable gentleman thinks they were), then peace would neceſſarily have been attained. Mr. Windham proceeded to avow and repeat his opinions (well known) concerning the neceſſity of the war. After taking a view of the avowed deſigns and efforts of the enemy, he aſked, how he could but deprecate the return of peace with parliamentary reform (and that, too, a reform on the principles avowed by the honourable gentleman, in whoſe expectations a peace would be followed up by a parliamentary reform), or in other words, with a revolution? With regard to what Mr. Nicholls ſeemed to conſider as the great queſtion, Mr. Windham aſked, what the ſincerity of adminiſtration had to do either with retarding or accelerating this great object of peace? Was it not the nature of the terms propoſed, which muſt decide that point, and not the ſecret ſentiments and wiſhes of the negociators? As to the notion, that the enemy would make no peace with the preſent miniſters, what did Mr. Nicholls mean? Did he wiſh that ſuch miniſters ſhould be choſen as ſhould be recommended by the enemy? And for what? In order to conciliate the enemy, to promote the cauſe of parliamentary reform, and to introduce among us univerſal philanthropy, and fraternization, and French liberty!

Mr. Hobhouſe, in a ſpeech of conſiderable length, but not *tædium*, ſtated

ſtated various objections to the various modes propoſed by the chancellor of the exchequer for the ſupply of the public wants, and ſaid, that he had dwelt more particularly upon that part of his plan, in which he deviates from his uſual courſe of raiſing money by loan, becauſe he thought it injudicious, with reſpect to the impreſſion it would make upon the enemy, unequal and oppreſſive in its operations at home, and big with the moſt ruinous conſequences. "But (ſaid he) I will frankly own, that if I could think more favourably of the miniſter's financial ſchemes, I ſhould, with great reluctance, confide to him the expenditure of the public money. The miniſters have, in the ſpeech they put into the mouth of their ſovereign, recommended to this houſe to perſevere in the ſame principles and conduct which have hitherto been purſued. To this eulogy, which they have beſtowed upon themſelves, I can by no means aſſent. They are the authors of all our calamities. By intermeddling in the interior concerns of other ſtates, they have plunged this country unneceſſarily and wantonly into a ruinous and expenſive war, which they have been unable to conduct with ſucceſs, and which they often might have terminated with honour and advantage. They have attempted to bully foreign nations into a compliance with their demand, to make common cauſe with us againſt France, but, upon the leaſt ſhew of reſiſtance, have withdrawn their ineffectual menace. They have borrowed upon the moſt exorbitant terms, and ſpent with the greateſt profuſion; ſo that a vaſt addition is made to our public debt, and an immenſe load of taxes thrown upon the people. They have ſubſidized many of the European courts, in order to enable faithleſs potentates to fight their own battles, and defend their own territories; and have ſent money out of the country, without the conſent, and even during the ſitting, of parliament. They have introduced a ſyſtem of *eſpionage*, of ſetting man againſt man, and brother againſt brother. They have invaded the juſt liberty of ſpeech, and of the preſs; and have cut off from the lower claſſes their only ſource of political information. Can you wonder, ſir, that, feeling theſe ſentiments ſo ſtrongly as I do, I ſhould be unwilling to truſt the public purſe in the hands of the preſent adminiſtration? After the obſervations which I have made, it is almoſt needleſs to add, that I ſhall give my hearty negative to the propoſed reſolutions."

Mr. Pierrepont ſaid, that ſome part of the public burdens ſhould be borne by the royal family and their dependents. If they would come forward, it would have a good effect. Though the ſum could not be much, it would endear them to their country.

Mr. Mark Wood wondered to hear any difference of opinion, relative to the neceſſity of great and extraordinary ſupplies, after the preſent government of France had not only declared their intentions to ſubvert the liberties and deſtroy the conſtitution and government of this country, but held out the plunder of its inhabitants as an excitement to their ſoldiery to embark in their mad and frantic expeditions. He propoſed that no perſon, whoſe property, whether in land, bonds, funds, goods, or whatever elſe, was

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under 5,000*l.* ſhould be called on for any farther public contribution than the preſent taxes and aſſeſſments, but that every perſon, whoſe property exceeded [or, we preſume, amounted to] that ſum, ſhould be required to contribute a certain proportion of this property, whether a half *per cent.* or one *per cent.* as might be adequate to the ſervices of the ſtate, in lieu of all taxes and aſſeſſments whatever. He calculated the whole property of this kingdom at two thouſand millions; a very ſmall per centage on which [he muſt have meant, on as much of which as was divided among proprietors of 5,000*l.*] would ſoon relieve this country from all her embarraſſments.

Mr. Tierney, after badgering Mr. Pitt about deſerting, and Mr. Windham about perſevering in hoſtility to all principles of political or parliamentary reform, and charging the former with many errors and blunders* in matters of taxation and finance, ſaid, that with all our profeſſed hatred to French principles, our miniſters were following the French ſyſtem. "A noble lord (Temple) who ſpoke in this debate, had ſaid in as many words "Let us attack the capitaliſts." The words were ſcarcely out of his mouth when another honourable member propoſed the ſale of the crown and foreſt lands. This is really proceeding upon French principles: for it is ſaying to the people of this country, that government will have, at all events, one-tenth of the property of every man in the kingdom. I ſee no reaſon why it may not be followed up with a demand of one-eighth, then a ſixth, afterwards a half, perhaps, and finally, the whole. The principle certainly leads to that. I ſay this in a war, which, if I countenanced for an hour, I ſhould betray the intereſts of my conſtituents. Before I conſent to take money out of the pockets of the Engliſh people, I ought to be well aſſured that it will be fairly applied for their intereſt by a good Engliſh adminiſtration. Above all, I ought to be well aſſured, that thoſe in the higheſt ſtations among us are ready to ſet to the loweſt a patriotic example. Inſtead of this, I ſee every man who poſſeſſes place, penſion, or ſinecure emolument, carving, not for the public intereſt, but his own. Impreſſed with theſe ſentiments, I muſt give the propoſitions before the committee a decided negative."

Mr. Addington, (the ſpeaker) was confident that many perſons of af-

* One blunder Mr. Tierney mentioned on this occaſion, which, though it is univerſally deplored in all private circles, has not yet been brought ſo much as it ought to be, and as it no doubt will be, if the voice of humanity be not entirely ſtifled, under the attention of parliament. "The miniſter's firſt duty on wine, Mr. Tierney obſerved, was a good one: but by the additional duty, he occaſioned a defalcation in the revenue which cannot eaſily be made up. It now appears, that it produces leſs than it did at the firſt impoſt." This enormous tax, it was well obſerved by Mr. Hobhouſe, in his excellent ſpeech, in the ſame debate, had occaſioned many of thoſe who had been in the habit of aſſiſting the poor with wine, to diſcontinue the practice of affording them that help under ſickneſs. The ſufferings, and the fatal conſequences flowing from this inhuman and abſurd tax, according to the concurring teſtimony of all phyſicians is incalculable. Yet it has not been repealed. It is continued, though to the loſs of the revenue, as a wanton triumph over both humanity and reaſon.

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fluent fortunes, ſenſible of the regard and delicacy which are manifeſted in not ſearching too minutely into capital, would come voluntarily forward to make ſuch a contribution above the amount of the claſs of their aſſeſſment as ſhould be equal to their real property. A clauſe, giving ſuch perſons ſuch an opportunity, might be introduced at the firſt, or in the progreſs of the bill.

The committee divided on the firſt reſolution, which was carried by 214 againſt 15. The others were alſo carried of courſe.

The bill was read for the firſt time on the ſeventh, and for the ſecond on the fourteenth of December, 1797, when it was oppoſed by Mr. Wigley, Mr. J. Nicolls, who felt with increaſed force the objections he had made againſt the meaſure from the beginning, Mr. alderman Combe, Mr. Henry Thornton, Mr. Sheridan, Mr. Fox, and Mr. Mainwaring; and by all theſe gentlemen, except the two firſt mentioned, at the expreſs deſire of their conſtituents. It was ſupported, on the other hand, by Mr. Yorke, lord Hawkeſbury, alderman Luſhington, (though againſt the voice and inſtructions of his conſtituents) Mr. Dundas and Mr. Pitt. A very great part, indeed by far the greater part of the ſpeeches on this, as moſt other occaſions, ſtrayed from the point in queſtion, to topics that evidently appeared to be uppermoſt in the minds of the ſpeakers, the neceſſity or inexpediency of the war, and the diſmiſſal or continuance in office of the preſent adminiſtration.

When Mr. Fox paſſed through the lobby of the houſe of commons, which, as well as the gallery, was full of what, in the language of parliament, are called ſtrangers, there was a great burſt of applauſe and clapping of hands. Every one in the gallery aroſe, as by one impulſe, and a general ſenſation of ſomewhat intereſting pervaded the whole houſe.

Mr. Yorke declared that he was willing to pay the laſt ſhilling he was worth, and ſhed the laſt drop of his blood, to defend the country againſt the deſigns of France. At this ſtage of the buſineſs, the houſe had only to conſider the principle of the bill before them; particular proviſions and various modifications might yet render the bill effectual. Mr. Yorke indulged a vein of ſome pleaſantry on the return of Mr. Fox, to the houſe of commons, after ſo long abſence. He would have time, he ſaid, during his retirement, to read the hiſtory of what has lately paſſed in Europe. To him he would look up for an opinion. He would be glad to hear what the right honourable gentlemen had to ſay about the deſign of relieving the funds? He had often heard him expatiate on that ſubject with pleaſure, becauſe he had always ſpoken in favour of that plan. Mr. Yorke concluded his obſervations with reprobating the doctrine of members of parliament being guided by the inſtructions of their conſtituents as unconſtitutional.

Mr. Sheridan urged with his uſual energy, various objections to the principle of the bill: but none that had not been before ſtated. He dwelt particularly on the circumſtance that the tax propoſed was a tax upon expenditure, not on property. But the main tendency of his ſpeech was to ſhew that no peace could be made by the preſent adminiſtration. He began and concluded

cluded his ſpeech by declaring that he would not vote for granting any ſupplies for the farther proſecution of the war, while the preſent miniſters continued in office.

Mr. Dundas, among various obſervations, made the two following: Firſt, the funding ſyſtem had not been abandoned, for it was by this that the greater part of the ſupplies were to be raiſed. Secondly, money raiſed for public ſervices, was not withdrawn, as had been ſo often and thoughtleſsly alleged, from the public ſervice. Money expended for the clothing and pay of the army, or for the ſupport of the navy, did not decreaſe the reſources of agriculture or commerce. Trade and commerce, during the preſent expenſive war, had decreaſed.

Mr. Fox declared his opinion to be now what it had long been, that the preſent adminiſtration of this country had, by the unfortunate blindneſs of that houſe, and the too eaſy temper of the people of this country, ſo impaired and deranged its finances, ſo encreaſed its embarraſſments, and above all, ſo disfigured its conſtitution, that no ſervices of any individual in the courſe of the cloſeſt attendance, would be ſufficient to balance the miſchiefs that muſt ariſe from giving countenance to an opinion, that the deciſions of that houſe were always the reſult of full diſcuſſion. Nothing ſhort of a total reform of the late ſyſtem, and a return to the true principles of the conſtitution, and the popular maxims of our anceſtors, could ſave us from utter ruin. With regard to the plan propoſed, of voting part of the ſupplies within the year, Mr. Fox thought that it came with a very ill grace from thoſe who had contributed ſo much already to the burdens to be transferred to poſterity; but which they are afraid farther to increaſe. When they are abſolutely under the neceſſity of ſtopping in their uſual career, they turn round, and generouſly call upon us, in order to ſupport their meaſures, to bear an intolerable burden ourſelves. This plan, ſaid Mr. Fox, proceeds from abſolute neceſſity, not from any tenderneſs felt for thoſe who are to come after us: and I cannot help thinking that its public ſpirit will not be much reſpected in the world. If there was any period (and I am now begging the queſtion merely for the ſake of proceeding in the argument) but if there had been any period in which ſuch a meaſure as this could have been well-timed, it was at the commencement of the war. The chancellor of the exchequer proceeded upon ſomething like it, as far as it can be conſidered as a plan to diminiſh future burdens, immediately after the Spaniſh armament. Why not produce this plan at the commencement of the war? Why? becauſe it was neceſſary to delude this houſe. Becauſe it was neceſſary for the purpoſes which the miniſter had then in view to treat you all like children! This was the reaſon why this plan was not at firſt adopted. If it had, the deluſion would have been over, and the people would have ſeen the abyſs to which the miniſter was diſpoſed to lead them. No! that would not ſuit his purpoſe. The people would have revolted at a ſyſtem ſo developed. So well aware was he of this, that in an early ſtage of this conteſt, he adviſed his majeſty to tell his parliament, it was a great conſolation to him, that in the proſecution of this juſt and neceſſary war, there need not be impoſed

upon his people very heavy and oppreſſive burdens. Why did he not then come forward with the patriotic principle which he now aſſumes? Why? becauſe he thought it neceſſary to delude you, to gain your aſſent to enter into the conteſt, by telling you the burden would be light; and now that you are involved in all its difficulties, and when he tells you you cannot retire with honour, he comes with this impoſt, which would have been too abominable at the onſet, but which he now means to paſs in the deſperation of your affairs.

Although no friend to novel ſyſtems of finance, I am ready to ſay, that any thing that is new ought to be adopted, provided it appears to be wiſe; but I am ready to confeſs alſo, that I have never heard of a better ſyſtem for raiſing money in times of great difficulty than that of the funding ſyſtem. By making income the baſis of taxation, you impoſe on diligence, activity, and induſtry, double the weight that you lay on him who chooſes to repoſe indolently and ſupinely on the produce of his capital. But this, Mr. Fox obſerved, was not all. They were called upon to regulate their future tranſactions, not by the future prudence of men, which would be a fair rule of impoſt in certain caſes, but by the laſt expenditure of men. By this bill no choice was left to the imprudent and improvident man of retrieving his fortune, by contracting his expences. We cannot ſtop to relate all the ſtriking remarks made by Mr. Fox, on the preſent occaſion, yet we cannot paſs by what follows, as it is ſo well deſerving, and indeed ſo loudly demands, univerſal attention. "The nominal amount of the propoſed aſſeſſment is a tenth of the income. But in this the aſſeſſment is proportioned in name only, not in ſubſtance. There is no equality in its preſſure on the people. The gentleman of 1000*l.* a year, for inſtance, who has to pay 100*l.* a year, is much more ſeverely taxed, than the man of 10,000*l.* who has to pay 1000*l.*"

Mr. Fox ſaid in concluſion "it is only by a quick return to the genuine principles of our anceſtors that we can be ſafe. If there are any men who feel themſelves capable of reſtoring peace with the enemy, and internal tranquillity to theſe kingdoms, without a change of ſyſtem, and reſtoring the conſtitution to its vigour, I can only ſay, they are more ſanguine than I am. I can ſpeak without any perſonal motive on the ſubject: for I publicly declare, that I never will take a part, high or low, in any adminiſtration, until public opinion ſhall have decided for a thorough and perfect reform of all our abuſes, and for a direct return to the genuine principles of the Britiſh conſtitution.

Mr. Pitt, after ſtating, at much length, his determination to perſevere in what he conceived to be the line of duty, and his reaſons for conſidering the aſſeſſed taxes as the beſt criterion for diffuſing the public burdens equally over the community, replied to the principal arguments againſt the bill propoſed. With regard to the great object to which the ſpeeches of an honourable and right honourable gentleman ſeemed to tend, a change of miniſtry and alſo a change of political ſyſtem, Mr. Pitt obſerved that, though they had contended that there was an impoſſibility of the preſent adminiſtration making peace, they had

neglected to point out and prove the means by which any other miniſter would be enabled to effect that deſirable object. What that radical change which Mr. Fox ſo ſtrenuouſly inſiſted on, Mr. Pitt was at a loſs to conjecture. One thing, however, might be clearly collected from his ſpeech, which was, that a total reform of parliament was only a part of that general change which he was ſo anxious to obtain: a change, from which, it appeared, no part of the exiſting government was exempted. Suppoſing that gentlemen in oppoſition had ſucceeded in proving to the houſe, that the king's miniſters ought to be diſmiſſed, and that this great, radical, and unexplained change ought to take place, ſtill ſupplies would be neceſſary, becauſe the war muſt be carried on until theſe great changes could be effected: and conſequently, in the interim, ſupplies would be wanting: therefore, on their own principles, they ought not to oppoſe this meaſure.

Mr. Fox, in explanation, denied that he had ever ſaid, that no peace could be obtained before a general reform ſhould be actually carried into execution.

The ſecond reading of the bill was carried by 175, againſt 50.

The bill, having undergone various modifications, in a committee on the 18th of December, was propoſed to be read a third time on the third of January, 1798, which gave riſe to a very long debate, continued by adjournment for two days, but which, as uſual, wandered from the queſtion immediately before the houſe to the preſent war, and the general conduct of the miniſter and other inferior branches of adminiſtration.

Mr. Thompſon reprobated the bill, as not only unwiſe, impolitic, and ruinous in its principle, but cruel, unequal, oppreſſive, and unjuſt, in its particular proviſions and diſtributions.

Mr. Tyrwhit apprehended that the bill would be found very different in its operation from what was expected by the chancellor of the exchequer. Inſtead of one-tenth, the tax would operate as one-ſixth on the property of the rich; which would not fail to leſſen conſumption, conſequently to fall ultimately on the poor, and in that way to alienate their affections.

Mr. Nichols argued that the tax was unjuſt, as impoſing equal burdens on unequal portions of property; that it was not neceſſary, becauſe the continuance of the war was not neceſſary; that the continuance of the war was not neceſſary, becauſe ſincere endeavours had never yet been in vain employed to obtain peace. Why did he ſay that ſincere endeavours had never yet been in vain employed to obtain peace? Becauſe ſome among his majeſty's miniſters never could have employed ſincere endeavours to obtain peace, except they had relinquiſhed thoſe principles on which they had involved us in the war: and, if we might argue from the language of the ſecretary at war, on a former night, when the preſent bill was under conſideration, they had not abandoned thoſe principles.

Mr. Dickinſon reminded the learned gentleman who ſpoke laſt, that immediately previous, and ſubſequent to the revolution, up to the eſtabliſhment of the ſinking fund, large ſums had been raiſed preciſely on the principle of the aſſeſſed taxes.

Mr. Simeon thought the war juſt and neceſſary, but the tax propoſed, at once ineffective and oppreſſive. He propoſed a ſubſtitute, of which as it ſeems worthy of re-conſideration, we ſhall briefly ſtate the ſubſtance: which was, to charge a duty of five per cent. upon all deviſable property above a certain amount. To charge a duty on all retail tradeſmen and dealers, making the rent of the houſe the criterion of property or income: but not to take away above one-fifteenth of the income, after deducting the charges of trade. And to charge the transfer of ſtock with a duty of half a crown in the pound. He did not think that ſuch a tax would fall ſhort of eight millions and a half; perhaps it might produce ten millions.

Mr. Addington, the ſpeaker, compared the preſent war with that of the war carried on by king William III. againſt the French king, Lewis XIV. What was the object of that war, and what the enemy with whom we had then to contend? To preſerve the balance of power in Europe; to ſecure the country, not againſt a preſſing and moſt alarming danger, but one diſtant and problematical. The enemy was a prince, certainly of vaſt ambition, fond of glory and of conqueſt: but an enemy who had no particular antipathy to crowned heads; who had never threatened conquered countries with the annihilation of their nobility; the deſtruction of all their old inſtitutions; and the ſubverſion of their eſtabliſhed forms of government. Did we want to know the object of the enemy in the preſent conteſt? By reading their own declarations, we ſhould find, that it was not merely ſubjugation, but univerſal plunder; with the exception only of the mutineers in the navy, and the friends of reform, on whoſe co-operation they fooliſhly and madly relied.

Mr. Roſe, junior, approved the bill under conſideration, as it would be a relief to the people.

Sir Francis Burdett ſhewed the fallacy of this idea, and that every part of the expenditure of government fell upon the ſhoulders of the people. The way in which the tax propoſed, as well as other taxes, would injure the people, was by its indirect tendency to decreaſe the demand for labour, by diſſipating thoſe funds which pay the wages of induſtry. Sir Francis proceeded to treat the preſent queſtion, not merely as a queſtion of finance. He oppoſed the granting of the ſupplies, becauſe he deteſted the purpoſes they were intended to promote; the proſecution of this diſgraceful war, and the ſupport of an infamous ſyſtem of corruption. Of the preſent miniſter ſir Francis ſaid, that he had placed terror in the throne of reaſon, and under pretence of maintaining the conſtitution, had ſquandered the wealth, ſhed the blood, and annihilated the liberties of the people of England. "Sir, ſaid ſir Francis, we ſeem to imagine that we have only to aſſemble within theſe walls, to deviſe ways and means for extracting large ſums of money from the country. Then, we are told, we are to be relieved from all our embarraſſments, and our enemies ſtruck with terror. But, ſir, money is not the ſinew of war. Was money ſo all-powerful as moſt perſons, in ſpite of experience, continue to believe. I ſay, in ſpite of experience, for the whole tenor of hiſtory proves the contrary. The extravagance of our miniſter

miniſter would ſurely have entitled him to every ſort of advantage; and the people of France would long ere this have been exterminated, according to the pious intentions of the undertakers of the war, and would now have been held out to trembling nations as a dreadful example of the danger of incurring royal vengeance." The modern political maxim, that money is the ſinew of war, is indeed an error, to which we have long been inclined, with ſir Francis Burdett, to aſcribe our public calamities and misfortunes.

On what had been aſſerted by Dr. Nichols, Mr. Sheridan, and others, that we might obtain peace were the executive power of this country placed in abler hands,

Mr. alderman Luſhington doubted whether there were in this country any deſcription of men, who could, by their addreſs, or any other talents, convert ſo vindictive a foe, as that with which we had now to contend, into any thing like an opponent ready to treat with us upon honourable terms. He would go farther, and ſay, it was contrary to the principles of our enemies, and contrary even to the character of the human mind, that men who had acquired ſo great and ſo new a power, contrarily to the ſpirit of a great military republic, or rather democracy, to act upon juſt and honourable terms towards its opponents. The French had in fact acted with cruelty, not only to their foes, but their friends. To ſuppoſe that Great Britain, which had been ſo long their rival, would be better treated by them than they had treated others, would be inſanity.

Mr. Elliſon, after reprobating egotiſm, expatiating on his own independence, and diſplaying the evil tendency of French principles, declared himſelf a warm friend to the bill, as a meaſure calculated to preſerve the conſtitution of this country.

Mr. Jekyll ſaid that this honourable member had taken the moſt ſingular mode of reſcuing his character from the imputation of egotiſm, that he had ever witneſſed: for in the courſe of what he had delivered at conſiderable length, he had literally talked of nothing but himſelf. Of the chancellor of the exchequer he ſaid that, amidſt his various and endleſs incapacities as a ſtateſman, his ignorance of the various gradations and claſſes of the community, was not the leaſt prominent feature, eſpecially of the middle and inferior orders of men: what their neceſſities and the extent of their abilities. Of the loweſt claſs, he was ſtill leſs competent to form the remoteſt judgement. Witneſs the pompous and famous ſpeech he made on that ſubject, when he ſnatched from the hand of Mr. Whitbread, a wiſe and ſalutary meaſure he had offered to that houſe, for the amelioration of the ſtate of the labouring poor. Months elapſed, and at laſt, the miniſter's arrogance was ripened into a bill, which was ſuch a haſh, ſuch a farrago of impractibility and nonſenſe, that there was not a lawyer, a magiſtrate, nay, not a pariſh-officer in the kingdom, nor ſingle individual, who had a glimpſe of underſtanding on the ſubject, that did not turn from the project with diſguſt and deriſion. The conſequence was, that, though the ſpeech ſtill ſtands recorded as a beautiful diſplay of what may be ſaid, without any applicability to the ſubject in queſtion, the bill was ſneaked out of the houſe in a way that marked the

 diſgraceful

diſgraceful manner in which the original ſubject had been wreſted out of the hands of its intelligent and honourable mover. With regard to the preſent monſtrous meaſure, Mr. Jekyll reprobated it as unproductive, as tending to perjuries, and the diffuſion of an opinion, that the houſe of commons had no ſympathy with thoſe it profeſſed to term its conſtituents. But this extraordinary exertion was to ſhew to the enemy our energy, and the extent of our reſources. Mr. Jekyll here reminded the chancellor of the exchequer that he had, in 1795, obſerved with much exultation, on the purity of our own mode of revenue, that "the French could ſupport their preſent ſyſtem only by an arreſt of property and a requiſition of men," a ſyſtem, ſaid he, "that could originate only in deſpotiſm, and be maintained only by terror." Requiſitions of men, ſaid Mr. Jekyll, we have witneſſed repeatedly: arreſt of property is the avowed object of the preſent meaſure. Would the right honourable gentleman accept the inference? A ſyſtem that could originate only in deſpotiſm, and be ſupported only by terror.

Dr. Lawrence thought it neceſſary, before he ſaid any thing of the preſent meaſure, to touch on the nature of the terms of peace which we were likely to hear propoſed by the enemy. Theſe, he ſaid, ſo far from being of a mild and pacific tone, breathed nothing to England but utter deſtruction. The French conſidered themſelves as the Romans, and the Engliſh as the Carthaginians. Having expatiated warmly and at length on the ſubject of the rancour of France againſt monarchies, and particularly England, he proceeded to contraſt the grievous financial operations of the French republic, with the eaſy modes of raiſing the ſupplies in this country. He next inquired into the cauſes of the war, which originated ſolely with the jacobins, and on the part of this country was altogether avoidable. He next adverted to the tendency of the new meaſure of increaſed aſſeſſment, and diſcourſed on the propriety of not bearing too hard on the funding ſyſtem. No ſolid argument had been urged againſt this meaſure. In his mind, all the arguments oppoſed to it were but random-ſhots. Some ſaid the poor would ſuffer from it; others that it would preſs hard upon the rich; and others again, with perhaps greater plauſibility, that it would be peculiarly oppreſſive to the middle claſſes of ſociety. But this was a mode of reaſoning which ought to be diſcouraged: nor ought one claſs to inquire what this or that other claſs could beſt afford to pay. Whether any man was to pay too little, or more than his neighbour, he would only ſay, that whoever had a ſtake or intereſt in the country, ſhould cheerfully contribute to the exigencies of the ſtate, according to the amount of that ſtake or intereſt. As to the objections made againſt the taking of oaths, he was ſurpriſed that they ſhould come from one of the legal profeſſion. Animadverſions on opinions delivered in that houſe, whether moral or religious, he could not but conſider as unparliamentary. The doctor, after taking, a ſecond time, a comparative view of the taxes impoſed in France and England, aſked if, after that view, they would be ready to receive the French, and their kind offers of French freedom? He was ſure,

ſure, on the contrary, the people of England would think that the preſent war ſhould be vigorouſly ſupported. Were it to be a war of fifty years, the country would have ſufficient ſpirit and reſolution to carry it on until it could obtain a ſafe and honourable peace. But, to this effect, it would be abſolutely neceſſary, as he had ſhewn in a former debate, to carry on an offenſive as well as a defenſive war, and to let looſe that arm of our power which had been too long tied up. If this other branch of our ſtrength was powerfully to cooperate with our navy, then indeed we might ſafely deride and baffle all the projects of invaſion ſo proudly meditated by the democratical enemy.

Mr. Courtney could not approve of the coarſe invective with which the French government and all their meaſures were treated by the learned gentleman. Such language was more becoming the fiſh-women of Paris than the dignity of that houſe: and he was ſorry to ſee it perſiſted in by thoſe on whom a great man (Mr. Burke) ſeemed to have thrown the mantle of his zeal, but who did not appear to have imparted to his diſciples one ſpark of his genius. Nor was there more force, he ſaid, in the learned gentleman's arguments in favour of the bill, than there was liberality or decency in his language. The learned doctor ſeemed deſirous to prepare tranſports and every neceſſary, again to march to Paris, under the command of a noble lord near him (Hawkeſbury) and to renew the triumphs of our Henries and our Edwards.—Mr. Courtney proceeded to examine this and the other principal opinions and poſitions of Dr. Lawrence with a mixture of reaſoning and irony, and concluded by declaring that, in his mind, the principle of the tax was neither juſt, equitable, nor prudent.

Mr. W. Smith oppoſed the bill, as tending to entruſt extraordinary reſources to the hands of miniſters, whoſe uniform conduct, ſince the beginning of the war, had proved them to be utterly incapable of effectually applying them to the purpoſes for which they were intended.

Lord Hawkeſbury endeavoured to ſhew, that, in every point of view, the preſent war had been wiſe (though he confeſſed that he had expected better things from the continental members of the confederacy), as well as, in naval affairs, ſucceſsful.

At a very late hour, the debate on the motion of Mr. Pitt was adjourned till next day, the fourth of January, when it was reſumed, and continued to conſiderable length, through many explanations, repetitions of ſentiments and arguments, as well as ſome new proofs and illuſtrations, many perſonalities (particularly relating to Mr. Fox), ſchool-boy analogies, on the one hand, and diſtinctions, on the other, between the relative ſituations of Rome and Carthage, and France and Britain, and much gaiety and pleaſantry: which, indulged temperately, and with true taſte and ſound judgement, are a very agreeable ſeaſoning, in the graveſt debates, but which, when they appear to be the main object of the ſpeaker, would be more ſuitable to a place of public entertainment, than to the councils of a great nation, agitated by a great criſis of fate or fortune. It was not, therefore, without reaſon,

that, when Mr. Sheridan had finiſhed a long ſpeech, fraught throughout with ridicule, particularly at the expence of Mr. Windham, lord Hawkeſbury, and, above all, of doctor Lawrence, who conceived himſelf to be in poſſeſſion of the ſpirit of his Elijah [Mr. Burke],

Mr. Dundas roſe immediately, and ſaid, that, from the political and financial tenour of the honourable gentleman's ſpeech, he ſhould have conſidered the country to be at its laſt gaſp; but that, when he heard him declaiming, throughout, with ſuch gaiety and ſo many lively ſallies, he could not ſuppoſe the honourable gentleman himſelf entertained any ſuch idea.

The following extract, from a ſpeech by Mr. Hobhouſe, drew, from many of the members, and certainly deſerves, general attention: "Let the government of a country, according to the ſenſe it entertains of the circumſtances or exigency in which that country is placed, impoſe a tax upon hounds, horſes, carriages, or any other articles whatſoever; but let it never interfere with, or obſtruct the exerciſe of, the right of the individual, to ſubject himſelf to that ſhare of the burden which, in his own judgement, his fortune in life will allow. But this bill takes away all diſcretion, all option whatſoever; and the ſame power, which thus ſeizes upon the tenth of my income, may hereafter ſeize upon the fifth or fourth part, or even that capital from which my income is derived. If, ſir, this bill ſhould paſs (and that it will cannot be matter of doubt), all the property of the kingdom is virtually tranſferred into the hands of the miniſter of the crown. Did gentlemen conſider that I am now pleading the cauſe of private property, againſt a moſt unwarrantable act of government, they would not, ſurely, lend the leaſt countenance to ſo arbitrary a proceeding. That his majeſty's miniſters ſhould thus endeavour to make themſelves maſters of all the property in the country, does not affect me with ſurprize. The attempt is quite in uniſon with their favourite doctrine, that the right of private property is not ſtronger than the right by which they hold the emoluments of office. Thus to weaken the right of private property, by reducing it to the level of the precarious tenure upon which they enjoy their ſalaries, is to undermine the foundation of thoſe pillars, of which they boaſt themſelves to be the moſt zealous ſupporters. Is it a wonder, then, that they ſhould commit this flagrant violation upon the property of the ſubject? Indeed, ſir, they ſeem to tread faſt in the ſteps of thoſe French legiſlators, whoſe conduct they have ſo often and ſo loudly condemned and reprobated. The inviolability of public credit and private property is the great cement of civilized ſociety. By their aſſignats and their requiſitions, the French legiſlators violated both. Have not his majeſty's miniſters copied their criminal example, by depriving the bank of England notes of their convertibility into ſpecie, and by the preſent forced contribution; a contribution more ſevere than any which Robeſpierre himſelf extorted from his unhappy country."

Mr. Percival, endeavouring to turn the tables on Mr. Hobhouſe, ſaid, that he conſidered himſelf as particularly the advocate for property,

perty, when he was ſupporting the meaſure that was to protect it.—It muſt be confeſſed that it was a ſad alternative, that our property ſhould either be at the abſolute controul of the French, or our own executive government.

What follows is extracted from a ſpeech by Mr. Fox, on this occaſion, of unuſual length, and of his uſual vigour and animation: "We have now, indeed, a form of government, conſiſting of king, lords, and commons houſe of parliament; but not a government conſiſting of king, lords, and the commons, repreſentatives of the people of Great Britain. It is a government, in which the power of the people is nothing: and ſo it is, indeed, the faſhion now to admit, for we never hear now of an *actual*, all is a *virtual* repreſentation of the people. Conſequently, we find, daily, that members of this houſe ſpeak and vote in direct oppoſition to the inſtructions of their conſtituents; of which we had a ſtriking inſtance, the other day, in the conduct of a worthy alderman of the city of London, who thought fit to declare, that, in voting for the bill now before the houſe, he was confident he was voting according to the deſire of his conſtituents. Who are his conſtituents? The livery of the city of London. What has been the conduct of that livery? In common-hall aſſembled, they voted an addreſs to his majeſty, to diſmiſs his preſent miniſters from his councils. That worthy alderman has ſince continually ſupported theſe miniſters, in this houſe. The court of common council unanimouſly reſolve againſt the principle of this bill. The body of the livery, in common hall, declare the ſame ſentiments; and all the inhabitants, of the different wards in the city, concur unanimouſly in theſe ſentiments. They all inſtruct their repreſentatives in parliament to oppoſe this bill. The worthy alderman ſupports it. This is called the virtual repreſentation of the people! Such is the conduct, I perceive, of many of the members of this houſe, at the beginning of a parliament; quite otherwiſe it is, with moſt of them, at the end of one. What was this but ſaying to the conſtituents, that their member knew better than themſelves what their opinions were? What was this, but following up the blow that had already been given to the right of petitioning? Not ſo the caſe, with regard to petitions, in the year 1784, when they came in aid of the power of the crown. Whether the petitions, that were then preſented, were right or wrong, I am not now queſtioning; it is foreign to the ſubject; but it appears, by the different receptions of them, and thoſe of the preſent time, that, in this houſe, petitions in favour of the p wer of the crown are to be conſidered as every thing; thoſe in favour of the rights of the ſubject, nothing. While the majority of this houſe was againſt the proceedings of the king's miniſters, it was nothing; and the petitions of the people, againſt it, was every thing. When the majority of this houſe is for the king's miniſters, it is every thing; the petitions of the people, againſt them, nothing."

It has often been objected, we have ſeen, to Mr. Fox, that he would impede the neceſſary operations of government, until a radical (though, as yet, undefined) ſyſtem of government ſhould, in every

every department, be completely eſtabliſhed; and that a mere reform of parliament was not the whole of what he ſeemed to aim at. Mr. Fox took the preſent occaſion to declare, that what he contended for, in the mean time, was only a *pledge* for a general reform of abuſes, in the removal of the preſent miniſtry, implying a diſavowal of their ſyſtem; and that, though he wiſhed for a reform of parliament, he had no idea of obtaining it, but by the organ, and through the means of parliament. Yet, the chief point inſiſted on, in Mr. Pitt's reply to Mr. Fox, was, that, though the neceſſity of a great and unuſual exertion, to defeat the attempts of the enemy, was admitted, "it was now maintained, for the firſt time (though the ſubject had been ſix weeks under diſcuſſion), that the bill ſhould be ſuſpended, till the houſe had enſured the diſmiſſion of his majeſty's miniſters, and a *radical reform* of parliament, to an unexplained and indefinite amount."—The queſtion was carried, for the treble aſſeſſment of taxes, by 202 againſt 127.

This meaſure, of an encreaſed aſſeſſment of taxes, was diſcuſſed on the ſecond reading of the bill, in the houſe of lords, on the day after, being the fifth of January.—The buſineſs was introduced by lord Grenville, who ſtated, "that, by the addreſs of their lordſhips to his majeſty, on the fifteenth of November, they had ſignified their determination to defend, with their lives and properties, the government and conſtitution of the country, with the honour and independence of the Britiſh empire; and that they were prepared to make the greateſt exertions for that purpoſe." Lord Grenville, after brief commendations, moved that the bill ſhould be committed.

Lord Carrington declared, that the ſituation of the country required great ſacrifices for its ſalvation, but contended, that one-twentieth part, aſſeſſed directly on real income, would produce a larger contribution than one-tenth, in the manner propoſed by the bill.

Lord Holland, in his firſt ſpeech in parliament, did not diſpute, with the noble ſecretary of ſtate, that, under the adminiſtration of which he formed a conſiderable part, for the laſt five years, the condition of this country had grown worſe and worſe. If it were enough for a member of parliament, to ſee that the exigency of his country was great, without examining the ſyſtem that produced the calamity; were it no part of his duty to examine how money had been already applied, or what probability there was of its being duly applied in future; then, perhaps, he might agree in the truth of the preamble before the houſe; though, even in that caſe, he ſhould think it his duty to oppoſe the enactments, becauſe he did not think that they agreed with the preamble. He would hear, no doubt, that our calamitous ſituation had been brought about by extraordinary misfortunes. But to whom were theſe owing? Was it not the duty of miniſters not to have plunged us into a war, without conſidering what theſe misfortunes were likely to be? In no one inſtance, had miniſtry anſwered the expectations of the public. He certainly did think, that this country ought not to grant any more money, without a pledge, not only

that

that miniſters are to be changed, but that the preſent ſyſtem is to be changed alſo: and that change of ſyſtem, he thought, comprehended a true repreſentation of the people in parliament, an entire and radical reform of abuſes. But miniſters were never in ſuch a ſituation as that of the preſent, and, therefore, great allowances were due to them. Would you ſtop the ſupplies, which could tend only to ſtrengthen or encourage the enemy? "I know (ſaid lord Holland) that a change of miniſters, and alſo of ſyſtem, at leaſt a pledge for it from the higheſt authority, may be procured in a few hours. It need not detain your proceedings ſo long, as if you waited for a noble duke who ſhould have happened to have miſſed his robes, and you could not go on with ſome ceremony of the houſe without him. Until you have that pledge, the more you vote, the more you add fuel to the flame which is conſuming you, and burdens to the loads that are already bearing you down. I hear unanimity often recommended; but this can never be reſtored, until the rights of the people are reſtored to them; rights which have been greatly infringed on, by certain bills prohibiting public meetings, and, without a repeal of which, the people can neither expreſs, nor indeed properly feel, the ſtake they have in the country." With regard to the novel meaſure for raiſing the ſupplies propoſed, he confeſſed that he did not underſtand with what intention the bill was brought forward, if not to foment diſcord. He could not call it a tax. He did not heſitate to declare, that it was worſe, in point of principle, than any of the plans of Robeſpierre. It certainly (ſaid his lordſhip) does not go to the ſame extent, but it is worſe, I ſay, in principle; for, Robeſpierre only charged the people for what they had, but this bill makes a charge on us for what we have had, without any regard to what we have. He proceeded to ſhew, that it would, as well as other taxes, ultimately bear hard on the poor, and that many would be tempted to ſwear off, for taxing them above a tenth of their income.

The earl of Liverpool thought that the length to which the funded ſyſtem had been carried, and the circumſtances of the preſent moment, rendered it expedient to limit its application. The clamour, againſt the meaſure propoſed, appeared to him to be confined chiefly to the metropolis. Having the honour of a ſeat in that houſe, as well as property to defend, he was willing to give a part of his property, as a premium of inſurance for the ſafety of the remainder.

Lord Auckland obſerved, that the hopes of the enemy were placed in the deſtruction of the funded ſyſtem, and it was wiſe, therefore, to ſhew them that we poſſeſſed other reſources, which relieved us from the neceſſity of carrying that ſyſtem too far, and enabled us to aſſiſt its credit, when it might be neceſſary to reſort to it.

The duke of Bedford obſerved, that nothing could be more inadequate than the aſſeſſed taxes, as a criterion of income through expenditure. The effect of the meaſure would be, to occaſion a general reduction of expenditure, and, conſequently, a great defalcation

of

of the public revenue. But it was ſaid, that government received the money, and that it would be employed in ſupporting other branches of uſeful manufactures. In anſwer to this, his grace obſerved, that ſuch a ſudden demand would occaſion a very great reduction of expenditure, in what formed the ſubjects of the old taxes. Their lordſhips were now about to give their ſanction to a meaſure which abandoned the old ſyſtem of finance, and eſtabliſhed one entirely new. They were not able to judge of the conſequences it would produce. Unpopular to a degree, it was admitted to be; that it would not be a permanent ſaving, he thought he had ſhewn. Such a meaſure might have intimidated the enemy, if it had not been paſſed by a parliament that had acquieſced in all the meaſures of the miniſter; but, when they ſaw it carried, againſt the voice of the people, by a pliant majority, what concluſion could they draw, but that the funding ſyſtem was exhauſted? This, he was convinced, was not the caſe. The difficulty attending great loans was, the difficulty of providing the intereſt. But how could miniſters inſiſt upon this, when they were ready to impoſe ſo large a ſum upon the country, in one year? The meaſure would be as oppreſſive in its operation as it was unjuſt in its principle. To reject the meaſure, would not be to refuſe ſupplies; it would only oblige the miniſter to reſort to ſome mode of raiſing money, leſs objectionable in its nature, and leſs oppreſſive to the public.

Lord Thurlow could not deny that, in many inſtances, the bill might operate very unequally; but it ſhould not be forgotten (he ſaid) that, in a large and comprehenſive ſcheme of taxation, it was impoſſible to determine, with mathematical preciſion, what portion was to be paid by each individual. Yet he did not think that income was a fair meaſure of property; eſpecially the income of profeſſional men, and perſons embarked in trade; becauſe the income of ſuch perſons muſt always be exceedingly variable. If expenditure was to be viewed as the general criterion, then the expenditure of every year ſhould be the criterion of its income. Why, if expenditure was to be the criterion of income, was it not to be applied to the expenditure of the future as well as the paſt?

Lord Grenville (in anſwer to this queſtion) replied, that the criterion had been taken according to the expenditure of 1797, and not that of 1798, becauſe, in 1797, every man laid his plan of expenditure without any view to taxation; and it was, therefore, the proper teſt of ability: whereas, in 1798, the expenditure would be regulated, not according to the ability of each perſon, but to his diſpoſition to contribute to the exigencies of the ſtate. With regard to what had been recommended by a young nobleman (who had juſt taken his ſeat in that houſe, and who had given a ſpecimen of the moſt promiſing talents), to puſh miniſters from their office, by ſtopping the ſupplies, until a pledge ſhould be given, to the houſe and the country, of a radical reform; that is to ſay, of a reform of parliament, and of ſuppoſed abuſes in this country; a dereliction of the ſyſtem of coercion, and a grant of their

their juſt rights to the people of Ireland: if indeed the houſe withheld ſupplies till then, reform would come attended by the arms of the enemy. He wiſhed to know what pledge the noble and youthful lord meant? Who was it that could take upon him to pledge the parliament of England to abandon their principles, and give up the conſtitution and country a prey to France? He hoped they would paſs this bill, and grant the ſupplies, if for no other reaſon, at leaſt as a means of ſtopping the progreſs of a radical reform.

Lord Holland, by the reply he made to lord Grenville, gave a convincing proof that his talents were not confined to the compoſition of an elaborate ſpeech in the cloſet: and ſuch as thoſe with which it is cuſtomary for young ſpeakers to preface or ſupport a motion for an addreſs to the throne. In the pledge, he ſaid, which he was deſirous of obtaining, he had uſed no ambiguous and no undefined terms. He had ſtated correctly what he wanted; namely, the diſmiſſal of his majeſty's preſent miniſters, as a preliminary to the appointment of men in whom the nation could have juſt confidence for the reſtoration of their rights, and for a ſyſtem of adminiſtration founded on parliamentary reform. The noble ſecretary had drawn forth a dreadful accuſation againſt him, that he wanted to change the fundamental baſis of the Britiſh conſtitution, as if he had reviled it, and ſaid that it was not a good and happy conſtitution. He would never ſpeak ill of the dead. The argument of the noble lord reminded him of the verſes of Prior,

"Thus harlequin extol'd his horſe,
"Fit for the road, the race, the courſe:
"One fault he had—a fault indeed!
"And what was that?—the horſe was
"dead."

So of the genuine conſtitution of England. It had every quality that could endear it to a rational and free people. But alas it was no longer in exiſtence. What he wanted, was to revive that conſtitution in its purity, not by any innovation, but by reſtoring to the people a juſt repreſentation in parliament. The bill having been read a ſecond time, a motion was made for its commitment, which was carried in the affirmative, by 73, againſt 23. Againſt this vote, a proteſt was entered in the journals of the houſe, by the duke of Bedford, the earl of Beſborough, the earl of Peterborough, the earl of Oxford, lord Holland, and lord King. This bill for increaſing the aſſeſſed taxes, received the royal aſſent by commiſſion, on the 12th of January, 1798.

On the ſubject of financial meaſures and projects it may juſt be mentioned, that on the 8th of December, Mr. Nicholls moved in the houſe of commons a reſolution for applying certain parts of the emoluments of certain offices, for the public ſervice during the war: and that Mr. D. P. Coke, on the 22d of December, made a motion for limiting the fees of the tellers of the exchequer, during the preſent diſtreſſed and calamitous ſtate of the country. Mr. Nicholls's motion was ſupported by Mr. Tierney; but the extravagance, and the inequality or injuſtice of it, being demonſtrated by Mr. Pitt and Mr. Windham, to the apparent ſatiſfaction

faction of the whole houſe beſides, it was withdrawn. Mr. Coke diſclaimed every idea of faction or perſonal hoſtility to his majeſty's miniſters, whom he wiſhed to retain their places, as he was extremely averſe to the doctrines held by the gentlemen who were likely to ſucceed them. But he wiſhed to limit the enormous fees which the meaſure of the increaſed aſſeſſment, now under diſcuſſion, would throw into the hands of certain noble lords, and that at a moment when the people were groaning under an almoſt inſupportable load of taxes, and when they were going to be ſtill farther loaded with a burden which, he was convinced, it was utterly impoſſible they could bear. Mr. Coke took occaſion to ſtate, that in lieu of that additional burden, he had a plan to propoſe, which would fully anſwer the end in view; and that was to lay a ſhilling in the pound on all tranſfer of ſtock.

This idea of taxing the ſtocks had often been hinted in parliament, and ſeems to become every day more familiar. In proportion as the public mind points to any ſubject of taxation, it is likely, as miniſters are not indocile on thoſe points, one day or other, to be adopted.

On a diviſion of the houſe, Mr. Coke's motion was negatived by 75 againſt 6.

Neceſſity, which gives birth to bold reſolution, is alſo the parent of invention. Of the former of theſe effects of neceſſity, we have an inſtance in the triple aſſeſſment of taxes: of the latter, in a bill which was now brought into parliament for the redemption, or more properly ſpeaking, the commutation of the land-tax.

On the ſecond of April, Mr. Pitt, in purſuance of the notice he had given ſome days before, ſtated to the houſe of commons, the general nature of his plan, relative to the land-tax: a plan, he truſted, which required only to be ſtated in order to meet with general approbation. Its object was, to abſorb a large quantity of ſtock, and in the proceſs, to tranſfer a large portion of the national debt, into a landed ſecurity. The quantity of ſtock thus tranſferred was, in its amount, to equal, at leaſt, the quantity of land-tax, which ſhould, by this means, be extinguiſhed, and ſhould be applicable to the public ſervice. It was unneceſſary for him to ſtate to the committee, that the amount of the land-tax was about two millions a year. This tax had now for near a century been annually granted, and according to the ſame rate for the different counties. The land-tax has exiſted for a long time at the rate at which it now ſtood, viz. at four ſhillings in the pound; this had exiſted for ſo long a time that there was no reaſon to ſuppoſe that any diminution in the rate would take place; at leaſt, if no new regulations were made, it was not probable that any diminution would be made in this tax, until other taxes which were more felt were diminiſhed. He propoſed by this meaſure to reduce ſo much of the public debt as ſhould leave an income of two millions four hundred thouſand pounds applicable to the public ſervice. The pecuniary advantages ariſing from this meaſure muſt be obvious from this ſtatement, becauſe the public would diſpoſe of a revenue of 2,000,000*l.* for which they would clear off public debt to ſuch an amount that the intereſt

intereſt would produce a ſum of 2,400,000*l.* leaving, upon the whole, a clear gain to the public of 400,000*l.* Under theſe circumſtances, the ſituation of the perſon who purchaſed the land-tax would be that of having a landed ſecurity for his property, and that at a rate ſo favourable as to render it a very deſirable object. At all events, the public would be a conſiderable gainer; but what was of much more conſequence, eighty millions of capital would be taken out of the market. As to the terms that ought to be given, they ſhould be ſuch as to induce every perſon who was able to purchaſe, to do ſo. It was propoſed that the payment ſhould be regulated by the price of ſtocks, and that the payment ſhould never be made in money, but always in ſtock. If within a certain time, the owner of the land ſhould not be able to make the purchaſe, the bill provided that even in that caſe, his ſituation, or that of his heirs, ſhould not be left entirely hopeleſs, but that a farther period ſhould be allowed, for taking advantage of the purchaſe.

Mr. Pitt, having given the outline of his plan, and having ſtated circumſtances, which, in his opinion, tended to recommend it to the approbation of parliament, proceeded to obviate ſome objections that had been made to it. In the whole of the ſtatements and obſervations with which he had troubled the committee, he had in view three objects. The firſt was, to ſhew that the ſcheme promiſed great national benefits: the ſecond, that the objections which he anticipated as likely to be made to it, were not general, that they admitted of remedy, and that they were not ſufficient to impede the execution of it: and the third, that while the benefits which the public were to derive from it would be very great, the individual advantage would be found to be equally great. It would carry us far beyond the limits of our deſign to go along with Mr. Pitt in all his anticipations of objections. One only may be mentioned, and what muſt readily occur to every one who makes his plan at all a ſubject of reflection. "By conſenting to vote the land-tax a perpetual tax, inſtead of voting it annually, parliament would give up one of the great checks which it had in the privilege of voting or withholding the public money." But the committee, Mr. Pitt obſerved, would perceive that he ſhould not only propoſe to place a ſum of 2,000,000*l.* under their annual controul, but that he ſhould propoſe, that the ſum of 2,400,000*l.* ſhould be placed in that ſituation: ſo that, in fact, inſtead of loſing any of the conſtitutional checks, which parliament poſſeſſed before, it would have a greater check on the public revenue than it had at the preſent moment. The meaſure ſubmitted to the houſe was now farther ſtated to the houſe in a long ſeries of reſolutions* which, Mr. Pitt ſaid, he

* Theſe reſolutions, which run to the length of no leſs than half a printed ſheet, could not be inſerted here: nor is it neceſſary to do more than ſtate the ſpirit and object of the bill, or thoſe points on which the main arguments in its diſcuſſion turned. It is by no means the deſign of this ſketch of the Hiſtory of Europe, to give ſuch a detailed and minute account of the tranſactions of legiſlatures, as might ſerve to direct individuals in the management of their private affairs. For this end they muſt have recourſe to eſtabliſhed laws: whether under the name of decrees, ordinances, or acts of parliament, &c.

ſhould

ſhould move to have printed early to-morrow, and that Wedneſday be appointed for their diſcuſſion: thus the report on the ſubject might be brought up on Thurſday, and gentlemen would have the Eaſter holidays in which to form, from communications and letters, a full opinion on this ſubject. The reſolutions being read, Mr. Pitt ſaid, that this was a ſhort ſtatement of the heads of the reſolutions which he propoſed to be diſcuſſed hereafter: but if any gentleman had any thing to offer now, he ſhould be glad to hear him. The reſolutions were warmly approved by J. Hawkins Browne, as tending to invigorate public credit; and by Sir B. Hemmet, who took the preſent opportunity of declaring that he paid 500*l.* a year, of land-tax, and that he was willing to double that ſum, if an additional and equal land-tax ſhould be thought expedient. But they were diſapproved and oppoſed by lord Sheffield, Mr. Tierney, and Sir W. Pultney.

Mr. Tierney thought that this meaſure ſtruck at the principles which were the foundation of our ſecurity in the poſſeſſion of property, while, inſtead of raiſing it would have a tendency to depreſs the public funds. Some gentlemen might, perhaps, run away with an idea, that this meaſure was for a redemption of ſtock, like that of the plan for a reduction of the national debt; but he denied that there was the ſlighteſt ſimilarity between them. When ſtock ſhould be purchaſed under the proviſions of the plan now propoſed, the ſtock would not vaniſh; the ſubſtance of the public burden, would be ſtill the ſame. It was only taking eighty millions nominally out of Change-Alley for a while, and to enable monied men to enlarge their capitals. The right honourable gentleman, he ſaid, would gain nothing by this meaſure but a little temporary popularity with the monied men. And here he muſt repeat, what he had often obſerved, that the connection between his majeſty's miniſters and monied men, of late years, had been too cloſe, and led to meaſures highly injurious to the intereſts of the public.

Mr. Pitt ſaid, from the ſpeech he had juſt heard, he could not help thinking that the honourable gentleman neither underſtood him, nor himſelf. Was it really a truth that the houſe had no power to relieve from or alter any duty? Had the honourable gentleman himſelf never voted for the relief from or alteration of any duty? Was it not the fact, that tax-bills were repealed in almoſt every ſeſſion? In truth Mr. Tierney ſeemed to be utterly ignorant of the tendency of the meaſure: for he had ſpoken of it as a violent encroachment on the rights of the public creditor, as ſecured by the conſolidated fund. In point of fact it was intended, and would be found in its operation, to relieve the public funds to an immenſe amount, by taking an immenſe ſum out of the market: and this, ſo far from depreciating the public funds, by making the ſupply for them annual, that they would improve them, by making them ſo far permanent. As to the alleged colluſion between miniſters and monied men, he obſerved that one part of Mr. Tierney's argument contradicted the other: for while he argued that the meaſure propoſed would tend to hurt the public creditors or ſtockholders, he inſiſted that it was a proof of that dangerous connection between miniſters and the

the monied intereſt, which ought ſo much to be depreciated, and which was, in fact, nothing leſs than a bonus to the monied men of the country.

Sir W. Pultney did not heſitate to declare his opinion, that the chancellor of the exchequer, by adopting the plan now propoſed to the committee, was going to make a very bad bargain for the country, and which, far from promoting, would tend to defeat the very objects he had in view. The reſult of the plan, he was bold to ſay, was to ſell a perpetual 5 per cent. very extraordinary terms for borrowing money for the public.

Mr. Pitt profeſſed himſelf ready to improve his plan, by any hints that might hereafter be thrown out by the worthy baronet, or any other honourable member: but at preſent he could not help expreſſing ſome ſurprize at the meaſure being found objectionable on the ground, that it was borrowing money at a higher rate than was ever propoſed to parliament. Surely this was an obſervation unworthy the acuteneſs and financial knowledge uſually diſplayed by the worthy baronet: for this would be the caſe only while the ſtocks were at 50.

The chairman then reported progreſs, and the committee was ordered to ſit again on Wedneſday. On that day, the order for going into a committee on the land-tax-bill being read,

Mr. Buxton, one of that claſs who are called the landed gentlemen, without oppoſing the meaſure now before the houſe, declared his opinion, that it would be much more popular, if it contained a proviſion to the effect, that whenever any additional burden ſhould be laid upon the land, a tax to the ſame extent, ſhould be laid upon every other ſpecies of property.

Mr. Pitt put the queſtion, how the honourable gentleman could aſcertain the value of every ſpecies of property in the country? He had no difficulty in ſtating, that no greater ſervice could be rendered to the country, than to point out the mode by which taxes might be laid on, in the moſt equal manner, upon all kinds of property.

Mr. Jones thought that there was a wonderful inclination to favour the monied intereſt: "A ſet of people, according to the juſt deſcription of them, by the immortal lord Chatham, ready to ſerve any ſet of men, provided they ſerved them on their own terms." This favour, ſhewn to monied men, he could never contemplate without being reminded of the revolution in France; which was clearly to be traced to that preference and favour which had been ſhewn to the monied intereſt, the loan-jobbers, contractors, and the reſt of the ſwindling fraternity.

Mr. Pitt was ſurprized to hear it objected to the meaſure propoſed, that it tended to create a permanent burden on the landed, in favour of the monied, intereſt of the country. It tended to create no new burden, but only to continue a burden already created. As to the French revolution, it was neither the landed nor monied men who were the agents in that concluſion, but perſons without either kind of property, who deſired to get poſſeſſion of the land and money of others. He took occaſion to ſhew the intimate connection between the landed and

monied intereſt, and that the proſperity of the one was the proſperity of the other.

Lord Sheffield could not agree with thoſe who conſidered the land-tax already in effect as a fixed and perpetual tax. If the chancellor of the exchequer had propoſed, that the tax, in future, ſhould fall on the occupier of land, he would have had a much better opinion of his principles of finance: for, by ſuch means, the tax would ultimately fall on the conſumer, and would be paid by the landowners, in common with the reſt of the community. But this was ſuch a favourite tax, that, he underſtood, as ſoon as it was ſold, there was an intention of laying a new land-tax. Unfortunately for the country, thoſe, whoſe odious taſk it was to propoſe taxes, did not always extend their knowledge beyond the bills of mortality. They were too much in the hands of monied men, who were ſo full of expedients, relative to the funds, that they could ſeldom think of the interior circumſtances of the country. Lord Sheffield, after ſtating the immenſe and almoſt incredible weight of taxes, and other burdens, already borne by the land and landed proprietors, ſaid, "yet, at the moment of ſuch oppreſſion on the landed intereſt, the moſt partial, the worſt principled tax, and which ſolely reſpected them, was to be ſelected, voted perpetual, and then offered for ſale, and that at a time when a great part of the landed-intereſt pays ſix times the other uſual taxes. The country gentlemen who have no income, except from land; and who, from their ſituation, muſt incur a certain expence, or fly the country, were cruſhed by the load of taxes. Parliament ſhould take care not to drive gentlemen from the country. The diſpoſition which the Engliſh gentlemen had to reſide in it was infinitely advantageous. Their attention to the diſtreſſes and morals of individuals did more than the beſt laws ever did, and where no law could touch. Nobody acknowledged the neceſſity and difficulty of getting money, more than he did; but there was a choice, even in difficulties, and there were ſome good expedients left. He ſhould mention one, the ſale of the foreſts and crown lands. Inſtead of a loſs, it would be a great national benefit, if, by any means, they ſhould become private property.

Sir Gilbert Heathcote wiſhed to know, whether, if a new land-tax was to be raiſed, it was intended to be fairly and equally aſſeſſed?

Mr. Pitt replied, that the houſe would ſee, that, among the reſolutions which he laſt night had brought forward, there was a proviſion, that the lands, on which the tax ſhould be redeemed, ſhould be diſcharged from any tax, other than ſuch as ſhould be impoſed thereon in proportion to the annual value of the ſame, in common with all other property of the ſame deſcription.

Mr. Harriſon wiſhed that the houſe ſhould not go into a committee, under the impreſſion that the meaſure was not an additional charge on land: it was certainly ſo, to make that perpetual which before was only annual.

Sir W. Pulteney ſaid, that if the landed intereſt could buy up the land-tax at twenty years purchaſe, as propoſed, then they would act as monied men, and it would not affect

affect them as land-holders. This, however, they could not be ſuppoſed to do. They had not, in general, the means of coming forward to make ſuch a purchaſe, and were, therefore, precluded from deriving any of the benefits from it which were ſaid to be attached to the plan. The chancellor of the exchequer himſelf confeſſed that his plan held out a tempting bargain. But, who were they who could take advantage of this tempting bargain? Were they not the monied men? And was it not, conſequently, a decided preference given to them, over the landed intereſt? The only advantage that ſeemed, to ſir William, to be derived from the plan, was, that, upon forty millions, the public got one *per cent.* But this advantage was fully counterbalanced, by the converſion of the preſent land-tax into a perpetual annuity: and, inſtead of taking out of the market a great portion of ſtock, this annuity of five *per cent.* being irredeemable, would replace what was taken out originally by the purchaſe of it; and a perpetual, irredeemable five *per cent.* ſtock would be thus eſtabliſhed, to which the operation of the ſinking fund could never be applicable. On the whole, ſir W. P. ſaid, that the plan very juſtly gave offence to the country gentlemen; that it would not be productive of either mediate or immediate good; that it was, moreover, a violation of the conſtitution, and that in a manner of which a bad miniſter might make a very bad uſe. He, therefore, hoped, that the landed gentlemen, and the houſe in general, would make a firm ſtand againſt it.

Mr. Baſtard ſaid, that this plan would decreaſe the value of land, and that he ſhould not be ſurprized if that decreaſe ſhould be ſo conſiderable as to amount to four or five years purchaſe. It was a maxim of our juriſprudence, that no one part of our property ſhould be ſacrificed for the purpoſe of bettering another. By this meaſure, only one ſpecies of property was relieved, while another was burdened. He would ſay, that, before any private property was ſold for the public ſervice, the country ought to diſpoſe of the public property. By this, he did not mean woods and foreſts merely, but a variety of other reſources, which would produce a great deal more than this meaſure, beſides taking off a certain proportion of the taxes. If this meaſure ſhould be carried, the next meaſure would be another land-tax, then another again; firſt, two ſhillings in the pound, and then four ſhillings, and ſo on. Mr. B. was proceeding to object to ſeveral of the reſolutions, and to ſhew that they were inconſiſtent with each other, when

Mr. Pitt obſerved, that it was irregular to take particular notice of the ſeveral reſolutions, on the queſtion, that the ſpeaker do leave the chair.—This queſtion being then carried, on a diviſion, by 105 againſt 13, and the houſe having reſolved itſelf into a committee,

Mr. Pitt ſaid he was ſorry, that, from the late time of the night to which the honourable gentleman, who oppoſed the meaſure, had contrived to put off their going into a committee, ſome farther delay might take place. He hoped, however, that the queſtion might ſo far be conſidered as ſettled, as not to have the general principle again

conteſted when the diſcuſſion of it ſhould be reſumed to-morrow.

In this hope he was diſappointed, for, no modifications whatever could render this meaſure palatable to different gentlemen, to whom it appeared radically and fundamentally erroneous. In the committee which ſat again on this bill, on the fifth of April, and in the ſubſequent ſtages of its progreſs, it was vigorouſly and ably oppoſed by ſeveral members, particularly Mr. Harriſon, Mr. Hobhouſe, and ſir William Pulteny, but defended, with equal alertneſs and more ſucceſs, by the chancellor of the exchequer.

We are tempted to encroach on our limits, in order to make room for the following important obſervations by Mr. Hobhouſe:

"The conſtitutional objection to this meaſure does not ſeem to be, in the leaſt degree, weakened by any thing I have yet heard. The land-tax has, for a conſiderable number of years paſt, been annually voted for the payment of the army and navy. The controul of parliament, over this branch of the public expence, ſerves to prevent a ſtanding army from being made an engine of deſpotiſm in the hands of the executive government, and ſecures frequent meetings of parliament. Now, ſir, I entirely concur with the chancellor of the exchequer, that if ſum, to the ſame amount, and ſcrupulouſly devoted to the ſame purpoſe, be really ſubjected to the annual diſpoſal of parliament, the ſame beneficial end will be produced, the ſame check will be continued. But the conſolidated fund ought not to be reſorted to in this inſtance; it ought to be regarded as ſacred, and preſerved inviolate. It is appropriated to the payment of the national creditor, and you ought not to weaken his ſecurity. Beſides, the conſtitutional power of this houſe will be merely nominal, not real. What member could, at any time, refuſe his aſſent to the voting a ſum already pledged by parliament, for the diſcharge of the intereſt ariſing from the public debt? Such a flagrant breach of faith, none of us, I am ſure, could approve. The conſolidated fund, therefore, can furniſh no actual ſubſtitute for the ſalutary check, which we now poſſeſs, upon the conduct of a profligate miniſter."

On the ſixteenth of April, the reſolutions, for the framing of a bill for the ſale of the land-tax, were read a ſecond time and agreed to. The bill, after much debate, was read, for the ſecond time, on the twenty-third of April. Mr. Joliff made a motion, for the delay of a fortnight; but it was negatived by 153 againſt 58. On the thirtieth of May, the queſtion for the third reading gave occaſion to farther debate. The following laconic, but impreſſive ſpeech, was made by

Mr. Jones. — "The land-tax is an annual fund, for the payment of a ſtanding army. To perpetuate this tax, is to perpetuate a ſtanding army."

Mr. Biddulph did not heſitate to pronounce the bill unconſtitutional, and, if perſevered in, a moſt atrocious fraud.

Mr. Deniſon obſerved, that, after March, 1799, thoſe who had not been able to redeem their land, would be expoſed to the public eye, which would be a great hardſhip. He foreſaw that a freſh land-

tax

tax was intended to be the result of this measure: better to have imposed one shilling in the pound, in addition to the existing land-tax. None, besides those who were monied men, would be able to redeem their land-tax. It would also cause a large capital of the country to be locked up.

Sir Francis Burdett, after recapitulating the manifold and heavy burdens to which landed gentlemen were peculiarly subject, said, there were many other means by which money could be raised for the public, besides this. The sale of the crown lands would produce a much larger sum. "Another object of supply, which, in a war peculiarly styled a war of religion, appears to me a very proper one, is the revenue of the church. This is a source which I think might very well afford something for the relief of the country. I shall mention another method of procuring money for the exigencies of the state, which readily presents itself; that is, the abolition, during the war, at least, of all sinecure places and pensions, and imposing a tax on all emoluments. If any of these were resorted to, it would prove more efficient than the present measure, and would make no addition to the distress of the country. The burdens on the landholder are already too great. He is unable to keep his place in society: while new men, who grow in wealth, as the country declines, are every day rising around him: while public rewards are not given for any good done to the country, and while the only means he has left, of repairing a decayed fortune, are, to disgrace himself by a constant servility to the crown, and an abject desertion of the people.—With regard to the constitutional point which is involved in the present question, I shall make only one observation. I would ask the house, if there be no difference between the controul which it has over a casual tax, and that which it has over one which is permanent, like the land-tax? Is there no difference between the land-holder, retaining in his own hands a direct and certain check, and his having the semblance of one which must be uncertain as to its extent and application? And here I do not speak only of that constitutional check which the parliament has upon the crown, but that which the land-holder ought to have over both the crown and parliament."

Lord Hawkesbury said, that there never was a measure which had been *allowed* a more ample or a more full discussion: whence he was warranted, he said, in inferring, that it was a measure which had met with the sanction and approbation of the country at large.

On a division of the house, the question for the reading of the bill a third time was carried by 135 against 33.

The bill, being carried up to the house of peers, was there read a second time, on the eighth of June, discussed in a committee of the whole house on the eleventh, on the twelfth read a third time and passed. In its progress through the upper house, it was combated on much the same grounds, though neither so warmly nor at so great length, as in the house of commons. And a protest was entered against it, on the journals of the house, chiefly on constitutional ground, by the dukes of Leeds and

Leinſter, and by the earls of Caernarvon, Suffolk, and Berkſhire.

This year, as in the laſt, the chancellor of the exchequer was under the neceſſity of laying before the houſe of commons a ſecond eſtimate of ſupplies for the year 1798, with ways and means, differing, by an exceſs of more than three millions, from that which had been brought forward in November.—On the twenty-fifth of April, he reminded the houſe, being then in a committee of ſupply, that, in that firſt eſtimate, he had ſtated the public expenditure, for the year now current, at nearly twenty-five millions and a half. But an exceſs of expence, beyond that ſum, had unavoidably ariſen, from the unforeſeen and additional preparations on the part of this country, occaſioned by the threats, and produced by the formidable exertions of the enemy, againſt us. He then proceeded, in the uſual way, to ſtate the expenditure for which proviſion muſt be made, under each diſtinct head, but without entering into details concerning the former eſtimates, which had already been conſidered. The reſult of this new ſtatement was, that the public ſervice, for 1798, required a ſupply of 28,490,391*l.* There were a few articles, to no great amount, which he omitted in his ſtatement, but, on the whole, he ſaid, there appeared to be an exceſs of 3,674,000*l.* beyond the ſum ſtated in November. As to the ways and means, in the articles that conſtituted theſe, there was no material variation. The principal variation was in the article of the aſſeſſed taxes, which the miniſter had eſtimated, in November, at ſeven millions; but which, from the various modifications that had been made, in what was called the treble aſſeſſment bill, he ſtated, in April, at only four millions and a half. The deficiency in this tax was made up, in the new eſtimate, by a duty upon exports and imports, which, Mr. Pitt ſuppoſed, would be ſaved to the merchant by the diminution of inſurance which would take place, in conſequence of regulations to be made reſpecting the ſailing of convoys, and by a part of the voluntary contribution, which amounted to a million and a half, as in the ſubjoined ſummary of Mr. Pitt's ſecond eſtimate of ways and means for 1798.* As the ſum of eight millions of the loan was to be provided for by the gradual payment of the aſſeſſed taxes, the permanent addition to the national debt was only ſeven millions. He had, therefore, ſeven millions to find taxes for; and, adding to this 200,000*l.* to be applied to the ſinking fund, and taking the

SUMMARY OF THE WAYS AND MEANS, FOR 1798.

	£.
Annual produce of the land and malt	2,750,000
Voluntary contributi n	1,500,000
The aſſeſſed taxes	4,500,000
A duty upon imports and exports	1,500,000
Bank advance on exchequer-bills	3,000,000
The loan, excluſive of two millions for Ireland	15,000,000
Lottery	200,000
Total	28,450,000

intereſt

intereſt of the whole ſum of 7,200,000*l.* at 8*l.* 5*s.* *per cent.* he had 577,000*l.* to provide for annually. He had thought of funding two or three millions of the navy-debt, but had ſince concluded that it would be better to leave it in its actual ſituation, until peace. In the year 1792, it amounted to 2,745,000*l.* but at the preſent time it exceeded 6,000,000*l.* ſo that the intereſt to be provided for would be 186,000*l.* which, added to the above-mentioned ſum of 577,000*l.* amounted to 763,000*l.* for the intereſt of all the charges of the preſent year, which was to be provided for by new taxes. The firſt tax for this purpoſe, which he propoſed, was an additional duty of five ſhillings per buſhel upon ſalt, the produce of which he eſtimated at 502,000*l* annually. He ſuppoſed that the ſalt conſumed upon an average, annually, in every family, compoſed of the labouring claſs of people, amounted to no more than half a buſhel. He propoſed, therefore, to lay only two ſhillings and ſix-pence on each family of this deſcription. He then propoſed a duty of five pounds *per cent.* upon tea which ſold for more than half-a-crown a pound; which tax, he ſaid, would not touch that ſpecies of tea in general uſe among the poorer claſſes of the people.—This tax he eſtimated to produce the ſum of 111,500*l.* for it was undeniable that the tea, valued at above half-a-crown per pound, had conſiderably increaſed in the quantity of its conſumption. The next ſubject to which he alluded, as proper for taxation, did not affect the neceſſaries of life, and the perſons paying would have a choice, either to make uſe of the article or not, which was a principle he wiſhed to encourage. He wiſhed to impoſe a duty upon every perſon uſing armorial bearings. He obſerved, that it might be ſaid, that he was a convert to the ſyſtem of levelling, but he certainly proceeded upon very oppoſite grounds, and was convinced that the country, inſtead of entertaining ſuch ſentiments, would be found ready to ſet a value upon that which was one of the moſt important links in ſociety. Faſhion and reaſon would therefore coucur in giving effect to this meaſure. He therefore propoſed, that a tax of two guineas be impoſed upon all perſons uſing carriages decorated with armorial bearings; one guinea on thoſe who were houſe-keepers, and made uſe of plate decorated in the ſame manner; and half a guinea on all other perſons who were not houſe-keepers, uſing their armorial bearings in other ways. The number of perſons, uſing armorial bearings, he took at 9453, and the whole tax he eſtimated at 150,000*l.* The total amount of theſe new taxes would be 763,500*l.* We muſt take notice of another meaſure of finance, adopted this ſeſſion of parliament, in the month of March, namely, the repeal of the tax on clocks and watches, and the ſubſtitution, in its ſtead, of a ſmall increaſe of the aſſeſſed taxes. The produce of the tax on houſes and windows, as it now ſtood, was 1,259,000*l.* To this an addition was made of 180,000*l.* Some ſmall additional duties on ſervants, dogs, horſes, and carriages, raiſed the additional produce of the aſſeſſed taxes to 205,000*l.* This ſum would make

up for the deficiency of the tax on clocks and watches, which had been eſtimated at about 200,000*l.* The various duties on houſes and windows were conſolidated into one table, graduated according to a regular ſcale, and diminiſhed in ſome inſtances, where the riſe was diſproportioned to the value of the houſe, and where too great a temptation was held out to the ſtoppage of windows.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIV.

Diviſion of Parliamentary Proceedings into three Claſſes.—Supplemental Militia allowed to enliſt into the regular military Service.—Bill for the better Defence and Security of the Realm.—Revival of the Alien-Bill.—Suſpenſion of Habeas Corpus.—Bill for preventing the Tranſmiſſion of Money, even in Payment of Debts, to Switzerland.—Converſations and Debates on the Affairs of Ireland.—Meſſages from his Majeſty, relating to theſe.—Motions for Addreſſes to his Majeſty, for a Change of Syſtem reſpecting Ireland, and alſo of Miniſters.—Motions for Reſolutions to the ſame Effect.—Bill for enabling his Majeſty to accept the Services of Engliſh Militia Regiments, in ſubduing the Rebellion in Ireland.—Bill for the more effectual manning of the Navy.—Petition from the Town of Liverpool to arm itſelf, for the Defence of the Port, at its own Expence.—Bill for regulating Newſpapers.—Eſten's Divorce-Bill.—Motion for the Abolition of the Slave-Trade.—Motion, by the Duke of Bedford, for the Diſmiſſion of his Majeſty's Miniſters.—Speech from the Throne, and Prorogation of Parliament.

THE Britiſh parliament, from the buſineſs of finance (the grand hinge on which, in the preſent age of military art and political corruption, all the great movements of governments turn), proceeded to the diſcuſſion of other national affairs: which may be divided into meaſures of external defence, meaſures of internal quiet, and meaſures of political economy, including morality.

On the thirtieth of December, 1797, Mr. ſecretary Dundas acquainted the houſe of commons, that a great number of men had been raiſed under the ſupplemental militia act, paſſed in the laſt ſeſſion of parliament, and had been employed for the public ſervice. It had happened, that many of the men, compoſing this militia, having enliſted into his majeſty's regular ſervice, were re-claimed as militia-men, and, as the law now ſtood, were obliged to be reſtored, to the manifeſt prejudice of his majeſty's ſervice. The object of a bill which he now intended to move for, was to remedy that defect, by enabling any man, if deſirous of enliſting, ſo to do, without being afterwards re-claimed as a militia-man: nor ſhould the pariſh be obliged to replace him. This plan would add to the general and regular force of his majeſty's arms, without any additional expence to the public. Mr. Dundas's motion, for leave to bring in a bill to this effect, was agreed to.

In a committee of the whole houſe on this bill, on the third of January, 1798, general Fitzpatrick expreſſed

expreſſed a wiſh, which he had before ſuggeſted, to ſee the bill extended, if it were poſſible,* to the whole military. By the proviſions, which were to receive the ſanction of the committee, a limited time was fixed for the engagement of the militia ſoldier, who ſhould enliſt in the regulars, while, in all the regular troops, the engagement of the ſoldier ended only with life: an inequality which would have a tendency to create confuſion, and excite diſcontent.

Mr. Dundas ſaid, that whatever opinion he might entertain now, or hereafter form, reſpecting the ſuggeſtion of the honourable general, there was nothing in it that could lie as an objection to the preſent bill, which only enabled militia-men voluntarily to extend the limits of their ſervice, without extending its duration: without interfering at all with their preſent engagements. The clauſes into which the bill was divided were read, one by one, and agreed to. The duration of the bill, by one of theſe, was limited to ſix months after the concluſion of a general peace: and the number of men to paſs over from the ſupplementary militia to the regulars, confined to 10,000, or at the utmoſt to one-fifth of the number of that body. This bill, having been carried through the uſual ſtages, was read a third time, and paſſed in the houſe of commons, on the 15th of February; and in the houſe of lords on the twentieth of April.

On the twenty-ſeventh of March, 1798, Mr. ſecretary Dundas moved the houſe of commons for leave to bring in a bill, to enable his majeſty more effectually to provide for the ſecurity and defence of the realm, and to indemnify perſons who might ſuffer in their property by ſuch meaſures as ſhould be thought neceſſary. The houſe, he ſaid, would go along with him in the opinion, that the zeal and ſpirit, which, ſo much to the honour of this country, did exiſt, ſhould be reduced to a ſyſtem, that, when the people were called forth to exertions, in the cauſe of the country, they might act with regularity; that, in place of that confuſion which muſt naturally be the conſequence of any alarm of an approaching or invading enemy, every man, deſirous of coming forward to repel that enemy, might diſtinctly know the part he was called on to act. "The object of the bill, ſaid Mr. Dundas, is, to have the power of knowing, in caſe of emergency, who are ready to appear in arms, in order to co-operate with the exiſting power of the country, and to enable thoſe who are ſo inclined, to be put into that ſituation which may be moſt anſwerable to giving effect to their inclinations. It is farther intended to give government legal power to inveſtigate what force is in the country, competent to act in the ſhape of pioneers, drivers of waggons, or to perform the various other ſervices which are connected with the operations of an army. One great proviſion of the bill will be to make compenſation to thoſe who ſhall ſuffer by the attempts of the enemy, and the meaſures taken to reſiſt them: and in order that no perſon

* We cannot help expreſſing our opinion, that the plan ſuggeſted by general Fitzpatrick, is equally humane and juſt; and alſo politically expedient, though not perhaps, in the preſent circumſtances. It will, we hope, be adopted at a future period.

may

may be induced to withdraw his ſtock from the general ſervice of the country, or may ſuffer from any part of his ſtock being deſtroyed by the enemy, or appropriated by the country for this purpoſe, the proviſions of the bill go to render indemnification certain, either where property is applied to the ſervice of our own country, or is deſtroyed in order to prevent it from falling into the hands of the enemy. It muſt occur to every one, that, in the proſpect of an invaſion, it will become neceſſary, in particular diſtricts, though it is impoſſible to point where at preſent, to erect covers for batteries, and to raiſe works in critical ſituations, where the operations of the enemy are moſt likely to be directed: for this purpoſe it may be found neceſſary, that pieces of ground ſhould be appropriated for ſuch erections; but if it is expedient to check the attempts of the enemy, by ſuch means, it is no leſs ſo that it ſhould be fully underſtood that complete indemnification will be made, and that no man will ſuffer by any aid which he may contribute to the public ſervice. There are other circumſtances proper to be adverted to by the proviſions of the bill. It may be exceedingly neceſſary to remove the property of the inhabitants of villages, who may be employed in arms for the defence of their country, or as pioneers, and to carry off their flock, in order to prevent its falling into the hands of the enemy. It may occur that much cruelty and much inhumanity would be exerciſed, if, at the time that able-bodied men were employed in the field, ſome proviſion was not made for the infants and aged, who would be left unprotected: to thoſe caſes the bill will apply. The general object of it will be, to give the lords-lieutenants of counties every neceſſary aid, for enabling them to embody thoſe who may be prompted to come forward, as they now have, with regard to embodying the general militia of the country. By this means, ſir, I truſt, that not only the whole ſpirit of the country will be animated and invigorated, and be fully equal to any exertions which the enemy may be able to make, but will prove, that while other countries are falling to wreck, we ſtand a proud and powerful nation, in the middle of the ocean, and will alſo proclaim that there ſtill exiſts one ſpot in the world, determined to repel the attacks of thoſe who would enſlave it."

General Tarleton did not oppoſe the ſpecific meaſure before the houſe, but offered ſome obſervations, of which the following is the moſt important. Formerly the enemy had ſent an army to Ireland; but now that iſland was put into a proper ſtate of defence, and proper meaſures taken for preventing a repetition of attacks in that quarter; where, then, was this country moſt open to danger? On the eaſtern coaſt, which was not far diſtant from the capital. If the French ſhould march thither, their march would be as rapid as poſſible. They knew there were no fortified towns to be left behind them: they would not encumber themſelves with heavy baggage and proviſions, which, by retarding their movements, would afford time to render their efforts ineffectual. Did Buonaparte do ſo, when he was marching to Vienna? No, no. He would therefore adviſe, that ſo many troops ſhould not be left in the ſouthern, the weſtern, and the northern

northern extremities of the kingdom, but that the beſt of our troops, both infantry and cavalry, ſhould be drawn to the neighbourhood of London, where our force ſhould be concentrated; detachments being left to protect the principal commercial towns, ſuch as Newcaſtle, Hull, Liverpool, and Briſtol. Of Buonaparte, with whom he hoped to have the pleaſure one day of talking over battles, he ſpoke much as a great and diſtinguiſhed general.

General Delancey acknowledged that Buonaparte had done wonders. But, while praiſes were beſtowed on that general, it was remarkable that not a word had been ſaid of a diſtinguiſhed perſonage who held the chief military command in this country. Whenever an occaſion ſhould arrive, he was convinced, that perſonage would manage the Britiſh forces in ſuch a manner as would ſhew that there were officers in other countries beſides France. If Buonaparte did land on the Britiſh ſhores, general Delancey had no doubt but all the glory he had obtained, would be ſpeedily tarniſhed.

Sir W. Pultney declared his hearty approbation of the meaſure propoſed, and thought that the right honourable ſecretary had great merit in bringing it forward. The being armed would excite in the nation a high military ſpirit. The firſt idea of an unarmed man was to run from danger: but his feelings were very different when he was armed. He hoped that meaſures would be taken to embody a much greater number of men than could be brought againſt them. If the enemy were to ſucceed in landing, and he never doubted but that a landing might be effected, notwithſtanding our great ſuperiority at ſea, it was of the greateſt moment that we ſhould have the ſuperiority of numbers.

Mr. Nicholls did not oppoſe the motion; but declared his conviction, that all the meaſures that had been taken, or might hereafter be taken, for the ſafety of the country, would be of little avail, while his majeſty's miniſters purſued a ſyſtem of coercion in Ireland.

Mr. Pitt, in reply to Mr. Nicholls, aſked whether by offering terms of conciliation to Ireland, he meant, that we ſhould make every conceſſion and every ſacrifice to traitors and rebels, to men who were induſtriouſly propagating the moſt dangerous principles, wantonly ſeducing and deluding the ignorant multitude, encouraging the moſt criminal correſpondence with the enemy, exciting the commiſſion of treaſon in Ireland, under the ſpecious pretence of parliamentary reform, and forming, in conjunction and co-operation with the profeſſed enemy of all liberty, morality, and ſocial happineſs, plans for ſeparating that country from Great Britain, and for converting Ireland into a jacobinical republic, under the wing and protection of republican France? Were we to withhold from the peaceable and loyal inhabitants of Ireland that protection, without which there was no ſecurity for their lives and property? No. The only meaſure of ſafety we could adopt, was, a vigorous ſyſtem of oppoſition to thoſe who would completely deſtroy the country: while, on the other hand, we were irreſiſtibly called on to give a manly and firm ſupport to thoſe who would preſerve, for themſelves and their poſterity, thoſe great and ineſtimable

ble bleſſings, which they now enjoyed.

Leave being given to bring in a bill, it was read a firſt and ſecond time, committed, and after a third reading, paſſed in the houſe of commons, on the ſecond of April, and in the houſe of lords on the twentieth. Another meaſure of preventive policy, for the defence of this kingdom, adopted in the courſe of this ſeſſion of parliament, was the revival of the alien-bill. It was introduced into the houſe of commons on the twenty-ninth of March, and having undergone ſome amendments, paſſed on the twenty-ſeventh of April. The new clauſes added to the alien-bill were for obliging the letters of lodgings to ſend regular accounts to government of the foreigners living in their houſes; for enabling his majeſty to detain foreigners; and to prevent aliens from landing in Great Britain, until the maſter of the veſſel had authority to let them come on ſhore.

The bill for the ſuſpenſion of the habeas corpus was alſo revived. On the twentieth of April a meſſage was brought to the houſe of commons from his majeſty, ſtating the advices he had received of great preparations for invading his majeſty's dominions, and that, in this deſign, the enemy was encouraged by the correſpondence and communication of traitorous and diſaffected perſons and ſocieties of theſe kingdoms.

An addreſs of thanks to his majeſty, by Mr. Dundas, was ſeconded by Mr. Pitt, and carried nem. con. On this occaſion, Mr. Sheridan took the opportunity to arraign a ſupineneſs and inſenſibility, which ſeemed almoſt univerſally to prevail, to the imminence and magnitude of the threatened danger, and to recommend the union and agreement of all parties, at leaſt on one point, and for a time, in order to ſave the country. On Mr. Sheridan's ſpeech Mr. Pitt beſtowed, with great apparent, and, no doubt, real ſatisfaction, the character of eloquent, dignified, and impreſſive. The addreſs to his majeſty, in anſwer to his gracious meſſage, being agreed to; a meſſage was received from the lords, ſtating, "That they had agreed to a bill for ſuſpending, for a limited time, the operation of the habeas corpus act." A motion being made by Mr. Pit, that it be read a firſt time, Mr. Sheridan deſired to have evidence, before the houſe, of the exiſtence of treaſon and traitorous conſpiracies. In reply to this, Mr. Pitt ſaid, that no better proof could be adduced than that of the manly and ſpontaneous effort given by that honourable gentleman himſelf to the principle of the meſſage, deſiring the general aid againſt the common enemy; from which principle he was ſorry to find him to ſwerve. In the proclamations, edicts, and official publications, of the directory, reſpecting the menaced invaſion of theſe kingdoms, one ſentiment breathed through them all, namely, "The reception the French would meet from their friends, as they ſhould accompliſh a landcing." We do not deſire legal and technical evidence, ſaid Mr. Pitt, but we have what is more convincing: we have moral and demonſtrative documents of it in various ſhapes; evidence ſufficient to bear out the preamble of the bill, which ſimply ſtates the threats of a foreign foe, and the ſecret encouragement held out to him by a conſiderable number of domeſtic enemies. The

bill was alſo oppoſed by Mr. Tierney and Mr. Nichols. The queſtion for the firſt reading of the bill was carried, on a diviſion, by 183 againſt 5. The bill being read a ſecond time and committed, Mr. Pitt propoſed to fill the blank for the period of ſuſpending the habeas corpus, by fixing it at the firſt of February, 1799. Mr. Tierney and Mr. Sheridan, with the other gentlemen on their ſide of the houſe, inſiſted on the firſt of November, 1798, or the firſt ten days after the commencement of the next ſeſſion of parliament; but the blank was filled up according to the propoſition of the chancellor of the exchequer. The report brought up, the bill read a third time, and having paſſed through the uſual ſtages in the houſe of peers, received the royal aſſent. A bill for preventing the tranſmiſſion of money, or the payment of debts, or exerciſing the government there, or holding any offices under it, was brought, on the ſame day, into the houſe of commons, by the ſolicitor-general, and paſſed into a law without oppoſition. A ſimilar law had been enacted, on the commencement of the preſent war, with reſpect to the uſurped government, and perſons reſiding in France. Theſe laws, while they withheld a ſupply to the enemy, did not invade, but, on the contrary, ſecure the property of individuals, when at liberty to claim and diſpoſe of it.

But the principal object of ſolicitude with the Britiſh government and legiſlature, at this time, was the diſtracted ſtate of Ireland, rapidly advancing through the uſual ſtages of combinations, meetings, a correſpondence with enemies abroad, and diſaffected, not to ſay in every inſtance, traitorous perſons at home, and open inſurrections in divers places, and many acts of violence and outrage, into a general rebellion; which, if it ſhould not be ſpeedily ſuppreſſed, in Ireland, muſt quickly deſolate the whole country. Though the uniform ſpirit of the preſent reign over Ireland had been gracious and indulgent, yet the maſs of the Iriſh nation groaned under the tyranny of their own countrymen; only few of whom were in poſſeſſion of the powers of legiſlation, and who were more diſpoſed to enter into compromiſes with the Britiſh miniſtry, for the ſake of enjoying the public offices and other favours, and to maintain their own with the general intereſts of ariſtocracy, whether under the name of lords or ſquires, than to remove the cauſes of thoſe various evils that afflicted the lower claſſes of the people. Numerous abſentees drew a great part of the money out of the country; oppreſſive taxes were continued and exerciſed; the land was let and ſublet to bankers, ſtewards of eſtates, tackſmen, and others, through a long gradation of tenants; until, at laſt, the ſame ground that was held by the firſt contractor, at one guinea or half a guinea per acre, was often rented by the actual cultivators of the ſoil; and poor tradeſmen who were under a neceſſity of having, at any rate, a hut and land for keeping a cow and raiſing potatoes, at four, or even five and ſix pounds, per acre: or if theſe laſt, by exceſſive labour, added to their uſual occupation, they reduced any portion of bogs or moors to a ſtate of cultivation, they were driven back from the land which, by the ſweat of their brow, they had rendered arable to other waſte land,

where, if they pleaſed, they might renew their labours to improve the rugged ſoil for the benefit of their unfeeling land-maſters. In ſuch circumſtances, foreign ambition, domeſtic faction, and to ſay the truth, perhaps, in ſome caſes, real, though miſtaken patriotiſm, found ready means for executing, throughout Ireland, a ſpirit of reſentment, defiance, revolt, and an armed reſiſtance to the eſtabliſhed order of things, and the government by which this was ſupported. Nothing, therefore, could be leſs incredible than the continued reports that a rebellion in Ireland was not only threatened but actually commenced. Yet, ſtrange as it muſt appear, there were men, diſtinguiſhed by eminent talents and many virtues, in both the Britiſh and Iriſh parliaments, who were ſcarcely to be convinced of the exiſtence of this either by the teſtimony of others, or even that of their own ſenſes; or, if they were forced to acknowledge the exiſtence of hoſtile preparations and attempts, they aſcribed them to the irritation of the meaſures adopted by the Britiſh government, for quelling and preventing them. Still they recommended, not coercion, but the means of mild perſuaſion, conceſſion, and conciliation. There is a time, indeed, when good treatment and paternal remonſtration will operate their juſt effects on any people, and on none more readily than the Iriſh nation. But popular excitement and paſſion are not to be allayed by the ſame means through which they may be prevented. When conceſſions are made to men, who have aſſumed an attitude of defence, they are naturally aſcribed to fear, not to favour. The diſcuſſion that took place in this ſeſſion of parliament, on the affairs of Ireland, led chiefly to the queſtions, whether a real conſpiracy, to any formidable extent, exiſted in Ireland; whether the minds of the inſurgents, and others, were not to be ſoothed by lenient meaſures, and particularly whether it might not be politically expedient to grant their oſtenſible claims of a complete emancipation, as it was called, of the catholics; and a reform of parliament? The firſt of theſe queſtions was reſolved by events;* the intereſt and importance of the latter have been, in a great meaſure, happily ſuperſeded by the union of Ireland with Great Britain. It is not neceſſary, therefore, it would be even irkſome to the intelligent reader, and certainly very bad economy in the hiſtory of 1798, which comprehends ſuch an extraordinary number of ſtriking events, to give other than a very abridged account of the debates in parliament, reſpecting the affairs of Ireland.

On the 22d of November, 1798, the attention of the Britiſh houſe of peers to the ſtate of Ireland was called by the earl of Moira, with an intent to renew the motion which he had made on that ſubject laſt ſeſſion. Having ſtated the poverty and hardſhips endured by the Iriſh nation, and many cruelties com-

* For which reaſon it has been judged proper to give an account of the riſe, progreſs, and termination, of the revolt in Ireland, previouſly to any ſtatement of the debates on that ſubject. It would, doubtleſs, have been trifling and abſurd to enter into a detail of a controverſy, ſo much of which appeared ſo ſoon to have turned on miſrepreſentation and miſtake.

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mitted by the military, at the inſtigation of government, on the people,* his lordſhip concluded his ſpeech, with entreating the houſe to take into ſerious conſideration their preſent meaſures, which, inſtead of removing diſcontents, had increaſed the number of the diſcontented. The moment of conciliation, he ſaid, was not yet paſſed. But, if the ſyſtem were not changed, he was convinced that Ireland would not remain connected with this country five years longer.

Lord Grenville made a variety of obſervations on the ſtate of Ireland, in which a project had been developed for ſeparating Great Britain and Ireland: a project ſuggeſted by France. With regard to the diſcuſſion moved by lord Moira, their lordſhips could not enter into it, conſiſtently with the independence, which they had ſanctioned, of the Iriſh parliament. What excited his aſtoniſhment in the ſpeech of that noble lord, was, the cruelties ſaid to have been committed by the Britiſh military. If, notwithſtanding the uſual diſpoſition of the Engliſh to clemency and good nature, any ſuch exceſſes had been committed, were there no courts of juſtice, no laws, no magiſtrates, no tribunals open to the complaints of the oppreſſed? An adjournment of the houſe put an end, for the preſent, to the converſation on this ſubject; which, however, was often touched on, as our readers have, no doubt, perceived in the courſe of diſcuſſions on other ſubjects. In the courſe of one of theſe, a converſation took place between the earl of Moira and the marquis of Downſhire, in which the latter poſitively aſſerted, that the charge of ſeverities, exerciſed by the military, on the people of Ireland, were by no means ſupported by ſufficient evidence.

On the 26th of March, a day fixed for the farther conſideration of the ſtate of Ireland, when the converſation between theſe noble lords was reſumed; the earl of Moira ſtated proofs on his ſide of the queſtion; and the marquis of Downſhire ſtated alſo proofs on that of his. But the houſe were unanimouſly of opinion, that any inveſtigation of the proofs offered on either ſide, in agitation of ſo delicate and dangerous a ſubject, at this time, would be highly improper. The earl of Moira acquieſced in this opinion, and the houſe adjourned.

On the 15th of June, the embers of rebellion, in Ireland, having burſt forth into a general flame, the

* Though exceſſes were certainly, in ſome inſtances, committed by the ſoldiery, as well as many outrages by the defenders, in revenge of thoſe which they themſelves had ſuffered from the Catholics; yet, on the whole, thoſe exceſſes were greatly exaggerated by report: whereas the proofs of a general and determined ſpirit of reſiſtance and revolt from the Britiſh government became every day more and more apparent. For a proof of theſe poſitions, completely ſatisfactory, the reader is referred to the ſpeech of the earl of Clare, lord chancellor of Ireland, in the Iriſh houſe of lords, on a motion made by the earl of Moira, Feb. 19, 1798, "That an humble addreſs be preſented to his excellency the lord-lieutenant, to ſtate, that, as parliament had confided to his excellency extraordinary powers, in order to ſupport the laws, and defeat traitorous combinations in this country, we feel it our duty (as thoſe powers have not produced the deſired effect) to recommend the adoption of ſuch conciliatory meaſures as may allay apprehenſions and diſcontents. This ſpeech, printed at Dublin, is reprinted for Stockdale, London.

duke

duke of Leinſter, the peer of the firſt rank in that country, and alſo a lord of the Britiſh parliament, after deſcribing the ſtate and alluding to the late occurrences in Ireland, moved an addreſs to his majeſty, humbly requeſting, "that his majeſty would deign to direct the proper officer to lay before this houſe a full and ample ſtatement of the facts and circumſtances, which had led to the diſaſtrous affairs of Ireland, and of the meaſures which had hitherto been purſued, for the purpoſe of averting ſuch momentous evils. That, however alarming the diſcontents now prevailing in the ſiſter kingdom were, we would not deſpair but that the reſult of ſuch diſcuſſion would enable us to aſſiſt his majeſty, according to our conſtitutional duty, with ſome well-adapted remedy; ſuch as might reſtore, in that diſtracted part of the Britiſh empire, confidence in the laws, by due adminiſtration of them; obedience to his majeſty's government, by a temperate uſe of its powers; and union amongſt all deſcriptions of ſubjects in that kingdom."—A long and animated debate enſued, in which the motion was ſupported by the dukes of Leinſter, Norfolk, Devonſhire, Bedford, and Leeds; the earls of Fitzwilliam, Beſborough, Moira, and Suffolk; and lord Holland: and oppoſed by the marquis Townſend, earl Spencer, the earl of Carliſle, the lord chancellor, lord Loughborough, and lord Grenville.

At the end of the debate, the following amendment was moved by the duke of Norfolk; and, after ſome converſation, incorporated with the main queſtion: "And we farther feel it our duty to ſtate to his majeſty, that, underſtanding the ſyſtem of coercion has been enforced with a rigour which, if retailed in detail, would too ſeverely wound his paternal feelings; that confeſſions have been extorted by torture and ſcourges, a practice held in abhorrence in every other ſtate of Europe; to implore his majeſty that he will be graciouſly pleaſed, as the moſt probable means to put a ſtop to the calamities which pervade a part of that unhappy country, to direct an immediate change of ſyſtem, as far as depended on the executive government; and to remove from their ſtations thoſe perſons under whoſe authorities thoſe atrocities have been perpetrated, and towards whom the afflicted people of Ireland can feel no ſentiments but thoſe of hatred and revenge." On a diviſion of the houſe, there appeared againſt the amendment, and for the original motion, 51; againſt it, 19.—Againſt this rejection of the amendment, a proteſt was taken by the lords who had ſupported the motion, and alſo by lord Dorcheſter, and the earls of Shafteſbury and Scarborough.

An addreſs to his majeſty, for inquiring into the ſtate, and changing the ſyſtem of Ireland, was moved for in the houſe of lords, on the twenty-ſeventh of June, but rejected by 51 againſt 21.

A reſolution of the ſame import, but alſo reprobating certain inhuman practices, moved, on the ſame day, by the duke of Bedford, was, after a long debate, rejected by 63, againſt 20.

Reſolutions, to the ſame effect with that of the duke of Leinſter, were, on the ſame day, moved in the houſe of commons, by lord John Cavendiſh and Mr. Fox. The reſolutions were negatived by 212 againſt 66.

Lord Grenville, on the twelfth of June, preſented to the houſe of lords, a meſſage, deſiring that that houſe "would enable him to take all ſuch meaſures as might be neceſſary to diſappoint or defeat any enterprizes or deſigns of his enemies, as the exigencies of affairs might require." The particular object to which this meſſage pointed, was, on the eighteenth, explained by another meſſage from his majeſty, acquainting the houſe, "That the officers, non-commiſſioned officers, and privates, of different regiments of militia of this kingdom had made to his majeſty a voluntary tender of their ſervices, to be employed in aid of the regular and militia forces in Ireland, for the ſuppreſſion of the rebellion now unhappily exiſting in that country." His majeſty had received, with the utmoſt ſenſibility, this ſtriking and ſeaſonable mark of zeal and attachment to his perſon and government. Addreſſes, in anſwer to theſe meſſages, were voted unanimouſly: and a bill produced by lord Grenville for "enabling his majeſty to accept the offers of ſuch militia regiments as ſhould be willing to ſerve in Ireland," brought in on the nineteenth, read a firſt and ſecond time, paſſed through a committee, and on the twentieth read a third time, and paſſed. A meſſage from his majeſty, of the ſame purport with that to the houſe of peers, was, on the ſame day, alſo ſent to the houſe of commons; and farther, recommending to his "faithful commons to conſider of ſuch proviſion as might be neceſſary for empowering his majeſty, for a time and to an extent to be limited, to accept the ſervices of ſuch part of his militia forces, in this kingdom, as might voluntarily offer themſelves to be employed in Ireland, at this important juncture." An addreſs was moved by lord Grenville, thanking his majeſty for his moſt gracious meſſage, and containing aſſurances, that the commons would immediately enter into the conſideration of ſuch proviſions as might be neceſſary for enabling his majeſty to accept the ſervices of militia regiments. This addreſs, though not without a warm debate, was carried by 118, againſt 47. In the courſe of this debate, an obſervation was made by M. A. Taylor, which was certainly of great importance both in a conſtitutional point of view, and as it reſpected the ſituation of many thouſands of individuals. If one militia regiment offered, and government accepted its ſervices, it was compulſory on all the reſt: for the fear of the imputation of cowardice was alone ſufficient to induce them to offer their ſervices. The ſame idea of implied compulſion was placed in a new light by lord William Ruſſel, who ſaid, that there would be the ſame kind of compulſion with regard to the ſervices of militia-men, that there was in the caſe of the voluntary contributions, when a box was carried about, and every man ſtigmatized as a traitor, who refuſed to ſubſcribe. The ſame idea was ſeized, and made a ſubject of pleaſantry, by the facetious Mr. Sheridan. Sir Lawrence Palk had obſerved, that he himſelf was rather in an aukward predicament: for he had heard that the militia regiment to which he belonged, the South Devonſhire, had made a tender of its ſervices to go to Ireland. Though therefore, as a member of parliament, he ſhould oppoſe the motion; yet, if

the ſervices of his regiment ſhould be accepted, he would certainly make a common cauſe with it, and accompany it.

Mr. Sheridan, on the caſe of the worthy baronet, obſerved, that he was in the ſingular ſituation of being a volunteer, without knowing it. It reminded him of the ſtory of the people who were dragging a man along, and, being aſked the reaſon, gave for anſwer, that it was a volunteer they were carrying along with them.

As care was taken to ſtrengthen our land force, ſo proviſion was alſo made for the more effectual manning of the navy. A reſolution having paſſed the houſe of commons, for an augmentation to our naval force of 10,000 men, Mr. Pitt, on the twenty-fifth of May, followed up that reſolution by a motion, of the ſame nature with one paſſed on a ſimilar occaſion, in 1797, for ſuſpending the protections granted by the allowed prerogative of the crown, to certain perſons, as watermen, maſters who had apprentices on board their veſſels, &c. The protections were to be ſuſpended for one month in the coal-trade, and for five months in the other trades.

After ſome converſation, and ſlight oppoſition, leave being given, the bill was prepared, and brought into the houſe, where it paſſed through the uſual ſtages in the courſe of that evening, and was afterwards, being carried through the houſe of lords, paſſed into a law.

The reader may probably have perceived ſomething like an extraordinary keenneſs and warmth in the diſputes between the chancellor of the exchequer and Mr. Tierney, his uniform, conſtant, and zealous opponent on all occaſions. That ſpirit was carried, in the courſe of this night's buſineſs, to a height which terminated in a very common, though barbarous and abſurd, mode of ſettling diſputes. Mr. Tierney objected to the hurry with which it was propoſed to paſs the bill. All he demanded was time. If perſiſted in, in the manner propoſed, it ſhould have his decided negative. After what had already paſſed, he ſhould hold himſelf bound to watch the motions of the miniſter with peculiar jealouſy. Mr. Pitt ſaid, if the honourable gentleman imagined that every meaſure taken againſt France, was hoſtile to the liberties of this country, his ideas of liberty were certainly different from his own: nor could he conceive that on any principle but that of obſtructing the defence of the country, could he oppoſe the meaſure now propoſed. Mr. Tierney here called to order, and applied to the chair for protection. The ſpeaker ſaid, that certainly it was for Mr. Pitt to explain his meaning, and for the houſe to conſider whether the words that had given offence to Mr. Tierney, conveyed any imputation on that honourable gentleman. Mr. Pitt ſaid, he was afraid the houſe muſt wait a long while, before they heard ſuch an explanation as was demanded of him; for he muſt adhere to his former declaration; which he again repeated. The conſequence of all this was, a duel between Mr. Pitt and Mr. Tierney, the challenger, but without any bloodſhed.*

On

* The following article appeared in the public prints, on Monday, May 28.

"We are authorized to ſtate, that, in conſequence of what paſſed on Friday laſt,

On the ſubject of the defence, and particularly naval defence, it muſt not be omitted to mention a petition to the houſe of commons, from the corporation and inhabitants of Liverpool, for leave to arm themſelves for the defence of that port, at their own expence. It ſtated the danger which menaced the docks and ſhipping of the port of Liverpool, in caſe of the enemy directing his attempts to that quarter. It was, therefore, the wiſh of the petitioners to erect batteries, fit out gunboats, and to prepare any other means of defence that might be deemed neceſſary, at their own expence: one half to be paid by the corporation, and the other moiety to be raiſed by a rate on the inhabitants. Mr. Pitt ſaid, that this was a meaſure which did the higheſt honour to thoſe with whom it originated. He could ſcarcely bring himſelf to conſider that as a private petition, which offered a moſt uſeful ſuggeſtion, and might be made the ground-work of a moſt excellent general defence.—It is ſcarcely neceſſary to mention, that the prayer of this petition was granted.

The attorney-general, in the courſe of this ſeſſion of parliament, brought in a bill, intended, at once, to prevent the machinations of foreign enemies, to preſerve our internal tranquillity, and ſecure the peace and happineſs of individuals. This was a bill for regulating the proprietors and publiſhers of newſpapers. On the third reading, on the thirteenth of June, it was oppoſed by Mr. Jekyl, from a motive of conſtitutional jealouſy of every thing that appeared to be an attack on the liberty of the preſs. The cenſorial power of our preſs was the great guardian of Britiſh liberty. This bill would make men of property and reſponſibility retire from newſpapers altogether; and they would then fall into the hands of men of deſperate fortune and low character. The conſequence would be, an increaſe inſtead of a diminution of the liberty of the preſs. Handbills on crown paper would be ſubſtituted, every day, for a uſeful well-regulated paper. This bill would render innocent perſons liable to proſecution, merely becauſe they were proprietors, although they had no ſhare in the management of the publication.

The attorney-general ſaid, that his object was not to infringe on the liberty of the preſs but to reſtore it. The liberty of the preſs was, that every man might publiſh what he pleaſed, but he ſhould be reſponſible to the public for what he publiſhed. The bill only ſecured to the public what it had a right to demand; the appearance of a reſponſible party in a court of juſtice, ſo as to be amenable to law. So far from ſtinging the newſparers

Mr. Pitt, accompanied by Mr. Ryder, and Mr. Tierney, accompanied by ſir George Walpole, met at three o'clock, yeſterday afternoon, on Putney-Heath.

"After ſome ineffectual attempts, on the part of the ſeconds, to prevent farther proceedings, the parties took their ground at the diſtance of twelve paces. A caſe of piſtols was fired, at the ſame moment, without effect; a ſecond caſe was alſo fired in the ſame manner, Mr. Pitt firing his piſtol in the air: the ſeconds then jointly interfered, and inſiſted that the matter ſhould go no farther, it being their decided opinion that ſufficient ſatisfaction had been given, and that the buſineſs was ended with perfect honour to both parties."

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into the hands of the dregs of the people, it would take it out of ſuch hands, and exclude all perſons who were not liable to thoſe whom they calumniated from being able to ſhelter themſelves in obſcurity.

Sir Francis Burdett ſaid, that a good and free government had nothing to apprehend, and every thing to hope, from the liberty of the preſs; but deſpotiſm courted ſhade and obſcurity; it dreaded the ſcrutinizing eye of liberty; and if an arbitrarily-diſpoſed prince, ſupported by an unprincipled miniſter, and backed by a corrupt parliament, were to caſt about for means to ſecure ſuch a triple tyranny, no better means could be deviſed than the bill on the table. The great man, with whom the miniſter ſeemed condemned to form a ſtriking and everlaſting contraſt (his father), when preſſed by the ſychophants of his time to allow a meaſure of this kind to be brought into parliament, under his adminiſtration, when urged to it, in order to ſuppreſs the calumnies againſt his own reputation, replied, with that dignity of ſoul which ſtamped his character, "No! the preſs, like the air, is a chartered libertine." Miniſterial corruption, he was afraid, would end, as that great ſtateſman had foretold, in the ſubverſion of our old free conſtitution and the eſtabliſhment of a military government.

Mr. Ryder challenged any one to prove that this bill had the ſmalleſt tendency to make that criminal which was not, by the law of the land, criminal before. It was calculated only to prevent the evaſions of the proprietors of newſpapers from being anſwerable for any thing that appeared in their papers. Anſwerable by law they always were: this was to compel them to come forward, and abide a fair trial in a court of juſtice. The queſtion being put for the poſtponing of the bill was negatived by 44 againſt 9. The bill afterwards paſſed both houſes, and, by the royal aſſent, was paſſed into a law.

The French revolution illuſtrated the connection between good morals and the order and peace of ſociety more than all the eloquence of the pulpit and the diſquiſitions of moral philoſophers had done for many centuries. The upper ranks in ſociety, the generality of men of rank and fortune, not always the moſt inquiſitive and penetrating on other ſubjects, were among the very firſt to take the alarm at thoſe irreligious and profligate doctrines by which the French democracy ſought to ſhelter the profligacy of its conduct. In this country, royal proclamations were iſſued for paying a decent and due regard to Sundays. The eſtabliſhed clergy were rouſed to a ſtrenuous recommendation of the Chriſtian doctrines, particularly a due obſervance of the external order, inſtitutions, and uſages, of the church of England. The churches were well attended, and ſometimes even crowded. It was a wonder to the lower orders, throughout all parts of England, to ſee the avenues to the churches filled with carriages. This novel appearance prompted the ſimple country-people to inquire what was the matter?

The levity and licentiouſneſs of French manners had certainly made an alarming progreſs in the higher, and, what were called, the faſhionable circles, from whence they muſt paſs on to the other orders. The grand ſpring and cement of ſociety is, the divine principle of love,

branching forth from conjugal into parental, fraternal, and filial affection, an attachment to kindred neighbours, countrymen, and all, in ſome degree, who partake with us in the ſame common nature. To violate a reſpect and reverence for marriage, is to degrade human nature into the rank of the brute creation, and to poiſon the ſweeteſt emotions (the *charities*, as Milton calls them) of life. It was high time for the Britiſh legiſlature to take the alarm, when divorce-bills, according to the obſervation of the chancellor Loughborough, had become ſo common, that they were conſidered as little more than matters of courſe.

On a motion, the ſecond of March, for the ſecond reading of a bill for granting a divorce between one Mr. Eſten and his wife, lord Auckland profeſſed himſelf anxious for calling the attention of their lordſhips to the circumſtances under which the preſent application was made; as theſe carried with them ſtrong ſuſpicions of a colluſion between the parties. The plaintiff was married in 1784. Some years after, he fled from the country, in order to elude the purſuit of creditors, leaving his wife, under a dubious kind of protection, at the Dublin theatre, and under articles of ſeparation between them. They continued thus; nor was there any thing heard of his complaint till Hilary term, 1797, when the plaintiff alleged, that ſhe had been living ſix years in a ſtate of adultery. There was, therefore, every reaſon to believe the exiſtence of a colluſion between the parties, to which the juſtice of the houſe would ſurely lend no countenance. In this queſtion, the cauſe of morality was very deeply involved: and it highly ſavoured of thoſe principles which the French moraliſts were ſo induſtrious to propagate: to him, the introduction of ſuch principles was a ſubject of much more anxious alarm than all the dangers that hung over us, from their threatened invaſion: and, in his mind, it was of the moſt ſerious importance, that the houſe ſhould reſiſt them, whatever ſhape they might aſſume.

The ſentiments expreſſed by lord Auckland were aſſented to, as appeared by the looks and geſtures of the whole houſe; but, by the duke of Athol and biſhop of Durham, warmly commended and urged.

The biſhop took the preſent occaſion to obſerve, that the French rulers, while they deſpaired of making any impreſſion on us, by the force of arms, attempted a more ſubtle and alarming warfare, by endeavouring to enforce the influence of their example, in order to taint and undermine the morals of our youth. They ſent amongſt us a number of female dancers, who, by the allurements of the moſt indecent attitudes, and moſt wanton theatrical exhibitions, ſucceeded but too effectually in looſening and corrupting the morals of the people. And, indeed, if common report might be relied on, the indecency of thoſe appearances far out-ſhamed any thing of a ſimilar nature that had ever been exhibited — he would not ſay on any Chriſtian theatre, but even on the more licentious theatres of Athens and Rome. If the progreſs of ſuch ſcandalous immorality were not arreſted, the malignant influence of ſuch contaminating example muſt finally corrupt both ſexes, and their lordſhips time and fittings would henceforth

henceforth be wholly engroſſed by caſes of divorce. Such, therefore, was his conviction of the neceſſity of applying ſome remedy to this evil, that, ſhould no noble or learned lord, higher in ability, authority, and conſideration, than himſelf, he would, aſſuredly, take the firſt opportunity of moving, that an humble addreſs be preſented to his majeſty, praying that his majeſty would be graciouſly pleaſed to prohibit the exhibition of thoſe indecent ſpectacles, and to order thoſe who performed in them to be ſent out of the country.

Counſel having been heard for Mr. Eſten, and the houſe reſumed, the lord-chancellor obſerved, that the articles of ſeparation formed an inſuperable barrier to any divorce, and that the circumſtances of the caſe rendered it the duty of the houſe to reject Mr. Eſten's application.—On the motion for the ſecond reading of the bill, it was accordingly thrown out.

The lord-chancellor then expreſſed his hope, that what had been ſaid by the reverend prelate would have its weight. Something certainly was neceſſary to be done by their lordſhips, as guardians of the public manners, to check the number of caſes in which they were called upon to give their ſanction to divorces.

The attention of their lordſhips was called again, by the chancellor, to the ſame ſubject, on the twenty-eighth of March, when certain reſolutions were agreed to, for the regulation of their proceedings reſpecting divorces, which, without affecting any alteration in the legal code, by removing from the public mind the idea of the facility of obtaining a divorce, might contribute at leaſt to a more general regard to good example and public decency. Thus, ſaid the chancellor, it was to be hoped, that, by turning a current of faſhion againſt open profligacy, a more effectual reformation would ultimately be effected.

The evil propenſities of mankind are very properly divided, by a ſacred writer, into luſts of the fleſh, and luſts of the ſpirit. At the ſame time that the attention of the Britiſh legiſlature was called to the former, by lord Auckland, and that noble, reverend, and truly reſpectable and dignified prelate, the biſhop of Durham, to the former, in the houſe of lords, it was called alſo to the latter, in the houſe of commons, by

Mr. Wilberforce, who, on the third of April, made his annual motion for the abolition of the ſlave-trade; the uſual debates on which derived, now, a degree of novelty and additional intereſt from certain diſcoveries and events that had paſſed ſince the time when they were laſt noticed in this work. Mr. W. found greater and greater cauſe for his motion, the more he contemplated the ſubject in various relations; with new emotions of grief and ſhame, indignant pity, and diſappointed hope. Though he had often laid before the houſe the dreadful catalogue of crimes to which the ſlave-trade gave riſe, he again recited ſome of the leading enormities. Having expatiated on the injuſtice, the cruelty, and immoral tendency of the ſlave-trade, and on a certain *eſprit de corps* among the Weſt-India planters, which defeated and diſappointed

all hopes from any effectual interference, in behalf of the ſlaves, from the colonial aſſemblies, to whoſe care, in conſequence of an addreſs to his majeſty, they had been recommended, by a circular letter from the duke of Portland, he moved, "That leave be given to bring in a bill for the abolition of the ſlave-trade, at a time to be ſpecified."

This motion was ſeconded by the chancellor of the exchequer.

It was oppoſed by Mr. B. Edwards, who was clearly of opinion, that the meaſures recommended to the colonial aſſemblies, if adopted, would certainly effect, though gradually and progreſſively, the extinction of the ſlave-trade. This opinion he ſupported, by a review of the conduct of thoſe bodies. With regard to the mode in which the ſlave-trade is conducted in Africa, he had for a long time concurred with Mr. W. in opinion, that the African nations were involved in perpetual wars, by the inſtigation of this traffic. But the veil, which had long concealed the interior of Africa from our view, was now removed. A miſſionary, ſent by the African aſſociation, three years ago, by the way of Gambia, was juſt returned from thence, after having penetrated fifteen hundred miles towards the eaſt, unknown, even by name, to the geographers of Europe. This miſſionary, Mr. Park, found the whole body of the people, in all parts of Africa, in the condition of abſolute ſlavery, and the country itſelf every where divided into petty ſtates, which are perpetually engaged in wars with each other. That many of theſe wars ariſe from cauſes to which the ſlave-trade can no way contribute, Mr. Park aſſerts of his own knowledge. In proof of this, he relates an inſtance, which came under his own obſervation. Soon after he had paſſed through a kingdom, called Kaſſon, the king of that country died; and, the ſucceſſion being diſputed by his two ſons, the youngeſt prevailed, and drove his elder brother from the country. He fled to a territory called Kaarta, where Mr. Park then was, and, being purſued thither, the Kaartans took up arms. In this conteſt, ſeveral towns were deſtroyed, and a vaſt number of priſoners taken on both ſides. "And now, ſir, ſaid he, we ſhall diſcover what effect the ſlave-trade produced. The king of Kaarta made it a conſtant practice to put all his male captives to death. He cauſed them to be brought before him, and had their throats cut in his preſence. On the other hand, the king of Kaſſon, having received information of the French traders, on the Senegal river, ſpared the lives of the captives, made on his part, and ſent them thither for ſale. On this occaſion, at leaſt, the ſlave-trade promoted the cauſe of humanity; for, it can hardly be doubted that the king of Kaſſon's priſoners would have ſhared the ſame fate as the others, if avarice had not prevailed over revenge in the mind of their ſavage king. I may be told, perhaps, by gentlemen who make no diſtinction between civilized and ſavage life, firſt, that the king of Kaſſon had no right, by the laws of nature, to ſell his priſoners; and, ſecondly, that the purchaſers had no right to reduce them to ſlavery, for having redeemed them from death. Sir, I am not now diſputing about abſtract propoſitions, I am ſtating an inſtance of practical

practical and positive good, resulting from the slave-trade. The prisoners, of which I am speaking, were in the condition of absolute slavery, in their own country, before they were led to war; and if the question had afterwards been put to them, whether they would consent to go to the West Indies, in a milder servitude than that to which they had been accustomed, or have their throats cut in their own country, I believe they would not have hesitated in giving an answer.—It had, on former occasions, been repeatedly urged, by a right honourable gentleman opposite to him (Mr. Pitt), that the negroes already in our plantations were, in number, abundantly sufficient to keep up the present cultivation, and that if the planters were satisfied, as they ought to be, with their actual possessions, no farther importations from Africa would be wanted. Mr. Edwards denied the truth of this position, and, at the same time observed, that the doctrine of relinquishing the ambition of settling new estates, came very awkwardly from the minister, at the very moment when he was exhausting the lives and treasures of the nation in the acquisition of new territories, in the same part of the world. But supposing, not granting, Mr. Pitt's position, what was to be done with the uncultivated territory in St. Vincent and Jamaica? Was it to be left in its present state, in order to shelter and nurse up new hordes of savage enemies? new armies of Maroons?

Mr. Canning, with regard to the alternative of going into slavery, or having one's throat cut in his own country, declared, that he would prefer the latter option. From the question, of the comparative cruelty of leaving the Africans at home, or sending them to the West Indies, Mr. Canning proceeded to consider the necessity of an importation of slaves, as long as there remained, in our West-India islands, uncultivated lands: he had learned, from the most undoubted authority, that a third part of the islands still remains uncultivated; and, he urged the house seriously to consider, if it has taken such a length of time to cultivate the portion of land which is now brought to a state of cultivation, how much time must still remain to elapse, before the remainder be duly cultivated!

Mr. Thornton, paying all due respect to the testimony of Mr. Park, read some passages from governor Macauley's journal, respecting the manner of procuring slaves in the Mandingo country (into a part of which Mr. Park had travelled, and where Mr. Edwards seemed to assume that no enormities were committed, originating in the slave-trade), from which passages it appeared that kidnapping is very frequent, both among the Salees and Mandingoes. Nor was it strangers alone that were kidnapped: it often happened that children were kidnapped, by people of a neighbouring, or even the same village. Mr. Thornton proceeded to describe the four sources which supplied the slave-market: wars, crimes, debts, and kidnapping: and shewed, that the common sources of the slave-trade were all of them such as shrunk from inquiry. Mr. Thornton then spoke of the powerful obstacles which the slave-trade, contrarily to the usual tendency of

trade in general, in various ways, preſented to civilization. The whole inland country of the Sierra-Leone was much more civilized than the coaſt. The people were employed in ſeveral manufactures. The children were regularly taught to read and write. One town, viſited by the Sierra-Leone company's agents, contained about five thouſand, and another about ſeven thouſand inhabitants: whereas, not a town remained, on the Sierra-Leone coaſt, of even five hundred. Mr. T. on the plain grounds of morality and juſtice, and on the principle of promoting the civilization of Africa, concluded by giving his hearty aſſent to the motion.

Mr. Sewell oppoſed the motion, as likely to unſettle the legal tenures by which the proprietors of Weſt-India eſtates held their poſſeſſions. Was the houſe prepared to adopt the meaſure recommended, without offering to thoſe proprietors adequate compenſations for their loſſes?

Colonel Gaſcoigne proceeded to ſtate the riſk, incurred by the motion, of irritating the colonies by ſuch proceedings, and of throwing the Weſt-India trade into the hands of our enemies.

Mr. Hobhouſe, after replying to ſeveral objections to the abolition of the ſlave-trade, came to the conſideration, commonly deemed of very great weight, namely, that if the Britiſh government ſhould pronounce the diſcontinuance of this traffic in ſlaves, the iſlands would ſoon be in a general ſtate of inſurrection. — "The ſtrongeſt evidence to the contrary, ſaid Mr. Hobhouſe, is afforded by experience. An act of the Britiſh legiſlature, againſt freſh importations of ſlaves, weakens not a ſingle regulation or legal reſtraint on the conduct of thoſe already in the colonies. The court of Denmark paſſed a law, that this trade ſhould ceaſe, from the year 1800. Had we heard of any rebellion among the blacks in her colonies, in the Weſt Indies? Our preſent ſituation is ſuch, as to call loudly for the immediate abolition of ſo ſcandalous a traffic. France, by manumitting her ſlaves, and making them citizens, has conſtituted a formidable body of free men, terrible to her foes. Theſe emancipated negroes have exhibited a moſt grateful acknowledgement for the liberty conferred upon them, in the performance of ſurprizing feats of valour. To be a match for France, in the Weſt Indies, we muſt meet her with her own weapons; we muſt adopt, towards our negroes, the ſame line of conduct ſhe has obſerved towards hers: we muſt follow her example. Aboliſh the trade inſtantly; and, if you regard the ſafety of your colonies, unite diſpatch with prudence, in beſtowing the bleſſings of freedom upon the ſlaves who are now employed in your iſlands."

Mr. Pitt declared his opinion, that on the adoption of the preſent motion depended the ſafety of our Weſt-India iſlands. He maintained, that the colonial regulations could never be effectual, to produce internal arrangements, or facilitate preparations for the gradual abolition of the ſlave-trade, while freſh importations of ſlaves continued to be made from Africa.— It appeared, from a ſtatement which he held in his hand, that the quantity of uncultivated land, in the iſland of Jamaica, was about two-

thirds

thirds more than that already in cultivation. It appeared, that, for this laſt part, 250,000 negroes were required. To ſuffice for the cultivation of the other parts, the complete number of 600,000 at the ſame time would be neceſſary. To procure this ſupply, it would be neceſſary, not merely to import this number, but to continue importing, with all the frightful waſte of mortality with which ſuch importation is attended, till the full number ſhould be completed. If valuable conſiderations had been given, with a view to cultivation, reburſement to that extent ſhould certainly be made by the public to that extent: and to ſuch a meaſure he, for one, would have no objection.

Sir W. Young wiſhed the houſe to reflect that calamities might happen, ſuch as war, conflagration, diſeaſe, &c. to deſtroy the population of negroes belonging to an eſtate, without any remedy, if freſh importations were prohibited? and thus a fatal blow might be given to the property of the Weſt-India planters: whilſt that gradual ſyſtem of meliorating their condition, which had been adopted, and was going on in the iſlands, would have quite different effects. His opinion and advice was, that the Britiſh legiſlature ſhould wait a few years, in order to ſee whether that ſyſtem produced the deſired effect.

Mr. W. Smith contended that the ſhocking accounts given of thoſe parts of Africa, where the ſlave-trade prevailed, were ſtrictly true, and in no wiſe controverted by Mr. Park. The ſlave-trade extended to many parts of the coaſts of Africa, even to the ſhores of the Red-ſea, and on ſome of the iſlands near the ſouth-eaſtern coaſt, as had been proved from the accounts given by the late Mr. Jones, of his voyage to India. He hoped that thoſe in power, or thoſe who took the lead in reforming the manners of the times, would not content themſelves with meliorations, comparatively trivial and partial, but acquit themſelves and their country of the crime of countenancing a ſyſtem too execrable for the powers of human language to deſcribe, and not to offer ſuch an inſult to the Almighty Being as to imagine that ſuch ſacrifices, as he alluded to, could propitiate him, while they connived at the continuance of this deſtructive and deteſtable traffic in the perſons of their fellow-creatures.

Mr. Fox, with his uſual ſhrewdneſs, made a variety of ſtriking remarks on the ſentiments which, in the courſe of the debate, had been made by thoſe who oppoſed the motion. From his ſpeech, the following are extracts: "We know that ſuch is the nature of man, that power leads to abuſe, that the idea of poſſeſſing an unlimited authority, ſo far from inſpiring tenderneſs, produces contempt of the object as worthleſs. Cruelty begets cruelty, and oppreſſion breeds oppreſſion, till the mind becomes hardened. Of this, all hiſtory, ancient and modern, affords proof. But, in mentioning the cauſes of the war, does the honourable gentleman (Mr. Edwards) ſay that Mr. Park informed him that the ſale of ſlaves was not the cauſe? Was not the ſale of ſlaves the reward of victors? Other cauſes of war may, no doubt, exiſt among the ſavages. I believe no man in theſe times will ſay, that ſlavery is the only cauſe of war. Do not we know that ambition,

bition, revenge, hatred, and other bad paſſions of mankind, have been the cauſes of war? That not only in barbarous, but in more cultivated times, they have been the origin of bloody wars? Indeed, if the abſence of theſe cauſes of war be the accuſation, it muſt be confeſſed that hitherto we have not made very great progreſs. What, then, becauſe hatred, ambition, revenge, are cauſes of war, is it nothing to add another powerful motive to war, that of avarice? Does no guilt attach to thoſe who furniſh this new principle of evil? May not this preſent be an additional cauſe? Africa has ever been one of the moſt uncultivated parts of the globe. In Africa, this traffic has, in ſome degree, prevailed at every period. The ſale of human beings has been made an article of gain; and is this no impediment to the advancement of knowledge and the progreſs of civilization? It is aſked, did not Mrs. Brownrigg and her daughter moſt cruelly deſtroy an apprentice? And it is from thence argued that, as we cannot control the paſſions of mankind, we ſhould make the ſame allowance for them as in other caſes. To this I anſwer, it is becauſe I know that man is capable of being a cruel, odious, and abominable, creature; that I know how capable he is of acting frequently againſt his reaſon, and even againſt his moſt immediate and moſt obvious intereſt; that I do not wiſh to ſee him poſſeſſed of that power and authority, which can decide, without control, on the fate of his fellow-creature. If men were not cruel, ſlavery would never have been complained of in this world. Indeed, if men were not cruel, ſlavery would not exiſt." Mr. Fox, in the courſe of his ſpeech, was led to the topic that had been briefly, but forcibly touched on by Mr. Smith, of holding forth an uncommon auſterity of manners in trifling and inſignificant circumſtances, and at the ſame time neglecting humanity and benevolence, the true vital ſpirit of Chriſtianity. Was there a man in that houſe who could ſeriouſly and gravely think that he could ſerve his country by voting for a continuance of the ſlave-trade, and that he could ſhew his piety to the world, by taking care not to be at the opera after 12 o'clock on Saturday night, or to be ſeen travelling on Sundays? Mr. Fox, in the courſe of his ſpeech, reminded the houſe again and again, that the miniſter had declared that the ſafety of the iſlands depended on the motion. He did not queſtion his ſincerity; yet he could not help aſking why his commanding eloquence and high authority, invariably ſucceſsful in other matters, were always defeated in this cauſe.

Mr. Windham thought it beſt to leave the ſubject of the motion to the legiſlature of the iſlands; to whom, by the laſt addreſs of the houſe thereon, it ſeemed to him to have been entruſted. The queſtion was, whether, by a ſudden abolition of the ſlave-trade, a greater evil would not be created than that which it was propoſed to remedy. In conſidering this as he ought to conſider every queſtion, he aſked himſelf how he might do the greateſt practical good. And, in that view, he was inclined to truſt to the colonial aſſemblies for a while, by way of experiment.

Mr. Barham obſerved, that one advantage of the plan recommended to and adopted by the colonial aſſemblies, for the gradual abolition of ſlavery, over that which they themſelves purſued, was pretty evident.

It

It would operate, at leaſt, immediately. Inſtead of giving an annual ſpur to the trade, as the honourable gentleman's annual motions did, the trade would be immediately checked and confined. While various reſtrictions were adopted here to narrow the ſupply, every regulation might be introduced in the colonies to leſſen the demand. On a diviſion of the houſe, Mr. Wilberforce's motion was loſt by the ſmall majority of only four: the ayes being 83, the noes 87.

This ſmall majority was a proof of the uſual effects of perſeverance in a good cauſe: for, without pretending to ſit in judgement on parliament, and deciding concerning the political or indeed moral expediency of a ſpeedy and total emancipation of the ſlaves, and abolition of the ſlave-trade, (a queſtion which is indeed doubtful) we may be permitted to aſſume, that to alleviate the ſufferings of the unfortunate Africans, by all ſafe and practicable means, was a cauſe generous and noble. But the impreſſion made by the efforts of Mr. Wilberforce, and many coadjutors both in and out of parliament, was more happily diſplayed, by a meaſure adopted for circumſcribing the ſlave-trade, and another for relieving, in ſome degree, the intolerable miſeries of the ſlaves, in what is called the Middle Paſſage. Mr. Henry Thornton, on the fourth of May, moved the houſe to reſolve itſelf into a committee, in which he ſhould move for leave to bring in a bill to prohibit the carrying on the ſlave-trade on the northern coaſt of Africa. The diſtrict in which he meant to prohibit the trade, extended about 1,200 miles, from whence about 7,200 were annually brought. The numbers of ſlaves brought from Africa annually were about 70,000; of theſe England took about 38,000, and France uſed to take about 20,000; but now France did not take any; therefore, if even the prohibition was extended to the 7,200, ſtill there would be more ſlaves for the market. If they were really anxious to gradually aboliſh this trade, they ſhould take ſome ſteps at home, and not leave it all to the Weſt-India iſlands. There were two meaſures that might be adopted, that would tend to the gradual abolition; the firſt was to make a ſelection in the ſlaves that were taken; and the other was, only to take ſlaves from a certain part of the coaſt. The Sierra Leona company would certainly aſſiſt as much as it could to effect this gradual abolition. This colony had now exiſted five years; there was originally a ſum of 240,000*l.* ſubſcribed for this undertaking; of this ſum, he was ſorry to ſay, not above 60,000*l.* remained. The colony has ſuſtained very ſerious calamities, both from fire and from the enemy; but the great thing againſt the colony-trade, was the ſlave-trade. Even the perſons which they had ſent out as their factors, engaged in the ſlave-trade. Having ſhortly expatiated upon theſe ſubjects, he concluded with moving the houſe to reſolve itſelf into a committee, and in order that he might then move for leave to bring in a bill to prohibit the ſlave-trade on the coaſt of Africa, within certain limits. The houſe reſolved itſelf into a committee, after a few words in oppoſition to the motion, by the members for Liverpool, and being reſumed, leave was given to bring in the bill moved for. The houſe having again reſolved itſelf into a com-

a committee, ſeveral blanks were filled up.

On the tenth of May, the houſe being in a committee on the ſlave-trade carrying bill, Mr. W. Smith moved a clauſe, of which he had given notice in the laſt ſeſſion, enacting that the ſpace in the ſlave-trade ſhips ſhould be five feet between decks. This motion, on a diviſion of the houſe, was carried by 34 againſt 6.

Mr. W. Smith then produced a clauſe for allowing to each ſlave a ſuperfices of eight feet. This, multiplied by five feet, the height which had been moved for, would give the ſpace of forty cubic feet: a ſpace which, he was aſſured by the inſpector of tranſports, was abſolutely neceſſary for the comfort, and even the exiſtence of the individual. This motion, on a diviſion of the houſe, was alſo carried, by 34 againſt 5. The bill was afterwards, through the uſual ſtages, paſſed into a law.

Having gone through the capital buſineſs of finance, we arranged the other parliamentary proceedings, that the minds of our readers might be ſomewhat relieved from the diſtraction and inſipidity of an order merely chronological, into meaſures of national defence, meaſures for the preſervation of internal order and peace, and meaſures of political economy, including good morals. It appeared dubious, under which of all theſe heads it might be moſt proper to claſs a motion made on the twenty-ſecond of March, by the duke of Bedford, to addreſs the king for the removal of his preſent miniſters. It will no doubt be thought, by thoſe who ſupported or favoured the motion, that it had a pretty cloſe reference to them all. It was as follows: "That an humble addreſs be preſented to his majeſty, moſt humbly to repreſent, that, from the commencement of the war to the preſent moment, his majeſty's miniſters have had all the advantages which could be derived from the entire confidence and ſupport of parliament; that this confidence and ſupport have given them the unlimited command and diſpoſal of the power and revenue of theſe kingdoms; that, with means profuſely furniſhed to obtain ſucceſs, the councils which have had the direction of this power, and the application of theſe reſources, have been attended with no effect but to exalt France to her preſent formidable greatneſs, and in the ſame proportion to impair the relative ſituation of Great Britain, to expoſe her, with reduced ſtrength and diminiſhed reſources, to all thoſe dangers which it was alleged could be averted only by an early and ſucceſsful combination to reſiſt the principles, as well as the power, of the French government; and after an unavailing expence of blood and treaſure, to compel his majeſty's miniſters to open a negociation for peace, by a total dereliction of all the principles on which the war was ſaid to be unavoidable, and by ſubmitting to abandon thoſe ſafeguards and defences, which, in the early period of hoſtilities, were inſiſted on as abſolutely indiſpenſable to the ſecurity of theſe kingdoms.

"That, without looking back to the cauſes of the war, or inquiring whether it might, or might not, have been avoided, and reſerving for another moment all conſideration of the charges which may hereafter be brought againſt thoſe perſons, who originally adviſed his majeſty not

not to acknowledge the republic of France, nor to liſten to any terms of accommodation, we think it our duty humbly to lay before his majeſty the ſituation in which we are now placed.

"We are awed by the reſult of the war itſelf, and aſtoniſhed at the concluſion drawn from it by his majeſty's miniſters, who, with all the means of vigorous attack, have reduced us to a ſtate of precarious defence, yet ſtill have the confidence to aſſert, that in the ſame councils, which have proved ſo incompetent in proſperity to direct with advantage the affairs of the nation, the beſt means are to be found of relief and ſecurity in our preſent difficulty and diſtreſs, and that we are ſtill to look to them alone for the attainment of a ſafe and honourable peace.

"That this houſe, and every member of it, is ready to provide for a vigorous defence of the country, and will not ſhrink from any perſonal difficulty or danger that may attend the performance of this duty; that whatever differences may exiſt, with regard to the principles and policy of our internal government, we are determined and unanimous in our reſolution to reſiſt all foreign interference. But, inſtructed as we are by a long ſeries of events, and corrected by experience, we are bound by our duty, and compelled by neceſſity, to ſubmit to his majeſty our humble opinion, that the ſituation of the country is too critical, and the dangers that ſurround it are too ſerious, to admit of any farther trial of the ſame councils which have conſtantly failed, or of the ſame perſons for whoſe continuance in office, notwithſtanding the heavy and unanſwerable charges which have been brought againſt them, even themſelves have nothing to plead but a feeble unavailing rectitude of intention conſtantly overpowered by the ſuperior policy and vigour of the enemy, or a pretended apprehenſion, equally falſe and malignant, of the deſigns and principles of thoſe whom his majeſty might appoint to ſucceed them in the adminiſtration of public affairs—as if in the preſent cabinet were to be found the only efficient perſons whoſe loyalty and attachment to the conſtitution were free from all ſuſpicion and doubt.

"That, lamenting as we do, the failure of the late negociations for peace, we beſeech his majeſty ſeriouſly to reflect, whether, when conducted by his preſent miniſters, there could be any reaſonable hope of their ſucceſs. We have not forgotten their haughty and ſupercilious rejection of all offers of accommodation previous to the commencement of hoſtilities; and we too well remember the terms of inveterate and irreconcilable enmity on which the conteſt was placed at the outſet, and on which it has ever ſince been conducted, to hope for any conciliatory diſpoſition between the enemy and the original adviſers of the war—we cannot be ſurpriſed that any overture which may now be made by his majeſty's miniſters, after having wilfully neglected or inſolently refuſed every favourable opportunity of negociation, ſhould be received as an acknowledgment of weakneſs and diſtreſs, rather than as a proof of a ſincere diſpoſition to peace.

"Farther, to repreſent to his majeſty, that the ſituation of the country is in all reſpects pregnant with dangers unknown at any former period; our domeſtic diſtreſs is great, and

and is hourly increasing; the principles of our free constitution have been violated, and some of the most essential securities of our liberties destroyed; the connection with our sister kingdom is threatened with dissolution, and all the foundations of our importance and power in Europe are rendered precarious and uncertain. To extricate us from such difficulties requires much fortitude and wisdom; for these qualities we cannot look to his majesty's present advisers; under them we cannot hope for a successful prosecution of the war, still less for the conclusion of a secure and equitable peace.

"We therefore submit this our humble representation to his majesty, trusting that his majesty will see, as we do, the urgent and indispensable necessity of employing other persons, and of adopting other councils."

This copious motion was followed by a proportionably long debate, in which, the points contained in it having been so often discussed, there was a greater display of genius and eloquence on both sides of the house, than of new argument. On a division of the house, which took place at a very late hour, the duke's motion was rejected by 88 lords against 25. Against this rejection a protest was entered on the journals of the house, by the dukes of Bedford and Norfolk, the earls of Derby and Thanet, and the lords Holland and Ponsonby (the earl of Bessborough).

His majesty, on the twenty-ninth of June, after a gracious speech from the throne, to both houses, prorogued the parliament.

CHAP.

CHAP. XV.

The Influence of European Politics and Wars on the United States of North America.—Violent Decrees of the French Republic respecting the Americans.—Controversy on the Subject of these between the Parties concerned.—The American Minister at Paris refused a Public Audience, and dismissed.—Ministers Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary sent from the United States of America, for negociating a Treaty of Peace, Amity, and Commerce, with France.—Attempts towards Negociation.—Curious Proofs of the Corruption and Venality of the French Government.—Patriotism and manly Firmness and good Sense of the American Missionaries.—Result of the American Embassy.—Its Effects on the Councils of the United States.—Who make vigorous Preparations for defensive War, by Sea and Land.—Indifference of the French Nation to the Accusations or Reports of the Conduct of the Directory, particularly of the Minister of Foreign Relations in France.—General Corruption and Venality of the French Nation.—St. Domingo.—The Evacuation of that Island, by both the French and English.—Reduction, by the English, of the Island of Minorca.—And that of Goza.—Character and Conduct of the Negro Chief, Toussaint Louverture.—Hint to the European Settlers in the West-India Islands.

WHILE so many states and kingdoms, on the continent of Europe, lay crouching at the feet of the French republic, the United States of North America separated from this, like Great Britain, by the Ocean, which seemed, in the present extended contest, the only friend and guardian of the human race, despising equally its intrigues, menaces, and aggressions, firmly maintained the independency of their nation. It was a pleasing and consolitary spectacle to the world, to contemplate America, from which the revolution rebounded on France, checking the return of its over-bearing tide, standing up for the defence of property, and asserting the rights of men and of nations.

The French, through whose aid the Americans had effected their political separation from England, affected to regard them as their children, (an expression often in their mouths) connected with them, not so much by the formal treaty of 1778, as by ties of gratitude, and mutual endearments as well as interests. North-America, accordingly, appeared to the rulers of France, a theatre singularly adapted for the exercise of their influence and intrigues. It appeared, evidently, to the sound and sagacious part of the United States, that their new, self-denominated parents designed to take them entirely under their own management and direction. But their intrigues, and the

the insolence of their agents, seemed only to arouze the jealousy and indignation of the states, and to heighten and confirm a returning disposition towards a close connection with Britain; with which, as we have seen in 1796, they formed a commercial treaty, on principles mutually advantageous to both, and in some respects more particularly so to the latter party. At this treaty, the French were highly offended, and loudly complained of an infraction on the part of the Americans, of the treaty of 1778, and their returning and growing confidence and intimacy with England. While they violated equally conventional law, and that of moral obligation, they had broken through, they said, those ties, and dissolved those connections that would have secured their honour and independence as a nation.

On the third of July, 1796, the French government passed a decree, directing her privateers, and ships of war, to treat the vessels of neutral nations in the same manner in which those nations suffered themselves to be treated by the English. This decree was notified to the Americans, by the French minister at Philadelphia, on the twenty-seventh of October, in the same year. In consequence of this decree, numerous captures of American vessels were made by the cruizers of the French republic, and of some by those of Spain. A farther decree, on the subject of maritime affairs, was issued in January, 1798, "That all ships, having for their cargoes, in whole or in part, any English merchandize, should be held lawful prizes, whoever might be the proprietor of that merchandize; which should be held contraband from the single circumstance of its coming from England, or any of its foreign settlements." It was also enacted, that the harbours of France should be shut against all ships, except in cases of distress, that had so much as touched at any English port: and, to complete the climax of barbarity that neutral sailors, found on board English vessels, should be put to death. The execution of this last decree was prevented by a declaration on the part of Britain, threatening retaliation, as had also been threatened on the issuing of the order to grant no quarter to English or Hanoverians.* These laws were an attack on the independency and rights of all nations, but particularly those of America, connected so closely, by commercial intercourse, both with Britain and her colonies. A dispute arose on this subject, which was agitated in conferences, written statements, and publications of the press. The principal complaint of the French, against the Americans, was, that while they had made no advances towards a commercial treaty with France, and even treated the advances of France on that subject, at best, with great coolness, they had formed a treaty with England, whereby, in violation of the treaty of 1778, they had agreed to supply the French West-India islands with provisions and other articles, they had departed from the modern rule of contraband, made free by modern treaties; and

* In justice to the French army, it has already been observed, that even before the declaration of the duke of York, in consequence of that inhuman order, it had been abominated, both by officers and soldiers.

also

also made an arrangement, by which, though it professes not to have sacrificed the right, it has actually and avowedly sanctioned the doctrine and practice of England, in seizing provisions at pleasure, as contraband of war; and have likewise yielded the principle so important to America, that free ships shall make free goods. To this, the Americans replied, that if America had made important cessions to England, still France had no right to complain: as, by the treaty of 1778, it is expressly stipulated, "That neither of the parties shall grant any particular favours to other nations, in respect to commerce or navigation, which shall not immediately become common to the other party, who shall enjoy the same favour freely, if the concession is freely made, or on allowing the same compensation, if the concession was conditional." The French decree of 1796, they said, proceeded on the principle equally unjust and absurd, that if neutral states receive an injury from one party, which they are unable to repel, the other acquires a right to do it likewise. As the treaty respected the United States, it went much farther, and avowed another principle no less repugnant to every idea of justice and good faith. Britain possessed, by the law of nations, a right to take the goods of her enemies bound on board American ships. This right, it was farther urged, France relinquished expressly by her treaty with the United States: but because Britain continued to exercise it, notwithstanding the endeavours of the States to obtain her relinquishment of it, France declared by this decree, that she would exercise it also, in express violation of the treaty. The reason assigned for this conduct by her minister was, "That, since Britain continued to exercise this right, France could find only a real disadvantage in the articles of her treaty with the Americans, whereby she had resigned it:" thus expressly avowing the principle, that France had a right to refuse the performance of a solemn engagement, whenever she might think its operations disadvantageous to herself.

The American government, sincerely desirous of peace and commerce with all the world, sent an envoy to Paris, in the room of Mr. Munro, who, leaning more, as was thought, to the principles and views of the French than to the true interests of the American republic, was recalled, for the purpose of an amicable accommodation of all differences. That envoy, Mr. Pinckney, was neither able to obtain an audience, nor suffered to remain in Paris. Notwithstanding this repulse, the president of the American congress, Mr. J. Adams, anxious still to settle matters with France, by amicable negociation, sent envoys extraordinary, and ministers plenipotentiary to Paris, whither they arrived in the beginning of October, and communicated, by a letter to Talleyrand, now minister for foreign affairs, the object of their mission; which was, "To restore that harmony and good understanding, and that commercial and friendly intercourse, which, from the common cement of their political connection, until lately, had so happily subsisted." They received cards of hospitality, and were permitted to remain in Paris, but could not obtain an audience from the directory. They obtained, however, a secret audience from Talleyrand and his

agents, and clandeſtine communications enſued of as important and a more curious nature than any public and official negociation. It quickly appeared, that the object, which the directory had in view, in refuſing to receive Mr. Pinckney in a public, and permitting the late envoys to remain in a private capacity, was no other, than to lay the United States under a contribution, not only of a large ſum, to the French republic, under the name of a loan, but alſo of a ſum, as the agents of Talleyrand termed it, for the pocket of the directory. The public loan required would amount to one million three hundred and thirty-three pounds ſterling ſix ſhillings and eight pence; for which the French government would give ſixteen millions of Dutch reſcriptions at par, which the Dutch, after the peace, would certainly repay, with an intereſt of 5 per cent. The ſum demanded for the pocket of the directory was 50,000*l.* ſterling. This propoſal did not come directly from Talleyrand. His emiſſaries, one of whom was a lady, gave the envoys to underſtand, that theſe were the terms on which, and on which alone, they might obtain both an audience, and the object of it. But they let them know, at the ſame time, that the firſt propoſition of them muſt come from the miſſionaries themſelves. It would be neceſſary to uſe great delicacy and management to ſoothe the minds of the directory, irritated by certain expreſſions, in a ſpeech of the preſident's of the American congreſs, reflecting on the conduct of the directory, and not to offend their republican pride. Talleyrand himſelf, in one of the various interviews that were held between him and the American envoys, acknowledged the accuracy of what had been ſtated to them by his confidential friend, and that whatever he ſaid might always be relied on; but that he would reduce his propoſitions to writing; which he accordingly did, and after ſhewing them to Mr. Gerry, one of the commiſſioners, and ſuppoſed to be more favourably inclined than the other two, general Pinckney and Mr. Marſhall, to a connection with France, burnt the paper: the ſubſtance of which was as follows:

That the envoys ſhould come forward, and generally ſay, "France has been ſerviceable to the United States, and now they wiſh to be ſerviceable to France. Underſtanding that the French republic has ſixteen millions of Dutch reſcriptions to ſell, the United States will purchaſe them at par, and will give her farther aſſiſtance when in their power. The firſt arrangement being made, the French government will take meaſures for reimburſing the equitable demands of America, ariſing from prizes, and to give free navigation to their ſhips in future." The reaſonableneſs and utility of theſe terms were urged, in various converſations, both by the clandeſtine agents, and by Talleyrand himſelf, with much eagerneſs and importunity. One of the emiſſaries ſaid plainly, "Gentlemen, I will not diſguiſe from you, that the eſſential part of the treaty (propoſed to be renewed between France and America) is money: *Il faut de l'argent: il faut beaucoup de l'argent.*" "You muſt pay money: you muſt pay a great deal of money." In another converſation, another of Talleyrand's agents ſaid, "Gentlemen, you

you do not ſpeak to the point—It is money, it is expected that you will offer money." The envoys ſaid, they had ſpoken to that point very explicitly: they had given an anſwer. No, ſaid he, you have not. What is your anſwer? It is no! no! not a ſixpence. He again called their attention to the dangers which threatened their country, and aſked if it would not be prudent, though they might not make a loan to the nation, to intereſt an influential friend in their favour. They ought to conſider what men they had to treat with. They diſregarded the juſtice of the American claims, and all the reaſoning by which they might be ſupported. They diſregarded their own colonies, and conſidered themſelves, with regard to the United States, as perfectly invulnerable. An intereſt among them was to be acquired only by money. He proceeded to preſs this matter with vaſt perſeverance. He told them, that they had paid money to obtain peace with the Algerines, and the Indians. He ſtated that Hamburgh, and other ſtates of Europe, were obliged to buy a peace: and that it would be equally for their intereſt to do ſo. He aſked, if the American government did not know that nothing was to be obtained at Paris without money. The miſſionaries replied, that their government had not even ſuſpected ſuch a ſtate of things. He appeared ſurprized, and ſaid, there was not an American in Paris, who could not have given that information. There was infinite danger in a breach with France, whoſe power nothing could reſiſt. The envoys, with great dignity replied, "That it would be in vain for them to deny the power, or the ſolicitude they felt to avoid a conteſt with the republic. One object only was dearer to them than the friendſhip of France, namely, their national independence. America, they obſerved, had taken a neutral ſtation. To lend a ſum of money to a belligerent power, abounding in every thing requiſite for war but money, would be to relinquiſh their neutrality, and take part in the war. To lend that money, under the laſh and co-ercion of France, would be to relinquiſh the government of themſelves, and to ſubmit to a foreign government impoſed by force. That they would make, at leaſt, one manly ſtruggle before they thus ſurrendered their national independence. That their caſe was different from that of ſome of the minor nations of Europe. Theſe were unable to maintain their independence, and did not expect to do ſo. America was a great, and, ſo far as concerned ſelf-defenee, a powerful nation. She was able to maintain her independence, and muſt deſerve to loſe it, if ſhe permitted it to be wreſted from her." The public and private advance of money continued to be preſſed by the clandeſtine agents of Tallyrand, and repreſſed in various forms. The commiſſioners frankly ſtated, that as to a loan, they had no powers whatever to make one. One of the emiſſaries ſtated, that if they would pay, *by way of fees, juſt as they would to any lawyer or advocate who ſhould plead their cauſe*, the ſum of money demanded, for private uſe, they would be permitted to remain in Paris, as they now were, where they ſhould be received by Mr. Talleyrand, until one of their number could go to America, and conſult their government on the ſubject of the loan. Talleyrand himſelf, in a

converſation with the envoys, on the object of their miſſion, ſaid, "If indeed a loan was poſitively forbidden, the envoys might conſider themſelves as incapable of making one: but if, as he ſuppoſed to be the caſe, their inſtructions were only ſilent, it muſt be referred to them to act in a caſe not provided for, according to the beſt of their judgement, for the public good. That, in almoſt all the treaties made during the revolution, the negociators had exceeded their powers, although the government appointing them, was at no great diſtance." But, for a detailed account of this curious clandeſtine negociation, or rather attempt at negociation, the reader is referred to the American papers, in the Appendix. The envoys continued firmly of opinion, that they would not, under any form, make a loan that could be uſed during the war: they could not ſay what their government would do, if on the ſpot: but were perfectly clear, that without additional orders, they could not do what France requeſted. The reſult was, that two of the commiſſioners, general Pinckney and Mr. Marſhall, received their *congé*, and ſet out on their return to America, in order to receive the inſtructions of their government. Mr. Gerry, meanwhile, was permitted to remain at Paris; and his correſpondence with citizen Talleyrand and his confidential friends continued.

The report made by the returned miſſionaries, to the American government, excited the utmoſt indignation. The moſt ſolemn proteſts were taken, and declarations made, in favour and ſupport of the right of property, and the rights and independency of the American and other neutral nations.

The continued aggreſſions of the French had already, for ſome time, rouzed and determined the United States to put themſelves into a condition for defending themſelves againſt attacks, and repelling inſults. But, at the ſame time, great moderation had hitherto been ſhewn by congreſs: who, notwithſtanding the depredations committed on their trade, by the French, authorized their ſhips, for the preſent, to ſeize and bring in for condemnation armed veſſels only. But, after the return of the commiſſioners, liberty was granted by congreſs to fit out privateers for the purpoſe of making reprizals, prompt and vigorous meaſures were taken, not only for equipping as many veſſels of war as poſſible for the preſent, but for the gradual formation and eſtabliſhment of ſuch a marine as might command univerſal reſpect to the American flag in future, and no very diſtant times. The military eſtabliſhment was alſo increaſed, and the command of the army offered to, and accepted by, general Waſhington.

The publication of the correſpondence between citizen the late biſhop Talleyrand, and the American miniſters of peace, made a lively and deep impreſſion on all the nations of Europe. Not all their actual depredations in Germany, the Netherlands, Holland, Switzerland, and Italy: no, not their plunder of the papal territories, afforded to the minds of men ſo convincing a proof, that the French republic was governed not more by a thirſt of univerſal dominion, than by a rage for plunder, as even an

an attempt to ſubject the Americans to tribute, ſo well authenticated.

Had the French nation poſſeſſed the purity and ſimplicity of genuine republican manners, there is no nation on the face of the earth, where the publication of the clandeſtine and artful manœuvres of citizen Talleyrand would have occaſioned ſo much ſurprize and indignation as in France. The general indifference with which ſo public and heavy an accuſation, againſt the miniſter for foreign relations, was regarded by the French, proved that the univerſal corruption, which prevailed under the laſt ſtages of the monarchy, in which *nothing was indeed done without money*, was not leſſened by the revolution of government. The partizans of the new rulers of France, both in that and other countries, affected to ſuſpend their judgement of the matter, until farther accuſations, which were ſoon to take place, ſhould bring forth the defence of the *ci-devant* biſhop, againſt the Americans, with other charges. His defence, at laſt, made its appearance. And what was it? No other than a general aſſertion, attempted to be maintained by pitiful quirks and ſubterfuges, that the American charges, or rather reports, was "a deplorable monument of credulity and contradictions." He aſſerted that there was no intimacy between the female emiſſary, mentioned above, and who will be found to make an important figure in the tranſactions in queſtion, and himſelf: but that, on the other hand, an intimacy ſubſiſted between her and general Pinckney. But the grand ſtroke on which he reſted his vindication, and which, perhaps, was not altogether without its influence among ſome of the moſt hot-brained among his countrymen, was an addreſs to the paſſion, which was predominant among the greater part of the French nation, namely, a jealouſy of crowned heads, and an unalterable deſign on their parts to reſtore the monarchy. The credulity of the Engliſh, in the reigns of Charles II. and James II. in liſtening to every idle rumour of a popiſh plot, proves how eaſily men believe what they fear as well as what they hope. It was to this principle that Talleyrand appealed when he boldly affirmed, that the ſtatements of the American envoys, was "a provocation evidently ſuggeſted by the Engliſh government."

It was no wonder, that the Americans were jealous of the introduction of French principles and influence into the territories of the United States. From the commencement of the revolt in St. Domingo, emigrations had taken place from all parts of that iſland. Many had fled from ſcenes of horror, and from utter ruin to the neighbouring iſlands, particularly to Jamaica: and about ten thouſand, it was ſuppoſed, had taken refuge in America.

In our laſt volume we deduced the affairs of the Weſt-India iſlands, particularly of St. Domingo, the chief, and what was to the other iſlands a kind of continent, to June, 1797. Similar ſcenes to thoſe of which ſome account has already been given, and for a full, animated, and intereſting narrative of which the reader is referred to Mr. Edwards's Hiſtory of St. Domingo, were continued for a year beyond that period. Alternate defeats and triumphs terminated, on the whole, to the advantage of the natives; who,

who, beſides the immenſe and almoſt incalculable ſuperiority of their numbers, were aided by the powerful alliance of climate; the poſſeſſion, and a thorough knowledge of the country; and by gradual experience in arms. A handful of Britiſh ſoldiers were unable to do more than to exhibit many and brilliant examples of diſcipline and bravery. For, in theſe, too, the mulattoes and negroes made a rapid progreſs, and ſoon learned to baffle European tactics, and to defy all the wealth and other reſources of civilized nations.

The final reſult, in 1798, was, the complete evacuation of the iſland by the Britiſh troops, and ſuch of the French coloniſts as choſe to follow the fortune of his majeſty's arms. The evacuation took place in the month of May, on terms agreed on between the honourable brigadier-general Maitland, and general Touſſaint Louverture, commanding the French army, the principle of which was, that all the works, in poſſeſſion of the Engliſh, ſhould be left in a ſtate of perfect order, on condition that general Touſſaint would engage, in the moſt ſolemn and poſitive manner, to guarantee the lives and properties of all the inhabitants who might chooſe to remain. To this, Touſſaint agreed: and, it is ſaid, he has kept the convention with ſtrict fidelity.

About the ſame time, a black regiment, the Guadaloupe rangers, ſailed from St. Lucia, for the relief of St. Domingo; but, being informed of the event, at ſea, it bore way for Jamaica.

About the ſame time, too, general Knox and ſuite arrived at Martinique, bound, likewiſe, for the relief of St. Domingo. If theſe events had taken place before the evacuation, it is likely ſome meaſures would have been concerted for concentring our force and retaining ſome places which could have commanded the navigation to and from the iſland of Jamaica, and not have left it open to ſuch depredations. Perhaps, too, advantage might have been taken of a rupture which had by this time taken place between Touſſaint and Rigaud. General Knox's ſuite were well acquainted with the nature of the war, as well as with the character of the natives of St. Domingo. It may be mentioned here, that, as St. Domingo was evacuated by the Engliſh, without any farther efforts to retain their conqueſts there, ſo the iſland of Minorca was given up to a Britiſh force, under the command of the hon. general Charles Stuart, in November, without the loſs on his part of a ſingle man. The iſland of Goza alſo, near Malta, in the ſame month, ſurrendered, by capitulation, to a detachment of the Britiſh ſquadron, under the command of rear-admiral Nelſon. Towards the end of the year, the iſland was alſo evacuated by the French troops, under the command of Hedouville and Raymond, who, on the approach of Touſſaint Louverture, at the head of an immenſe army, to cape Francois, took the advantage of three French frigates, that lay in the harbour, to return to Europe.

It was at firſt apprehended, by the inhabitants, that Touſſaint intended to give up the Cape-town to pillage, and the other calamities incident to all places in ſuch an unfortunate ſituation; but the account

count given by that chief, of his poſt, and the principles which were to direct his future conduct, ſoon diſſipated their groundleſs fears.—To courage and ſkill in war he was found to unite virtues not leſs important even for the purpoſes of dominion: clemency, and a regard to the right of property and all manner of juſtice.

When Sainthoinax returned to France, and gave an account of his adminiſtration in St. Domingo, before the council of five hundred, he delivered an elaboarte oration, in favour of the liberty of the blacks, and the great bleſſings flowing to the iſland from that event. He pronounced a pompous panegyric on the national convention, whoſe vaſt conceptions had prepared the triumphs of public freedom, and the general emancipation of the univerſe. After recounting ſome events in his own adminiſtration, "Such (ſaid he), in a few words, are the happy effects of my miſſion. The Engliſh are repulſed, and kept in check, in the places which treaſon delivered to them. Their commerce is intercepted, or deſtroyed. The internal troubles and rebellion of the colony are ſuppreſſed. Culture is encouraged, commerce flouriſhes; towns, that were burned, are rebuilt; and the minds of all the citizens burn with a love of induſtry, order, and good government." Sainthoinax was acquitted, becauſe his judges were of his own party, and had ſent him on the miſſion to St. Domingo, to execute their own orders.

Touſſaint Louverture is a black man, a native of St. Domingo. He was born a ſlave. His maſter, a rich planter, carried him to France, when young, where he remained for ſome time. As he diſcovered early a good underſtanding, more attention was paid to his education than uſual. He returned to St. Domingo, where he ſtill continued a ſlave, till the troubles commenced. Amidſt the events of the revolution, Touſſaint diſcovered his talents, on many occaſions. At laſt he was choſen, by his brethren, commander of a black army, conſiſting of 100,000 men, accuſtomed to the climate, and, by this time, not a little inured to war. To the talents of a general and politician, Touſſaint joins more valuable qualities, moderation, gratitude, and humanity; of which, the following anecdotes are proofs.

Although he was really abſolute monarch of St. Domingo, yet he concluded the treaty with general Maitland, not as an independent chief, but in the name of the French republic: and, although he was under no controul, or ſuperior authority, he deſired to be conſidered a citizen of France, and only wiſhed to be recognized [appointed] by the directory, to the command which he had already obtained.

During the diſturbances, his maſter retired to the continent of America; and Touſſaint remitted to him, as often as poſſible, the produce of his eſtates. As theſe did not arrive regularly, his maſter returned to St. Domingo, and, at the evacuation, was about to accompany general Maitland to Jamaica, when Touſſaint ſent for him, and gave him all his property and negroes, and ſhewed him the affection of a child, as he had formerly received from him the care and attention of a real father.

When ſome of the coloniſts, who had joined the Engliſh, returned, availing

availing themſelves of the late ſtipulations in their favour, Touſſaint ordered them to be thrown into priſon. After ſome days, he deſired they ſhould be conducted into a church, where a conſiderable body of his black brethren were aſſembled on the occaſion. He mounted the pulpit, and began to addreſs them in a very pathetic and perſuaſive manner. He repreſented, to his brethren, the noble diſpoſition of forgiveneſs, to thoſe who repent. "We ourſelves, ſaid he to them, once were Spaniards, and fought againſt the republic: but we were deceived. We were born Frenchmen, and now we are Frenchmen again. All theſe men have, likewiſe, been deceived. They were born Frenchmen: during a moment, they were Engliſh: but they have returned among us, and are Frenchmen again: let us embrace them." Here Touſſaint embraced them, and reconciled them with his brethren. He reſtored their goods, and even gave them negroes to ſerve them.

Touſſaint, in the preſent ſtate of affairs, has too much underſtanding and liberality to hate or perſecute the whites; for, he knows too well that the iſland cannot flouriſh without them; that they are neceſſary for its culture, its commerce, its proſperity, and good government. For theſe reaſons, his great object is to recal the coloniſts, and revive agriculture and commerce.

The revolution, accompliſhed by Touſſaint Louverture, could not have been effected by a white man, with equal and even greater talents and virtues. From the lowlineſs of his extraction, he derived an advantage equal to any that had ever accompanied or flowed from the nobleſt birth; uniting under his ſtandard both the negroes and people of colour. From this fact, European ſettlers in the Weſt-India iſlands might draw, if not yet too late, an important leſſon. The mulattoes, equally related to whites and blacks, would, from pride, cling to the former, did they not ſpurn them equally from the rights of citizens, and the endearments of natural affection.

CHRONICLE.

JANUARY.

1ſt. THE court martial on captain Williamſon, of the Agincourt, for his conduct in the engagement off the coaſt of Holland, the 11th of October, which commenced the 4th of December laſt, cloſed this day, when the judge-advocate read the minutes of the ſentence, nearly as follows: "At a court martial, holden on board his majeſty's ſhip Circe, in the river Medway, and continued ſitting, by adjournment, from the 4th of December, 1797, to the 1ſt day of January, 1798, incluſive, in purſuance of an order, ſigned by the commiſſioners for executing the office of lord high admiral of England, and directed to the members who compoſed the court, to try captain John Williamſon, late of his majeſty's ſhip Agincourt, upon certain charges exhibited againſt him: The court, after hearing the evidence adduced on the part of the proſecutor, and the defence, together with all the evidence the priſoner choſe to bring forward; and, after having weighed the whole maturely and deliberately, are of opinion, that the charges of cowardice and diſaffection have not been proved againſt the ſaid captain Williamſon; that the other charges have been proved in part. Therefore the court pronounces the following ſentence: That the ſaid captain John Williamſon be put at the bottom of the liſt of poſt captains, and be rendered incapable of ever ſerving on board any of his majeſty's ſhips."

2d. The election of an alderman for the ward of Farringdon Without, finally terminated yeſterday in favour of Mr. Price, who, having a majority of 207 votes over Mr Waddington, was, of courſe, declared duly elected.

3d. A daring robbery was effected, about eight o'clock, by three villains, who, under pretence of delivering a letter at the houſe of Mrs. Taylor, in Norton-ſtreet, Portland-road, ruſhed in, bound her and the maid-ſervant back to back in the kitchen, rifled their pockets, took away the plate-cheſt, and ſeveral valuable articles of bed-furniture, window-curtains, &c. all together of the value of 300*l.* with which they got off undiſcovered.

4th. This day, paſſports were ſent off, by the commiſſioners for French priſoners, for a French agent to come to this country, to ſuperintend and have charge of the proviſioning the French priſoners. It is now agreed upon between the two countries, that the priſoners of each ſhall be maintained at the coſt of their reſpective countries, the markets of both being open to the agent

reſiding therein. The priſoners in both are likewiſe to be kept in two or three places of general rendezvous, in place of being ſcattered over the country, as heretofore. This country will ſave near half a million a year by this arrangement.

Count Rumford has made a donation to the royal ſociety of 1000*l.* in the 3 per cents. for the purpoſe of inſtituting a biennial prize-medal, to be diſpoſed of by the deciſion of the preſident and council of that ſociety.

6th. Yeſterday a common-hall was held at Guildhall, for the election of chamberlain, in the room of John Wilkes, eſq. lately deceaſed, for the remainder of the year. The lord-mayor, being confined to his room with the gout, appointed alderman Le Meſurier his *locum tenens*, who repreſented his lordſhip on the occaſion. Sir Watkin Lewes and Mr. alderman Clarke were the candidates for that lucrative and important office. After the gentlemen propoſed had addreſſed the livery, a ſhew of hands took place, which appearing decidedly in favour of alderman Clarke, a poll was demanded by ſir Watkin Lewes, which began at half paſt two o'clock, and ended at four, when the numbers were, for Mr. alderman Clarke, 558; ſir Watkin Lewes, 50. Sir Watkin, on the ſtate of the poll being made known, declined any farther conteſt; upon which alderman Clarke was declared duly elected.

10th. Robert Reeves, a ſtock-broker, was this day tried and convicted for forgery, at the Old Bailey ſeſſions.

13th. *Plymouth.* On the morning of the 11th, the Cerberus, of 32 guns, captain Drew, arrived in Cawſand-Bay, from Cork, having under her convoy the Reynard, of 20 guns, and Epervoir, of 16 guns, French privateers, which had been captured by her in November laſt: during the night of the 10th, and morning of the 11th, the wind blew from the ſouthward with great violence, attended by a very heavy ſea, and for the moſt part hard rain; this ſtate of the weather continued until about half paſt one o'clock, P. M. when the wind abated conſiderably, and veered a little to the weſtward of the ſouth. All the morning, till that time, the Reynard was in great danger of driving on the rocks in Fireſtone-Bay; but ſhe fortunately eſcaped, and is now ſafe in Hamoaze. As ſoon as the gale abated a little, captain Drew, of the Cerberus, Mr. James Drew, acting lieutenant of the ſame ſhip, and nephew to captain Drew; captain Pulling, late of the Penguin, of 18 guns, now on the Cork ſtation; Mr. Poore, and Mr. Daily, midſhipmen, captain Drew's coxſwaine, and a black ſervant, belonging to captain Pulling, together with a boat's crew of ſix ſailors, left Cawſand-Bay in the Cerberus's barge, and ſteered for Hamoaze, captain Drew having letters from admiral Kingſmill, at Cork, for the port admiral here: they made their paſſage very ſafely, though the ſea ran very hollow, until they came abreaſt of Redding Point, and at the opening of Hamoaze; but about two o'clock, P. M. as they were paſſing the bridge, a very narrow channel, ſituate between Mount Edgcumbe and St. Nicholas's Iſland, they found, notwithſtanding the wind had much abated, that the ſwell of the ſea was there very heavy, occaſioned by the then ſtrong ebb tide from

from the harbour running counter to the ſoutherly wind and ſea, the ground beneath being very rocky, and the water ſhoal. Although we may fairly preſume that the utmoſt care was taken by captain Drew to guard againſt accidents, he could not prevent the melancholy fate which awaited him and his companions; when they got abreaſt nearly off St. Nicholas's Iſland, a heavy ſea broke into the boat, which rendered her ſituation very dangerous: Captain Drew now became alarmed, and inſtantly pulled off his coat to be prepared for the worſt, at the ſame time adviſing all hands in the boat to conſider of the beſt means of ſaving their lives, in caſe any ſtill more imminent danger ſhould ariſe; his fears were ſoon realized, for the ſea, which firſt ſtruck the boat, was inſtantly followed by two others, by which ſhe foundered, and, dreadful to relate, every perſon on board her, except two of the ſailors, periſhed. Not being able to ſwim, each of them ſecured an oar, and on theſe they were driven to the rocks at Mount Edgcumbe, by which means their lives were providentially preſerved. Captain Drew was obſerved by theſe men, for ſome time, combating the waves, and endeavouring to reach the ſhore, but his ſtrength being exhauſted, he ſunk in their ſight: his coat has been ſince picked up, and the letters for the port-admiral found in the pockets of it. Captain Pulling had been lately promoted to the rank of poſt-captain, and took paſſage from Cork, in the Cerberus, to join his majeſty's ſhip Hindoſtan, of 54 guns, now fitting in this harbour for a ſtore-ſhip, to the command of which he was juſt appointed, by the lords of the admiralty. A ſhort time ſince, he married a daughter of admiral Kingſmill. Captain Drew was unmarried, but has many very near relations at Saltaſh, about four miles from the ſpot where the accident happened.

In the council-chamber of the hall, in the market-place, in Norwich, is erected the following device, a memorial of the glorious action of the 14th of February, 1797: an anchor, to the ring of which is ſuſpended a yard and ſail, ſuppoſed to be torn in action, on which is inſcribed, "The ſword of the Spaniſh admiral, Don Xavier Winthuyſen, who died of the wounds he received in an engagement with the Britiſh fleet, under the command of admiral earl St. Vincent, 14th of February, 1797, which ended in the moſt brilliant victory ever obtained by this country over the enemy at ſea; wherein the heroic valour and cool determined courage of rear-admiral ſir Horatio Nelſon, K. B. had ample ſcope for their diſplay: he being a native of Norfolk, honoured the city, by preſenting this ſword, ſurrendered to him in that action." From the flukes of the anchor the ſword is ſuſpended. Underneath is the coat of arms of ſir Horatio Nelſon, which was given to him by the king. The creſt is the ſtern of a man of war, and the ſupporters a ſailor bearing a Britiſh lion trampling on the Spaniſh colours. The motto, "Faith and works." The whole is neatly executed by Mr. Windham, of that city.

15th. John Perryn, eſq. of Broad-ſtreet, merchant, was elected alderman of Broad-ſtreet ward, in the room of Richard Clarke, eſq. reſigned.

21ſt. The following diſtreſſing circumſtance occurred at Bilſton, in

Staffordſhire: a butcher had been employed to kill a pig, at a houſe at that place; and, after having hung it up, he imprudently left his knife behind him, when a boy, about four years old, who had ſeen the pig killed, took the knife, and (ſhocking to relate) ſtabbed an infant, under the ear, as it lay aſleep in a cradle; alarmed at the blood which flowed from the wound, he immediately ran into the yard, to his mother, who was drawing water at a well; the ſight of the bloody knife, and the boy's cries, ſo terrified the poor woman, that the windlaſs ſlipped from her hands, and ſtruck the boy with ſuch force on the head, that it killed him on the ſpot! The diſtreſs of the mother, after loſing two children in this dreadful and ſudden manner, may be better conceived than deſcribed.

A young woman, of the name of Carver, houſe-maid to captain ſir Richard Pearſon, of Greenwich-hoſpital, proves to be the daughter of the late captain Carver, of great tranſatlantic celebrity, who acquired a vaſt tract of country in the back ſettlements of America: this the Indians have faithfully guarranteed, and preſerved for his legal repreſentative, who is, at length, indiſputably found in the fortunate young woman above-mentioned. The territory, in times of peace, is eſtimated at the value of 100,000*l.* ſterling.

The following particulars of the mutiny, on board the Britiſh frigate Hermione, are taken from the American papers:

When about three days out, from Cape Nicola Mole, on a cruize, part of the crew were engaged handing the mizen top-ſail; the captain ſpeaking ſharp to them, two of the men fell from the yards; when the others came down, they were reprimanded, in harſh terms, by the captain, and ſeveral of them threatened with puniſhment: this occaſioned much diſcontent, which continued until the next evening, when the mutiny broke out, by throwing double headed ſhot, &c. about the ſhip, and other diſorderly behaviour. The firſt lieutenant went down to inquire what they wanted, and was ſoon wounded in the arm with a tomahawk; he retired for ſome time, and, when he returned, was knocked down with a tomahawk, his throat cut, and thrown over-board. After which, the ſailors proceeded to the cabin, in ſearch of the captain, who had locked himſelf in, but was ſoon dragged out, after having wounded two or three, in defending himſelf, with his ſword, and experienced the fate of his unfortunate lieutenant; they afterwards ſeized upon and murdered every officer in the ſhip, except a maſter's mate and two midſhipmen.

They then directed their courſe to La Guira, where they arrived, under Spaniſh colours, and delivered the ſhip up to the Spaniſh government, giving out that they had turned their officers adrift in their jolly boat.

The mutiny was headed by William Farmer, maſter's mate. The captain, nine officers, and a lieutenant of marines, were murdered and thrown over-board. The following is a liſt of them: captain Pigot, lieutenants Spriggs, Douglas, and Fanſhaw; Mr. Percey, purſer; Dr. Sanſom; Manning, captain's clerk; Mr. Smith, midſhipman; Mr. Martin, boatſwain; and a lieutenant of marines. On the ſhip's arrival at La Guira, the governor gave each man twenty-five dollars.

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She was afterwards fitted out, and is now cruizing, and William Farmer is ſecond captain, with a number of her old crew, the greateſt part of which were Frenchmen; and they aſſign as cauſe for the mutiny, the great ſeverity of captain Pigot, who was conſtantly flogging the men. The lieutenant of marines, though ſick in his cabin, was taken out and thrown over-board; the other officers were cut to pieces.

22d. At the laſt quarter-ſeſſions, for the county of Surry, came on a proſecution againſt Iſaac Rawlinſon, a driver of one of the Greenwich ſtage-coaches, who, in driving a race with one of his brethren of the whip, drove with ſuch violence againſt one of the ſervants of her royal highneſs the princeſs of Wales, in the month of Auguſt laſt, whilſt he preceded her royal highneſs's carriage, as to throw him and his horſe down into a ditch, whereby he narrowly eſcaped with his life. Ingram, another coachman, ſubmitted himſelf, ſoon after the offence was committed, and ſome very reſpectable inhabitants, in the neighbourhood of Greenwich, having petitioned her royal highneſs in his behalf, his apology and ſubmiſſion were accepted. No ſuch apology having been made by Rawlinſon, a bill of indictment was preferred and found againſt him, at the laſt Michaelmas ſeſſions at Kingſton, upon which he was this day arraigned, when he moved, by his counſel, to plead guilty to the charge, and to ſubmit to a ſmall fine, upon the ground of his having alſo made a ſatisfactory apology and ſubmiſſion to their royal highneſſes the prince and princeſs of Wales. The court being fully ſatisfied that ſuch an apology had been made, and particularly that her royal highneſs the princeſs of Wales had been graciouſly pleaſed to forgive the priſoner for the offence he had committed; lord Grantley, the chairman, after commenting upon the enormity of the offence, and the amiable example of moderation and forgiveneſs he had met with, pronounced the ſentence of the court, which was, that he ſhould pay a fine of ſix ſhillings and eight pence, and give ſureties for his good behaviour for two years. His lordſhip, at the ſame time, aſſured the priſoner, that if it had not been for the gracious interferences of their royal highneſſes, he would have been ſent to the houſe of correction, and kept to hard labour for that time.

24th. The following is the detail of the proceedings, at the Crown and Anchor, on the anniverſary of Mr. Fox's birth-day: there were at leaſt two thouſand perſons preſent. The duke of Norfolk was in the chair; the duke of Bedford, earls Lauderdale and Oxford, Mr. Sheridan, Mr. Tierney, Mr. Erſkine, and Mr. Horne Tooke, were preſent; and all thoſe who have heretofore thought that Mr. Fox had not ſufficiently explained his ſentiments on the great ſubject of parliamentary reform. Captain Morris produced three new ſongs on the occaſion. Mr. Hovell, Mr. Robinſon, Mr. Dignum, and ſeveral other gentlemen, in the different rooms, ſung ſongs applicable to the *fête*. In the great room, after the dinner was removed, the duke of Norfolk addreſſed the company in nearly the following words:

"We are met, in a moment of moſt ſerious difficulty, to celebrate the birth of a man dear to the friends of freedom. I ſhall only re-

cal to your memory, that, not twenty years ago, the illuſtrious George Waſhington had not more than two thouſand men to rally round him when his country was attacked. America is now free. This day full two thouſand men are aſſembled in this place. I leave you to make the application. I propoſe to you the health of Charles Fox." The toaſt was drank with great fervour and enthuſiaſm. The noble duke then gave:

The rights of the people.

Conſtitutional redreſs of the wrongs of the people.

A ſpeedy and effectual reform in the repreſentation of the people in parliament.

The genuine principles of the Britiſh conſtitution.

The people of Ireland; and may they be ſpeedily reſtored to the bleſſings of law and liberty.

The chairman's health being drank with three times three, and unbounded applauſe, the noble duke returned thanks with great frankneſs, and then added, "gentlemen, give me leave to drink your health, and, before I ſit down, give me leave alſo to call on you to drink our ſovereign's health:

The majeſty of the people."

This was followed with rapturous applauſe. Mr. Tooke ſaid, he approved of the conduct of Mr. Fox, ever ſince that reſpectable character had declared himſelf the advocate for parliamentary reform. There all their differences were at an end.

The ſeditious and daring tendency of theſe toaſts have not paſſed unnoticed. In conſequence of them, the duke of Norfolk has been diſmiſſed from the lord-lieutenancy of the weſt riding of Yorkſhire, and his regiment in the militia.

30th. A moſt tremendous and deſtructive fire broke out, this evening, in the extenſive cotton-manufactory, belonging to Meſſrs. Wood and Brumell, ſituate on the weſt ſide of Engliſh-ſtreet, Carliſle; which, in the ſpace of three hours, conſumed the whole of the buildings and ſtock; a few bales of cotton, and ſome broken pieces of machinery, being the only articles which eſcaped its ravages. Amongſt other things to be deplored, in this great calamity, is, the circumſtance of more than two hundred people being thereby thrown out of employment.

FEBRUARY.

1ſt. *Bath.* A melancholy accident happened here a few days ſince. An elderly gentlewoman, returning from lady Huntingdon's chapel, being, as it is ſuppoſed, abſorbed in her reflections, walked over the precipice, which is at ſome diſtance in front of that building, and fell into a mud-pool below. Being diſcovered by ſome chairmen, ſhe was taken firſt to a ſurgeon's, and afterwards, her perſon being unknown, to the Caſualty-hoſpital. The cranium was ſo violently injured, that ſhe died next morning. It was, after ſome time, diſcovered, that this unfortunate ſufferer was no other than Miſs Mackworth, ſiſter of the late ſir Herbert Mackworth, bart.

3d. *Berlin.* The king has lately iſſued the following order reſpecting the [illegible]y:

"I learn, with much diſpleaſure, that officers of the army, particularly young gentlemen, affect to value themſelves on their privileges, which

which they imagine elevate them above civil life. I ſhall endeavour to maintain due reſpect for a ſoldier, in every thing that may relate to his eſſential advantage; that is to ſay, in every thing connected with the buſineſs of war, during which, it is his duty to defend his fellow-citizens, at the riſk of his life. But no ſoldier whatever, be his rank what it may, ſhall be permitted to ill-treat the people. It is they, and not I, who ſupport the army. The military are paid by them. The troops are merely entruſted to my command. Impriſonment, caſhiering, and death, are the puniſhments which await thoſe who ſhall be guilty of ſo criminal an exceſs.

Frederick William."

9th. The merchants, bankers, and traders, of the city of London, met in the ſquare at the Royal Exchange, where a huſtings was erected for their accommodation, for the purpoſe of promoting the voluntary ſubſcription for the defence of the country. The meeting was very numerous. Mr. Boſanquet, alderman Curtis, and ſome other gentlemen, addreſſed the meeting upon the ſubject of the preſent ſtate of the country, urging the neceſſity of oppoſing vigorous exertions to the inveterate hoſtility of an implacable foe, and of patriotically coming forward, with our aid, in ſupport of every thing dear to us as Britons and as freemen. The ſpeeches were received with univerſal applauſe; and, on the meeting being diſſolved, four books were opened, in which a great number of names were immediately ſubſcribed. Mr. Boyd annexed 3,000l. to his name, and the other contributions were proportionably liberal. Previous to meeting, the committee, who were appointed to conduct the buſineſs of the day, met at the Manſion-houſe, where upwards of 20,000l. were ſubſcribed.

10th. The court being opened, the priſoners who had been convicted at the Old Bailey this ſeſſions, were brought to the bar to receive ſentence, when the recorder paſſed that of death on William Graves, Charles Frewin, G. Bowers, and Thomas Hunter, for burglary; Hezekiah Swaine, for horſe ſtealing; and Peter Declerk, for uttering a bank-note, knowing it to be forged.

Thomas Radford, Thomas Williams, James Ayres, William Sibey, Francis Chevalier, Henry Griffith, Robert Young, William Watſon, James Lever, and Sarah Turner, were ſentenced to be tranſported for ſeven years; and James Archer, to be tranſported for fourteen years.

14th. This day came on, in the Court of Common Pleas, before chief-juſtice ſir J. Eyre, the cauſe of Simpſon *v.* Taylor eſq.—This was an action againſt Mr. Taylor, the proprietor of the Opera-houſe, for refuſing to admit into the pit of that theatre, Mrs. Maria Johnſon, of Jermyn-ſtreet, under the authority of a ſilver ticket, which had become the property of the plaintiff, and which he took upon him to let or lend to Mrs. Johnſon. The action was defended, not upon the ſcore of any objection to the ticket, or that the plaintiff had not a right to tranſfer it, but upon the ground that the perſon who preſented it for admiſſion was obviouſly and notoriouſly an exceptionable character, and improper to be admitted into the pit of that theatre. Mrs. Johnſon underwent a ſtrict croſs-exami-

nation, by Mr. ſerjeant Adair, on the part of the defendant. She admitted that ſhe had kept a large houſe in Jermyn-ſtreet for twenty years, and was in the habit of letting out the ſame to ladies, who were generally eſteemed *handſome*, and ſometimes to ſingle gentlemen alſo; but ſhe declined entering into any farther explanation, which might tend to criminate or diſgrace herſelf; and, upon an appeal to his lordſhip, he held her not bound to anſwer any queſtions tending to ſelf crimination. Mr. ſerjeant Adair then, in a very able ſpeech, applied to his lordſhip and the jury, whether the defendant was not perfectly juſtified, and even praiſeworthy, in refuſing the admiſſion of Mrs. Johnſon, and highly deſerving the thanks of the public for his conduct, in thus endeavouring to exclude improper company from the pit of the Opera, where perſons of the higheſt rank and faſhion uſually aſſembled. The chief-juſtice, in an eloquent addreſs, in which he paid ſome handſome compliments on the conduct of the defendant, declared it to be his opinion, that the action was not maintainable in point of law. His lordſhip ſaid, that although, from the beginning, he had felt the higheſt indignation at the action, he had waited patiently, during the whole of the evidence, in order to diſcover whether any thing would come out, upon which, in point of law, the plaintiff could have the ſmalleſt claim to a verdict: had that been the caſe, he ſhould have felt it his duty to have directed the jury accordingly, however indecorous the action itſelf might have been; but he was happy to find no legal grounds whatever to maintain ſo unwarrantable a caſe. The evidence had only proved a refuſal of admiſſion, upon the ground of perſonal objection to the bearer of the ticket, without the leaſt reſiſtance to the plaintiff's right or property. His lordſhip farther added, that, in all caſes of this ſort, a condition was neceſſarily annexed to the ticket; that the privilege which reſulted from it ſhould not be abuſed, by letting out, or delivering it over to perſons, who either, from their appearance in point of dreſs, or immoral notoriety, were improper to be admitted amongſt that part of the audience for whom the pit of this king's theatre was very properly reſerved. The jury immediately found a verdict for the defendant, with coſts of ſuit.

20th, *Peterſburgh*. The unfortunate Louis XVIII. is ſoon expected here, to take up his reſidence in a palace at ſome diſtance from hence, where he is to have an eſtabliſhment ſuitable to his rank, at the expence of the emperor. The Prince de Condé lives here in a ſtyle that does great honour to his benefactor; he found, on his arrival, a palace in the neighbourhood of the city, ſuperbly fitted up for his reception; pages in his uniform, and footmen in his livery; a ſtud of horſes, with ſix beautiful white Arabians for his own carriage; the whole of his eſtabliſhment, in every reſpect, being as nearly as poſſible ſimilar to what his own was at Chantilly. He was received with royal honours; a ſtate dinner and ball were given at court on the occaſion, and he has had a town reſidence fitted up for him on a much grander and more magnificent ſcale than Carlton-Houſe, with "Hotel de Condé," inſcribed over the gallery to the court-yard, in the French ſtyle. His whole army have entered into the Ruſſian

Ruſſian ſervice. Soon after his arrival, the public were entertained with the grand ſpectacle of the prince receiving, from the hands of the emperor, the Ruſſian colours in exchange for the French, on the parade before the palace. He is likewiſe created grand maſter of the order of Malta, eſtabliſhed in this country.

32d. In conſequence of the diſmiſſal of the duke of Norfolk from the command of the 1ſt regiment of the Weſt York militia, the major and officers agreed upon the following addreſs to the Prince of Wales, by a delegation from the regiment, compoſed of captain the earl of Scarborough, captain Wombwell, and captain Howard.

To his royal highneſs GEORGE PRINCE *of* WALES, *&c. &c. &c.*

"May it pleaſe your royal highneſs, We, your royal highneſs's moſt dutiful ſervants, the officers of his majeſty's 1ſt regiment of Weſt Yorkſhire militia, impelled by circumſtances we all feel and lament, have preſumed to approach your royal highneſs.

"Full of zeal for his majeſty's perſon, and the conſtitution of theſe realms; from ſentiments of perſonal gratitude, and attachment to your royal highneſs, and confiding in the great and amiable qualities of your royal highneſs, we moſt humbly implore you, ſir, to uſe ſuch meaſures as your royal highneſs may judge proper, to obtain the command of the corps, in which we have the honour to ſerve, and which, we truſt, in loyalty and diſcipline, is ſurpaſſed by no other in his majeſty's ſervice.

"Led on by a prince of diſtinguiſhed ability, and undoubted courage, our lives and fortunes will be willing ſacrifices to the ſafety and protection of our king and country.

(Signed) February 12, 1798.

Gamal. Milner, major.
Scarborough, captain.
J. Wombwell, captain.
Henry Howard, captain.
Edward Cartwright, capt.
John Ibbetſon, captain-lieut.
William Greaves, lieut. and adjutant, &c.

This very handſome and unexpected addreſs was immediately ſubmitted to the duke of Portland, for his majeſty's pleaſure; but the prince of Wales leaving town to join his regiment, at Dorcheſter, and being immediately afterwards occupied in repairing to the place off which the enemy was ſuppoſed to have appeared, had not an opportunity of receiving the delegates, and expreſſing his acknowledgements for this very flattering teſtimonial of perſonal attachment towards him: but his royal highneſs ſignified, in the politeſt and moſt gracious manner, that he would, upon his return to London, requeſt the favour of ſeeing thoſe gentlemen, and returning them his thanks in perſon; at the ſame time, his royal highneſs, from a number of inſuperable objections, (of which, indeed, he was rather aware on the firſt view of the caſe, from conſidering it as ſomewhat an unprecedented and delicate one) was obliged to decline the propoſition made to him by the 1ſt regiment of the Weſt York militia, and which his royal highneſs was thoroughly ſenſible had been actuated by a well meant zeal and ſenſe of duty and loyalty to his majeſty and the conſtitution, and a very kind partiality for the prince of Wales.

Lord Fitzwilliam, who was appointed lord-lieutenant of the Weſt-Riding of Yorkſhire, in the room of the

the duke of Norfolk, went down to Horsham-Barracks last week, to visit the 1st regiment of York militia, lately commanded by the duke of Norfolk. He there found no field-officer with the corps, the colonel being displaced, the lieutenant-colonel, sir Thomas Gascoigne, having resigned, and major Milner being absent on a court-martial. The captains waited upon his lordship, and informed him, that they had presented a memorial to the prince of Wales, requesting he would honour them by accepting the command of the regiment: that his royal highness's intentions on this subject had not yet been signified to them; but, should he decline to comply with their wishes, they were desirous to know, whether his lordship felt disposed to appoint himself to the colonelcy of the regiment? Lord Fitzwilliam stated, in reply, "that never having been accustomed to any line of military duty, he certainly must waive the idea of appointing himself." They then informed his lordship, through their spokesman, "that having been a corps, which had long lived in the most perfect amity, and never suffered any political disputes or discussions to interrupt its harmony or the public service, they trusted he would allow them to feel a particular interest in the gentleman who might be appointed to command them; they therefore took the liberty to recommend their late lieutenant-colonel, sir Thomas Gascoigne; but should any objection arise on account of his late resignation, they hoped they might be allowed to point out major Milner as an exemplary and meritorious officer, under whom they should be happy to serve." Lord Fitzwilliam said, he should soon decide on the gentleman proper, in his opinion, to command the regiment; and taking his leave, set off immediately for Milton-Abbey.

25th, Copy of a letter from Antigua. "Lieutenant Peterson, of his majesty's ship, Perdrix, has been lately shot, by lord Camelford. The circumstances of this new catastrophe in our annals of naval transactions are as follow: Lord Camelford has the rank of master and commander, and has the command of his majesty's sloop of war the Favourite. The Favourite and Perdrix were lying in English Harbour on Saturday, the 13th of January, at which time captain Fahie, of the Perdrix, was absent in St. Kitts. Mr. Peterson was first lieutenant of the Perdrix. Lord Camelford, as being commanding officer at that time in English Harbour, ordered lieutenant Peterson to row guard in the harbour for that night. This order lieutenant Peterson refused to obey, captain Fahie being lord Camelford's senior officer, and his lordship having therefore, in his opinion, no right to give the order. Both ships were hauled alongside the Dock-yard, repairing, and the companies of each ship collected round the party in the Dock-yard, where the altercation begun. Many words passed between the lieutenant and his lordship, but still Mr. Peterson refused to obey. About twelve of the crew of the Perdrix came to the spot armed, in a few minutes afterwards; and lord Camelford brought six of his marines to the place, armed also. Mr. Peterson now drew up his men in a line, and he stood at their head with his sword by his side; lord Camelford also drew

drew up his ſix men in a line fronting the Perdrix's people, and diſtant about four yards. His lordſhip then quitted the place for about two minutes, and returned with a piſtol in his hand, which he had borrowed of an officer of the yard. Mr. Peterſon was ſtanding at the head of his men, as before, with his ſword drawn, the point of it reſting on the ground; in this poſition lord Camelford went up to him with his piſtol in his hand, and ſaid, "Do you ſtill perſiſt in refuſing to obey my orders?" To which the lieutenant anſwered, "Yes, I do refuſe." On which lord Camelford immediately clapped the piſtol to his right breaſt, and fired. Mr. Peterſon fell on his back immediately, and never ſpoke a word more, or moved, as the ball went entirely through his body. His corpſe was then carried into the capſtan-houſe, where lord Camelford attended, and examined the body. The armed part of the crews of the two ſhips quietly went aboard their own ſhips; and lord Camelford gave himſelf up as a priſoner to captain Matſon, of the Beaver ſloop of war, in which ſhip he was carried up to the admiral in Fort Royal Bay, and there tried and acquitted. His lordſhip gave in a very admirably written defence, containing eighteen pages, very cloſely written. He is now returned to this place, and is again in command of his ſhip. Lieutenant Peterſon was a native of Nevis, of a very reſpectable family there, and quite a youth. Two of his brothers are now here, collecting evidence, for the purpoſe of ſeeing what can be done againſt lord Camelford in a civil court of juſtice. The coroner's inqueſt on Mr. Peterſon brought in their verdict—Loſt his life in a mutiny. When the people of St. John's firſt heard of this tranſaction, there was a party preparing themſelves to come to Engliſh Harbour, to kill lord Camelford, as this fatal affair had filled the minds of the lower ſort of people full of revenge againſt him; but, on being informed of the true ſtate of the caſe, they deſiſted from their hoſtile viſit. Lord Camelford appears to be a new character in his claſs. His perſon is not altogether unlike the late lord George Gordon, when he was of the ſame age; their whimiſm is ſomewhat ſimilar. Lord Camelford provides a table of plenty of good freſh meat every day for the men who are ſick in his ſhip. He is very ſevere in carrying on duty: ſeldom ties up a man but he gets ſix or ſeven dozen laſhes, which is a more ſevere puniſhment, in this country, than what is produced by giving the ſame number in a northern climate. Although his lordſhip is a maſter and commander, he does not ſet an expenſive example, by wearing extravagant clothes. He makes uſe of no ſwabs (gold ſhoulder knots), but ſtill appears in a lieutenant's uniform. His dreſs is, indeed, extremely remarkable: all the hair is ſhaved off his head, on which he wears a monſtrous large gold laced cocked hat, which, by its appearance, one would think, had ſeen ſervice with ſir Walter Raleigh. He is dreſſed in a lieutenant's plain coat, the buttons of which are as green with verdegreaſe as the ſhip's bottom; and with this all the reſt of his dreſs correſponds.

The following is the ſentence of a court-martial, aſſembled and held on board his majeſty's ſhip, Invincible, in Fort Royal Bay, Martinique, the 20th of January, 1798, and held by

the duke of Norfolk, went down to Horſham-Barracks laſt week, to viſit the 1ſt regiment of York militia, lately commanded by the duke of Norfolk. He there found no field-officer with the corps, the colonel being diſplaced, the lieutenant-colonel, ſir Thomas Gaſoigne, having reſigned, and major Milner being abſent on a court-martial. The captains waited upon his lordſhip, and informed him, that they had preſented a memorial to the prince of Wales, requeſting he would honour them by accepting the command of the regiment: that his royal highneſs's intentions on this ſubject had not yet been ſignified to them; but, ſhould he decline to comply with their wiſhes, they were deſirous to know, whether his lordſhip felt diſpoſed to appoint himſelf to the colonelcy of the regiment? Lord Fitzwilliam ſtated, in reply, "that never having been accuſtomed to any line of military duty, he certainly muſt waive the idea of appointing himſelf." They then informed his lordſhip, through their ſpokeſman, "that having been a corps, which had long lived in the moſt perfect amity, and never ſuffered any political diſputes or diſcuſſions to interrupt its harmony or the public ſervice, they truſted he would allow them to feel a particular intereſt in the gentleman who might be appointed to command them; they therefore took the liberty to recommend their late lieutenant-colonel, ſir Thomas Gaſcoigne; but ſhould any objection ariſe on account of his late reſignation, they hoped they might be allowed to point out major Milner as an exemplary and meritorious officer, under whom they ſhould be happy to ſerve." Lord Fitzwilliam ſaid, he ſhould ſoon decide on the gentleman proper, in his opinion, to command the regiment; and taking his leave, ſet off immediately for Milton-Abbey.

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drew up his ſix men in a line fronting the Perdrix's people, and diſtant about four yards. His lordſhip then quitted the place for about two minutes, and returned with a piſtol in his hand, which he had borrowed of an officer of the yard. Mr. Peterſon was ſtanding at the head of his men, as before, with his ſword drawn, the point of it reſting on the ground; in this poſition lord Camelford went up to him with his piſtol in his hand, and ſaid, "Do you ſtill perſiſt in refuſing to obey my orders?" To which the lieutenant anſwered, "Yes, I do refuſe." On which lord Camelford immediately clapped the piſtol to his right breaſt, and fired. Mr. Peterſon fell on his back immediately, and never ſpoke a word more, or moved, as the ball went entirely through his body. His corpſe was then carried into the capſtan-houſe, where lord Camelford attended, and examined the body. The armed part of the crews of the two ſhips quietly went aboard their own ſhips; and lord Camelford gave himſelf up as a priſoner to captain Matſon, of the Beaver ſloop of war, in which ſhip he was carried up to the admiral in Fort Royal Bay, and there tried and acquitted. His lordſhip gave in a very admirably written defence, containing eighteen pages, very cloſely written. He is now returned to this place, and is again in command of his ſhip. Lieutenant Peterſon was a native of Nevis, of a very reſpectable family there, and quite a youth. Two of his brothers are now here, collecting evidence, for the purpoſe of ſeeing what can be done againſt lord Camelford in a civil court of juſtice. The coroner's inqueſt on Mr. Peterſon brought in their verdict—Loſt his life in a mutiny. When the people of St. John's firſt heard of this tranſaction, there was a party preparing themſelves to come to Engliſh Harbour, to kill lord Camelford, as this fatal affair had filled the minds of the lower ſort of people full of revenge againſt him; but, on being informed of the true ſtate of the caſe, they deſiſted from their hoſtile viſit. Lord Camelford appears to be a new character in his claſs. His perſon is not altogether unlike the late lord George Gordon, when he was of the ſame age; their whimiſm is ſomewhat ſimilar. Lord Camelford provides a table of plenty of good freſh meat every day for the men who are ſick in his ſhip. He is very ſevere in carrying on duty: ſeldom ties up a man but he gets ſix or ſeven dozen laſhes, which is a more ſevere puniſhment, in this country, than what is produced by giving the ſame number in a northern climate. Although his lordſhip is a maſter and commander, he does not ſet an expenſive example, by wearing extravagant clothes. He makes uſe of no ſwabs (gold ſhoulder knots), but ſtill appears in a lieutenant's uniform. His dreſs is, indeed, extremely remarkable: all the hair is ſhaved off his head, on which he wears a monſtrous large gold laced cocked hat, which, by its appearance, one would think, had ſeen ſervice with ſir Walter Raleigh. He is dreſſed in a lieutenant's plain coat, the buttons of which are as green with verdegreaſe as the ſhip's bottom; and with this all the reſt of his dreſs correſponds."

The following is the ſentence of a court-martial, aſſembled and held on board his majeſty's ſhip, Invincible, in Fort Royal Bay, Martinique, the 20th of January, 1798, and held by

by adjournment every day afterwards (Sunday excepted) until the 25th. Preſent, William Cayley, eſq. captain of his majeſty's ſhip, Invincible, and ſenior captain of his majeſty's ſhips and veſſels in Fort Royal Bay, Martinique, preſident. Captains Jemmet Mainwaring, Richard Brown, Charles Ekins, and Alexander S. Borrowes. The court (being duly ſworn, according to act of parliament), in purſuance of an order from Henry Hervey, eſq. rear-admiral of the red, and commander-in-chief of his majeſty's ſhips and veſſels, employed and to be employed at Barbadoes and the Leeward Iſlands, and in the ſeas adjacent, proceeded to try the right honourable lord Camelford, acting commander of his majeſty's ſloop, Favourite, for the death of lieut. Charles Peterſon, of his majeſty's ſhip, Perdrix, on the evening of the 13th inſt. in the Naval Yard, at Antigua; and having heard the whole of the evidence adduced on the occaſion, and what the priſoner had to offer in his defence, and maturely and deliberately weighed and conſidered the ſame, and being fully ſenſible of the neceſſity of prompt meaſures, in caſes of mutiny, are unanimouſly of opinion, that the very extraordinary and manifeſt diſobedience of lieutenant Peterſon, both before and at the inſtant of his death, to the lawful orders of lord Camelford, the ſenior officer at Engliſh Harbour at that time, and the violent meaſures taken by lieutenant Peterſon, to reſiſt the ſame, by arming the Perdrix's ſhip company, were acts of mutiny highly injurious to the diſcipline of his majeſty's ſervice; the court do therefore unanimouſly adjudge, that the right honourable lord Camelford be honourably acquitted, and he is hereby unanimouſly and honourably acquitted accordingly.

Wm. Cayley,
Jem. Mainwaring,
C. Ekins,
Rich. Brown,
A. S. Burrowes.
J. H. Briggs, judge-advocate on the occaſion.

27th, A very dangerous mutiny lately broke out on board the fleet at the Cape, but was quelled by the ſpirited exertions of General Dundas, the admiral, and lord Macartney, aſſiſted by the military. All the batteries were manned, and upwards of a hundred pieces of cannon were loaded and pointed at the admiral's ſhip: the furnaces were heated, and red hot balls were ready to pour into and ſink the Tremendous, which was at anchor before the Amſterdam batteries, in caſe the mutineers ſhould refuſe to deliver up the delegates, with the ringleaders, and return to obedience. A proclamation was iſſued at ſeven A. M. and only two hours allowed for the mutineers to conſider whether they would return to their duty or not. When they found that it was poſitively determined to ſink the ſhip, in caſe of a refuſal, the ſignal of ſubmiſſion was hoiſted ten minutes before nine by the Tremendous, as well as all the other ſhips, and the delegates were given up. Several of them have ſince made their exit at the yard-arm, and every thing was quiet.

Died, 12th, at St. Peterſburgh, Ruſſia, of apoplexy, Staniſlaus Auguſtus Poniatofſki, late king of Poland, and great duke of Lithuania. He had for ſeveral days complained of a head-ach; but, in conſequence of the uſe of medicine, on the 11th, he

he found himself much better, and went to the window to observe the degree of cold indicated by the thermometer, when he felt himself suddenly seized with a violent pain in the head, and great feebleness and illness. His attending physician, privy-counsellor Bockler, and his chaplain Jurewicz, hastened to his assistance. He was conveyed to bed, and bleeding and blisters had recourse to, but in vain. He requested his chaplain to give him absolution, and wished to repeat with him the penitential prayers; but his speech soon failed him. His majesty then received the general absolution and extreme unction. About midnight he appeared much better; but, as the morning approached, grew continually weaker, till about eight in the morning, he breathed his last. He was born, Jan. 17, 1732; elected king of Poland, Sept. 7, 1764. He was the son of count P. colonel of the Swedish guards of Stanislaus king of Poland, a nobleman of uncommon merit, invincible courage, and perfect calmness and presence of mind, which enabled him to carry off Charles XII. when desperately wounded, from the battle of Pultaway, and to save him, a second time, at the battle of Rugen. His son inherited all his virtues, was about 5 feet 7 inches high, of a majestic aspect, a piercing eye, great courage, strong natural parts, improved by education, a retentive memory, master of several languages, and a lover of the arts and sciences. He was in England three months, in 1745; and, on his election to the crown of Poland, received a handsome letter from the king of Prussia. In 1766, he resisted with great firmness the representations of Russia and Prussia, enforced with arms, in favour of the protestants in Poland, but the dispute was settled, 1768. The Russians took part against the dissidents that year. The situation of the king was truly critical, being exposed alternately to the jealousy of the contending parties. Inclined to govern with justice and moderation, while he endeavoured to hold the balance between the contending parties, he lost his consequence. November 2, 1771, his majesty was carried off, by a party of the confederates, under Koczwiski, from Cracow to Willanow, but escaped by their divisions, and was preserved by their leader, encouraged by the hope of pardon and a reward. The king interceded for the regicides; but several were executed. The diet met, 1773. The Austrians invaded Poland in 1773; Polish Prussia was ceded to the king of Prussia; and the partition of Poland was resolved on. In 1785, a general confederacy was formed against the king, who entertained thoughts of abdicating the throne. In 1787, he had an interview with the empress of Russia, relative to an exchange of Polish Ukraine for part of Russian Poland. The Poles were exhorted, next year, to assert their independence. The diet met, October 6, and 8, that year; and the king proposed a confederation, which was acceded to, and the army reinforced to one hundred thousand men. Disputes running high in the subsequent diet, and the evacuation of Poland being insisted on, the king recommended conciliatory measures; but a civil war threatened the country. The king of Prussia appeared disposed to take them under his protection, in hopes of gaining by it; and the French ambassador

ambaſſador preſented a note to the diet. In May, 1791, a moſt important revolution took place, when the king planned a new conſtitution, founded on that of England, as improved in America, which the diet adopted; but it met with great oppoſition in the kingdom. The diet of 1793 made great ceſſions to Pruſſia, at the inſtigation of Ruſſia. A diet of 1794 annulled the proceedings of that of 1788, and the Poles and Ruſſians came to blows; and, at laſt, ſubverted the new conſtitution, inſtituted and ſanctioned by the king and diet, the king himſelf fighting in its defence. The Ruſſian arms finally prevailed; and the king formally laid down his crown, at Grodno, November 25. The act of renunciation was laid before him by prince Repnin, and the king ſigned it. The empreſs gave him leave to go where he pleaſed, and promiſed to do all in her power to make him a proper eſtabliſhment, but ſaid, ſhe muſt conſult her allies before ſhe came to a determination. If we believe M. Rulhiere, he was father of the preſent emperor of Ruſſia. "Staniſlaus," ſays Mr. Cox (Travels in Poland, vol. I, p. 17. 4to.), "ſeemed calculated, by his virtues and abilities, to raiſe Poland from its deplorable ſtate, if the defects of the conſtitution had not fettered his exertions for the public good. The faireſt hopes were conceived of his future reign; but theſe flattering prejudices, at firſt realized, were ſoon diſappointed by the factions of a turbulent people, fomented by the intrigues of the neighbouring powers. Thus the reign of the moſt amiable among the Poliſh ſovereigns was doomed to experience the dreadful effects of that exceſſive liberty which is almoſt inconſiſtent with the exiſtence of government. The firſt acts of his majeſty's reign were highly adapted to introduce order and regularity into the interior adminiſtration, and to reſcue his country from her dependence upon foreign powers. The tendency of theſe executive regulations, to increaſe the power and conſequence of Poland, gave umbrage to the adjacent ſtates, and were likewiſe vigorouſly oppoſed by a ſtrong party within the kingdom. At this criſis too, religious diſputes, blending themſelves with public cabals, the flame of civil diſcord burſt forth, with a violence which had not hitherto raged even in Poland." The diſſidents were ſupported by Ruſſia, Pruſſia, Denmark, and Great Britain; whoſe courts preſented memorials in their favour; and, when matters came to extremities, the former joined the confederacy, and even carried off and impriſoned the oppoſition biſhops five years. Confederacies were formed in defence of the catholic religion, fomented by Auſtria, Conſtantinople, and France. The conſpiracy againſt the king's life was contrived by the confederates, who ever conſidered him as unlawfully elected, and imputed to his fatal election and direction, or approbation, all the various ills under which the kingdom groaned, from the Ruſſian oppreſſion. The partition of Poland was projected by the king of Pruſſia, after having previouſly ſeized on Poliſh Pruſſia; and had not Poland, formerly more powerful than any of the ſurrounding ſtates, from the defects of its conſtitution, declined in the midſt of general improvements, it would not, after giving law to the North, have become ſo eaſy

eaſy a prey to every invader. The courts of London, Paris, Stockholm, and Copenhagen, remonſtrated againſt the uſurpations; but remonſtrances without aſſiſtance could be of no effect. Poland ſubmitted to the diſmemberment not without the moſt violent ſtruggles, and now, for the firſt time, felt and lamented the fatal effects of faction and diſcord. The partitioning powers did leſs injury to the republic, by diſmembering its faireſt provinces, than by perpetuating the principles of anarchy and confuſion, and eſtabliſhing, on a permanent footing, that exorbitant liberty which is the parent of faction, and has proved the decline of the republic. Under pretence of amending the conſtitution, they have confirmed all its defects, and taken effectual precautions to render this unhappy country incapable of emerging from its preſent deplorable ſtate." See Coxe, *ib.* 22—52. Mr. C. who had the honour of ſeveral familiar converſations with him, his majeſty being particularly attached to the Engliſh, as well as acquainted with their conſtitution and laws, and even with Shakſpeare; deſcribes him as handſome in his perſon, with an expreſſive countenance, a dark complexion, aquiline noiſe, and penetrating eye, uncommonly pleaſing in his addreſs and manners, and poſſeſſing great ſweetneſs of condeſcenſion, tempered with dignity. His portrait is there engraved. Mr. Burke, ſpeaking of the revolution effected through his endeavours, deſcribes its advantages thus: "Not one man incurred loſs, or ſuffered degradation; all, from the king to the day-labourer, were improved in their condition. Every thing was kept in its place and order, but in that place and order every thing was bettered; and, to add to this happy wonder, not one drop of blood was ſpilled!" "This revolution was effected with a policy, a diſcretion, an unanimity, and ſecrecy, ſuch as have never before been known on any occaſion; but, ſuch wonderful conduct was reſerved for this glorious conſpiracy, in favour of the true and genuine rights and intereſts of men. Happy people! if they know how to proceed as they have begun! Happy prince! worthy to begin with ſplendor, or to cloſe with glory, a race of patriots and of kings, and to leave

> 'A name, which every wind to heav'n would bear,
> Which men to tell, and angels joy to hear!'

See the hiſtory of this monarch very particularly detailed in a "Hiſtory of Poland, from its Origin as a Nation, to the Commencement of the Year 1795." Having died a depoſed monarch, no court-mourning has taken place for Staniſlaus Poniatoſki. Eſteem for his memory, however, will long be cheriſhed by every feeling and virtuous boſom. His manly and dignified conduct, upon every public occaſion, ranks him as a good and able prince, and his private virtues have ever been univerſally acknowledged and admired.

MARCH.

1ſt. This being St. David's day, the honourable ſociety of Antient Britons, attended by their preſident, lord Gwidir, went to St. James's church, preceded by the children of the Welch charity, where a ſermon

mon was preached by the biſhop of Briſtol, from the firſt Epiſtle General of Peter, c. ii. v. 27. The prayers were read in the ancient Britiſh language, by the Rev. T. Alban, chaplain to the ſociety. In the courſe of the ſervice, Te Deum Jubilate, and an anthem, were ſung by a ſociety of gentlemen belonging to Portland-chapel. The prince of Wales's annual donation of one hundred guineas was given, and the ſtewards made a liberal ſubſcription at the church.

2d. Yeſterday Arthur O'Connor, eſq. proprietor of a newſpaper, called The Preſs, printed in Dublin; John Binns, a celebrated member of the correſponding ſociety; W. Alley; J. Favey, alias colonel Morris, alias captain Jones, &c. and Patrick Leary, were brought to town, from Margate, in four poſt-chaiſes, and a poſt-coach, by Fugion and Reveit, two of the Bow-ſtreet officers, eſcorted by a party of light dragoons. In the evening they underwent a private examination before Mr. King, the under ſecretary of ſtate, and Mr. Ford; from which it appeared, that they had been taken into cuſtody, on ſuſpicion of holding a treaſonable correſpondence with the French government, and of having an intention to obtain a paſſage from Margate to the neareſt port in France, for which purpoſe they offered a fiſherman, at Margate, one hundred and fifty guineas, and to leave three hundred guineas more, as a ſecurity, in caſe the boat ſhould be taken by the French.—It was ſtated, that they went from London on Sunday laſt, by a Whitſtable hoy, but finding themſelves ſuſpected at that place, they hired a cart to carry their baggage, and accompanying it themſelves on foot, walked acroſs the country to Margate, where they arrived on Tueſday evening, and put up at a little public-houſe, called the King's Head, on the Sands, where Favey paſſed as colonel Morris, and the others as his ſervants; but their conduct being here alſo ſuſpected, and the fiſherman being fearful to embark with them for France that night, they were detained; and early the next morning the above-mentioned officers, who had heard of their route at Graveſend, came to the houſe, and, having four of the Light Dragoons to aſſiſt them, in caſe of need, took them into cuſtody, and ſecured all their baggage, which completely filled a poſt-chaiſe. It conſiſted of a number of ſmall trunks, boxes, and parcels, packed up extremely cloſe, and very heavy, ſuppoſed to be ready for the purpoſe of ſinking, in caſe of neceſſity. About ſixty guineas were found in the poſſeſſion of the priſoners, together with ſome fire-arms, cutlaſſes, and a quantity of baggage; and from Favey, alias colonel Morris, the officers took a very ſharp dirk, or dagger; on Binns was found a pair of loaded piſtols, and in the pocket of a coat, ſuppoſed to belong to Favey, a paper was found, purporting to be an Addreſs from a Secret Committee in Ireland to the Executive Directory of France, and which contained many treaſonable expreſſions; this, however, the priſoners diſclaimed any knowledge of, nor would they own any part of the baggage, except ſuch articles as they were ſure would not criminate them. The parcels were not opened laſt night, but ſeveral of them are ſuppoſed to contain great quantities of papers. The priſoners, all except Favey, declined ſaying any thing

thing in reply to the charge; and he merely ſaid, that he went to Margate for his health, from whence he intended to go, by a trading veſſel, to Ireland. They were all committed, for farther examination, to ſeparate priſons.

The Britiſh factory at St. Peterſburgh has tranſmitted a donation of 100*l.* for the uſe of the Royal Humane Society in London; and a ſimilar inſtitution has been lately eſtabliſhed there, for the preſervation of the lives of the inhabitants.

3d. Notwithſtanding the powerful intereſt which has been made for Mr. Viotti, the celebrated performer on the violin, an order was on Saturday ſent from the ſecretary of ſtate's office, for him to quit the kingdom. He accordingly ſet off yeſterday evening, for Yarmouth, under the care of a meſſenger, from whence he will embark, with Rode, his pupil, for the continent; before he left town, he advertiſed the following declaration:

"I have received an order, from government, to quit a country which is dear to me, and which I conſider as my own. I obey; but in declaring to the whole world, to all thoſe who are acquainted with my name, that I go without having to reproach myſelf with any thought, word, or deed; that I have never interfered in any political affair whatever; that, during the ſix years I have paſſed in England, I have never written a ſyllable that either directly, or indirectly, related to its political concerns, or to thoſe of any other country; that I have never held any converſation to which the ſmalleſt degree of blame could attach; and, in ſhort, that I have never frequented any coffee-houſe, any tavern, any club, or any ſuſpected ſociety.

"I have teſtified the above aſſertion on oath, and I call the Supreme Being to witneſs the truth of my declarations. I hope the many reſpectable perſons to whom I am well known, will anſwer, at any time, for the purity of my conduct; and my peaceful conſcience aſſures me, that I ſhall, in the end, be fully juſtified.

"J. B. Viotti."

7th. Mr. O'Connor, Mr. Binns, Mr. Favey, alias colonel Morris, and Mr. Allen, the four perſons accuſed of treaſon, were, between eight and nine o'clock, conveyed, under the care of his majeſty's meſſengers, Sylveſter, Maſon, Scott, and Fabiani, and ſeveral of the police-officers, to the Tower, where they were received by the four wardens, and a ſerjeant's guard, and placed in ſeparate apartments. Mr. O'Connor appeared much dejected, and ſcarcely ſpoke to any of the perſons who were conveying him to the ſtate priſon. His companions were in good ſpirits.

8th. *Dublin.* In conſequence of information received, that Mr. Arthur O'Connor, the ſworn proprietor and publiſher of The Preſs, had been ſeized at Margate, in the actual attempt of taking his paſſage for France, with Quigley, the prieſt of Dundalk, alderman Alexander, on Tueſday, having received proper information, upon oath, proceeded to ſeize the materials and papers of The Preſs; it became a matter of immediate and indiſpenſable neceſſity to prevent a fugitive from Ireland, accuſed of treaſonable libels here, and endeavouring to fly from England to France, from exciting, any longer, the people to inſur-

rection, whilſt it was incumbent on government to procure every proper evidence for corroborating and ſubſtantiating the proofs of his guilt. The ſuperintendent magiſtrate, in ſearching the place where the above-mentioned paper was printed (the houſe, No. 62, Abbey-ſtreet) ſeized a quantity of ſeditious papers in manuſcript, with ſome ball cartridges, which a woman was endeavouring to convey out of the houſe while this magiſtrate was doing his duty. Some of the workmen of the above newſpaper were taken into cuſtody, but afterwards diſcharged. Among the perſons in the houſe, where The Preſs was printed, were found lord Edward Fitzgerald, counſellor Sampſon, and Mr. Swift, ſen. whoſe puniſhment of impriſonment, in the New Gaol, for a libel againſt certain of the fellows of Trinity-College, ſome time ago, had been humanely remitted by government, and whom it was ſuppoſed then acted as director of that paper. None of theſe leaders were detained that night, having pledged themſelves to be forthcoming, in the morning, to anſwer any charge that might be alleged againſt them.

Sunday night a dreadful affray took place in Holborn between a large party of Iriſhmen, who were attending a funeral, in which ſeveral of them were ſo deſperately wounded, that three of them died yeſterday morning, and a fourth is not expected to ſurvive the bruiſes he received. The weapons, with which they fought, were ſticks, and the conteſt, we underſtand, aroſe from a diſpute relative to the corpſe, which was that of a female; the contending parties each inſiſting on having the ſuperintendance of its interment.

No parliamentary regulation is, for the preſent, to be had recourſe to for the better obſervance of the Sabbath; but the following declaration has been drawn up by ſeveral eminent and pious gentlemen, to which all deſcriptions of people are to be invited to ſubſcribe their names.

Form of the Declaration:

"We, whoſe names are hereunto ſubſcribed, being deeply ſenſible of the great importance of the religious obſervance of the Lord's Day, to the intereſts of Chriſtianity and civil ſociety, do declare, that we hold it highly improper, on that day, to give, or accept, invitations to entertainments, or aſſemblies, or (except in caſes of urgency, or for purpoſes of charity,) to travel, or to exerciſe our worldly occupations, or to employ our domeſtics, or dependants, in any thing interfering with their public or private religious duties. And, as example, and a public declaration of the principles of our own conduct, more peculiarly at this time, may tend to influence the conduct of others, we do hereby declare our reſolution to adhere, as far as may be practicable, to the due obſervance of the Lord's Day, according to the preceding declaration."

10th. A warrant having been iſſued, for the apprehenſion of Mr. Barrett, a wholeſale dealer, in the Mancheſter line, in Cheapſide, on a charge of having forged ſeveral bills on the houſe of Mr. Stanfield, in Watling-ſtreet, who is alſo in the Mancheſter line, he was examined at the Manſion-houſe, and ſome important diſcoveries were made, reſpecting ſome forgeries on the bank, in which Meſſrs. Adamſon, Wilkinſon, and Kavanna, are involved.

Mr. Stanfield

Mr. Stanfield attended his examination, and the bill was produced on which the profecution was brought, the amount of which was 54*l.* 1*s.* and which bore the indorſement of Mr. Barrett, from whom Mr. Stanfield ſwore he received it. The bill purported to be drawn at Briſtol, in America, by Andrew Moxam, on Richard Griffin, No. 24, Old 'Change, in favour of Samuel Roſs and ſon; proper inquiry had been made, but no ſuch perſon could be found. Mr. Stanfield farther depoſed, that he was the holder of two other bills which had been ſhewn to Mr. Barrett, who informed him they would not be honoured, as they were all fictitious names. He alſo gave information of a circumſtance which was acknowledged by the ſon of Mr. Barrett, that he drew ſeveral bills which were not filled up by any names. The priſoner was ordered to be again brought up on Tueſday. Two officers each took hold of an arm, till they arrived at the gate of the Compter, when the turnkey went forward to open it, and left the priſoner with his partner. Mr. Barrett availed himſelf of the moment, made a ſudden ſpring from under his arm, and effected his eſcape. The cry of ſtop thief reſounded from every quarter, but the priſoners voice was among the loudeſt. He directed his courſe down Walbrook, but ſuch a confuſion enſued, and no one laying hold of the right perſon, (though many were ſtopped) he got clear off. He is between fifty and ſixty years of age, and has always borne a reſpectable character in the neighbourhood. On ſearching his houſe, ſeveral letters were found, which had been received from houſes in different parts of the country, threatening him with immediate apprehenſion, if their bills were not taken up, as they had ſome ſuſpicions they were forgeries. This appeared from a bill-book which was alſo produced, and had the deſired effect, as it proved they had been paid. From the following circumſtances, there is ſome reaſon to ſuppoſe that Mr. Barrett, was taken into cuſtody after his eſcape from the officer in the Poultry, but ſoon liberated, on account of the officers being ignorant of that affair. Between ſeven and eight o'clock, on Tueſday evening, an elderly man, of very genteel appearance, ran into a public-houſe near the end of Gray's-inn lane, apparently much agitated, and endeavoured to conceal himſelf, from his purſuers, by hiding behind the parlour-door; but one of the Bow-ſtreet officers being in the houſe, and underſtanding from a man, who ſeemed moſt active in the purſuit, that a thief had taken refuge there, took him into cuſtody, and inquired what the charge was againſt him, this, however, no one could tell; the man who firſt accuſed him only ſaying that he heard the cry of ſtop thief, in Holborn; and, ſeeing the priſoner run, purſued him. The Bow-ſtreet officer, thinking the real accuſer might come forward, took him to the Police-Office, Hatton Garden, as being the neareſt place of juſtice, where it being ſaid that a robbery had been committed in Gray's-inn, the priſoner was detained till inquiry was made, which proving untrue, he was diſmiſſed, after being interrogated by the magiſtrate, as to his name, which he ſaid was Barrett, and that he was a man of reſpectability, though he did not account, in a ſatisfactory way, for the extraordinary ſituation in which he

was found. He had eight or nine guineas in his pocket, and a letter directed to France.—It is ſuppoſed that the alarm, occaſioned by his eſcape from the conſtable in the city, had, by ſome means, followed him to Holborn, though none could tell for what, and he, being the guilty party, of courſe endeavoured to eſcape.

13th. A hair-dreſſer, named Emanuel Guzman, of Newport, Monmouthſhire, eat and drank to ſuch exceſs, as to occaſion his death. A coroner's jury, after a long inveſtigation, found a verdict *felo de ſe*, and the remains of the glutton were, on Saturday, to have been buried in the public road, near to the place where he died.

The receipts ariſing from the performances at the King's Theatre, on Thurſday evening, in aid of the contributions for the defence of the country, amounted to between ſeven and eight hundred pounds.

Letters received from Bencoolen, Taponooly, and Padang, of the 5th and 7th of Mar , 1797, by the ſchooner, Providence, captain Weatherall, arrived at Calcutta, ſome days previous to the late fleet from thence, give the following relation of an earthquake that happened, on the weſt coaſt of Sumatra, on the 20th of February. The vibratory ſhocks of this earthquake are ſtated, on competent authority, to have continued for three minutes, and to have recurred, at intervals, during a ſpace of three hours, from its beginning, till the ſhocks had completely ceaſed. At Padang, the houſes of the inhabitants are almoſt totally deſtroyed, and the public works much damaged. The ſnow Padang, lying at anchor in the river, was thrown, by the ſudden riſe of the ſea, upwards of three miles in ſhore, where ſhe ſtill remains. The number of lives loſt, at Padang, on this melancholy occaſion, exceeded three hundred. Of theſe, ſome were cruſhed under the ruins of falling houſes, ſome were literally entombed alive, by the earth cloſing upon them, and others were drowned, by the ſudden irruption of the waters of the ocean. At Natal, the reſidence of a ſubordinate of Bencoolen, very conſiderable damage was ſuſtained, and ſeveral houſes thrown down, but no lives were loſt. It is, however, much to be feared, that, when the particulars are collected from the different quarters on the weſt coaſt, where the earthquake was felt, the ſum, both of lives and property deſtroyed, will be much greater than yet apprehended.

Dublin. A horrid murder was committed, on Sunday night: a party of thoſe barbarous inſurgents, who have been deluded, by wicked incendiaries, to think murder is no crime, aſſaſſinated a farming man in the the neighbourhood of Newcaſtle, in the county of Dublin. They mangled him in a moſt dreadful manner, it is ſaid, and cut up his body in four quarters, which they laid before his weeping children; a horrid ſpectacle of blood-thirſty atrocity and revenge. This unfortunate man, we hear, was to have been evidence againſt ſome inſurgents at Naas aſſizes, to prevent which he was butchered by thoſe murderers.

Laſt week, Miſs Ellin Mitchell, daughter of H. Mitchell, eſq. of Mitchelsfort, county of Cork, (who was confined to her bed by ſickneſs, at the time of the outrage) was forcibly dragged, and feloniouſly

ly carried away, from her farther's houſe, by a party of armed men, headed by Henry Spread, gentleman, and aided by his ſervant, Laurence Hegarty, who ſtruck and abuſed Miſs Mitchell, on her reſiſting, and alſo ſtruck and abuſed her mother, on her throwing herſelf into her arms for protection. The father of the young lady has offered a reward of 500*l.* for the apprehenſion of Henry Spread.

25th. Came on the annual election of preſident of the board of agriculture, when an oppoſition was ſtarted, againſt ſir John Sinclair, by the nomination of lord Somerville, one of the ſixteen Scotch peers. A ballot ſucceeded, and, at the cloſe, the numbers ſtood,

For lord Somerville - -	13
— ſir John Sinclair -	12
Majority in favour of lord Somerville	—1

whereupon his lordſhip was declared, by Arthur Young, eſq. the ſecretary, to be duly elected.

The total amount of the St. Jago, Spaniſh prize, was 555,000*l.* out of which admiral Gell and the other flag-officers ſhared 52,000*l.* each, the ſeveral captains 26,000*l.* and the ſubaltern officers in proportion: the law expences amounted to 28,000*l.* and 148,000*l.* were left, after all, in the agents hand, to defray any other contingent demands.

26th. About one o'clock, a dreadful fire broke out in an empty barn, belonging to Mr. Williams, oppoſite the four mile-ſtone on the Croydon-road, which raged with great violence, and, communicating to a ſtable and other out-buildings adjoining, ſet fire to a large granary, filled with corn, and an oat-rick; all of which were intirely conſumed.

There has been a conſiderable diſturbance at Mancheſter, among the cotton-ſpinners. Some miſunderſtanding between them and their maſters having taken place, reſpecting wages, the latter employed others, who agreed to work at a leſs price; when the men aſſembled, in a very riotous manner, and broke the windows of the manufactory. No farther ſerious conſequences, however, had occurred when the laſt accounts came away.

A newſpaper, intituled, The Eagle, printed at Hanover, in New Hampſhire, America, ſtates, that an extraordinary diſtemper had afflicted the geeſe of that vicinity, and had occaſioned conſiderable mortality. Some were ſeized with a delirium, during which they would fly at people, cattle, &c. and retain their hold until they were killed. Others would die with ſtupor. Some years previous, a ſimilar diſeaſe was productive of like effects.

28th. Early in the morning, the watchman, going his rounds, near Whitfield's Tabernacle, Tottenham-court-road, perceived a hackney-coach waiting near the gate of the burying-ground, and, concluding that ſome of the reſurrection-men were at work, gave notice to one of the patrole, who, going to the ſpot, ſaw three men in converſation with the coachman, who, at his approach, made off; he, however, ſecured the coachman, and, ſearching the coach, diſcovered the body of a male child, wrapped up in a cloath; he then went to examine the burying-ground, and, finding ſeveral graves open, nocked at the door of the ſexton's houſe, which adjoins the ground, but was a conſiderable time before he obtained any anſwer, which was, at laſt, given

by a woman, who informed him that the ſexton was gone to ſleep in Weſtminſter. At day-light, a farther ſearch took place, when eight more bodies (four women, three children, and one man) were found, tied up in ſacks, in a ditch, not far from the Tabernacle, and which had been interred the preceding evening. Yeſterday, the coachman, whoſe name is John Peake, was brought before N. Bond, eſq. at the public-office, Bow-ſtreet, when all the parties attended; and after thoſe claiming the dead had identified the reſpective bodies, the magiſtrate proceeded to examine the priſoner, who ſaid, in his defence, that, about three o'clock yeſterday morning, he was called off the ſtand, near the end of Hatton-ſtreet, Holborn, by three men, who ordered him to drive to Pitt-ſtreet, Tottenham-court-road, and, there getting out, deſired him to wait for them near the Tabernacle; that one of them continued by the coach the whole time; but denied ſeeing any thing put into his coach, or even that the doors were opened after the men firſt got out. The ſexton was alſo interrogated, but nothing could be collected from him, he having ſlept from home on Thurſday night.—The coachman was committed for farther examination.—One man claimed two bodies, his wife and child, who had been depoſited in the ſame grave the preceding evening; the child was the ſame that had been found in the coach.

30th. Between ſix and ſeven in the evening, as the boy was bringing the mail from Selby to York, he was ſtopped about half-way, between Selby and Riccall, by a ſtout-made man on foot, who took the bridle off the horſe's head, and robbed the boy of the mail.

George Jay was executed on Monday, for piracy, at Execution-dock, purſuant to his ſentence at the laſt Admiralty-ſeſſions held at the Old Bailey. This unfortunate man was upwards of ſixty years of age.

Dublin. Tueſday ſe'nnight, about eight o'clock, a gang of villains got into Mr. Doolan's houſe, of Baveen, between Birr and Roſcrea, in the King's county, juſt as he was at tea, his family were about him, and an infant child on his knee: the barbarous ruffians ordered him to lay down the child; which he having done, they blew out his brains. No diſcovery has yet been made of this inhuman deed, but it is ſuppoſed his ſervants were privy to it. He was a gentleman poſſeſſed of 1000*l.* a year.

The celebrated Didot, the French printer, with a German, named Herman, have announced a new diſcovery in printing, which they term *ſtereotype*.—The proceſs ſeems more nearly allied to engraving, as they ſpeak of its being done on ſolid plates *(des planches ſolides)*. The inventors dwell on its elegance, and it certainly has the merit of cheapneſs. The works of Virgil, making four hundred pages, and illuſtrated with a map and vignettes, is to be ſold in ſheets for fifteen ſous, or ſeven-pence halfpenny.

Saturday ſe'nnight the largeſt veſſel ever built at Southwick, near Sunderland, was launched in the preſence, it is ſuppoſed, of fifteen thouſand ſpectators. This beautiful ſhip is named the Lord Duncan. She was built in Mr. Havelock's yard, meaſures nine hundred and thirty tons, and is completely adapted for the Eaſt-India trade.

Henry

Henry Redhead Yorke, esq. was liberated from Dorchester-castle, after an imprisonment of four years. When the sheriff brought the intelligence, he exclaimed, in the language of Virgil;

Libertas, quæ, sera tamen, respexit inertem,
Respexit tamen, et longo post tempore venit.

He has paid a fine of 200*l.* and entered into sureties for 2,000*l.*

Nine French prisoners escaped from the castle of Edinburgh, by letting themselves down from the wall with a rope. Seven of them have since been taken, and again lodged in the castle.

This day Thomas Cadell, esq. was unanimously elected alderman of Walbrook-ward in the room of W. Gill, Esq.

31st. Thomas Raikes, esq. and Samuel Thornton, esq. were chosen governor and deputy-governor of the Bank of England for the year ensuing.

At the assizes for the county of Surrey, Daniel Smith, Simon Plunket, Abrah. Clark, and John Smith, were left for execution.

At the Chelmsford assizes thirteen convicts received sentence of death, nine of whom were left for execution; among these are two soldiers, Andrew M'Cabe and Robert Rutlidge, for a rape.

At Maidstone assizes, before judges Buller and Hotham, eighty-nine persons were tried, fifty of whom were acquitted and discharged. W. Jones, G. How, T. Faulkner, M. Stacey, B. Egan, and J. Savage, were capitally convicted, and ordered for execution. E. Pollet, likewise condemned, was reprived; Thomas Pigeon, boatswain, belonging to Greenwich-hospital, aged sixty-five, was tried for an attempt to commit a rape on Mary Welsh, nine years old, and was sentenced to twelve months imprisonment.

At the assizes at Hertford, John Nicholls, for cattle stealing; Richard Miller, for sheep stealing; and Richard Seare and Thomas Wood, for a burglary in the dwelling-house of John Baker, a hosier at Berkhampstead, received sentence of death; and Thomas Trott and William Torrell were ordered to be transported for seven years.—Six other prisoners were discharged.

At the assizes for Berkshire, John Williams, alias Timms; and John Davis, alias William Emmery, for robbing the honourable capt. Lindsay, and capt. Spottiswood, on the highway, near Hungerford, were capitally convicted, and left for execution. Benjamin Josey, and William Dell, for a highway robbery, and Ann Chaddick, for house-breaking, were also capitally convicted, but reprieved.

At the Northampton assizes, the following prisoners were capitally convicted, and received sentence of death, viz. Joseph Worrall, for horse-stealing; and Samuel Panter, for sheep-stealing. They were both reprieved before the judge left the town.

At the Salisbury assizes, Barnabas Brown, for highway robbery; John Palmer, for stealing a mare; George Quinton, and Abraham Wenman, for stealing goods in a house at Downton; received sentence of death.

At the same assizes, a man of the name of John Cassell, a brewer's servant, was tried, and convicted, for aiding and assisting some prisoners of war to escape out of Portchester-

cheſter-caſtle. It was proved that he had conveyed two French captains, incloſed in two caſks, out of the priſon on his dray, by which means they effected their eſcape out of the country. He was ordered to be impriſoned ſix months in the common gaol.

At Bury aſſizes, laſt week, one Haycroft, a noted publican, of Sudbury, obtained three verdicts, of 40*l.* each, for aſſaults againſt as many officers of the 44th regiment of foot, for tumultuouſly breaking open his houſe door to get into their quarters after ten o'clock at night; and alſo another verdict, to nearly the ſame amount, againſt his worſhip the mayor of that borough, for aiding, and abetting, them therein.

At Dorcheſter aſſizes, George Smith, and John Norris, for burglary, received ſentence of death. John Shave, Jeſſe Oram, and Edward Moore, for theſts, to be tranſported for ſeven years.

At the Worceſter aſſizes, five perſons received ſentence of death, for various burglaries and robberies.

At the Glouceſter aſſizes, five perſons received ſentence of death, and at thoſe of Norfolk four, for various robberies.

At the York aſſizes, which concluded laſt week, came on the trial of Peter Buck, a tanner, of reſpectable connections, at Ripley, indicted for robbing Richard Terry, of Rippon, on the thirtieth of Auguſt laſt, of 1,500*l.* in notes, and one hundred and ſixty guineas, as the ſaid Terry was returning from Knareſborough-market to Rippon, where he is a banker. The defence of the priſoner was briefly; "I am very ſorry, appearances may be againſt me, but I am not the perſon." Nine very reſpectable witneſſes, from the town and neighbourhood of Ripley, were called to the character of the priſoner; all had known him many years, ſome of them nearly twenty; they concurred in ſtating him to be a liberal, humane, and ſober man, of good connections, and hitherto of unimpeached reſpectability.—Guilty; but recommended to the clemency of the court, both by the jury and proſecutor.

At Devon aſſizes, Jonathan Hotwell, for ſtealing a mare; Mary Roberts, for ſtealing ſix tippets; and William Dennir, for ſheep ſtealing; were capitally convicted.—Hugh Carpenter, for ſtealing geeſe, to be tranſported.

Andrew Berns, aged twenty-one, and John Hill, only nineteen, ſuffered death, at Stafford, for a highway robbery. Their ſufferings were unhappily protracted by the falling of the ſcaffolding at the place of execution; both of the unhappy culprits were much hurt; one of them fainted; and it was a conſiderable time before he was ſufficiently recovered to undergo the ſentence of the law.

APRIL.

3d. The following circumſtances attended the loſs of his majeſty's ſhip the Pallas, of thirty-two guns, commanded by the honourable captain Curzon. This ſhip arrived in Plymouth-Sound on Tueſday morning, from a cruize off the coaſt of France. Soon after ſhe had anchored, a heavy gale of wind came on from the S. by W. attended with a moſt tremendous ſea, which continued, with increaſing violence, until about ſeven o'clock on Wed-

neſday

beſday morning, when ſhe parted from one of her anchors, and drove much nearer to the ſhore before her other anchors could bring her up. The yards and top-maſts were then ſtruck, and ſhe rode with an apparent degree of ſafety until half paſt eight, when ſhe again began to drive. The crew now cut away all her maſts, to prevent her holding ſo much wind; but, notwithſtanding all their exertions, ſhe did not bring up, though with three anchors a head, until the afterpart ſtruck on the rocks in the Bay, between Withy-Hedge and Mount-Batten-Point. The tide by this time was ſtrong ebb, and the ſhip remained with her head to the ſea, being kept in that ſituation by means of her cables and anchors until a quarter paſt three o'clock, the ſea making a free and tremendous break over her. Though now quite aground abaft, the ſea raiſed her forepart ſo much, that the cables parted, and the ſurf heaving her broadſide round, beat againſt her with ſo much fury, that ſhe was every minute completely hid from the view of the ſpectators. While ſhe lay in this ſituation, every hope of the crew being ſaved ſeemed at an end; but, providentially, from the circumſtance of her drawing leſs water forward than abaft, every ſucceeding ſurf forced her bow round nearer to the land, until ſhe got again nearly end on with her ſtern to the ſea. The hope of the ſhip holding together, and the proſpect of a chance that the crew might be able to ſave their lives, were now revived, eſpecially as the tide was ebbing very faſt. The ſhip being quite aground fore and aft, ſhe was thus made to heel towards the ſhore, and by the latter fortunate circumſtance the crew were ſheltered from the violent beat of the ſea, and expoſed only to the ſpray, which every minute formed a cloud over them. In this ſtate the ſhip lay till eleven o'clock, when the crew were out of danger, and by noon the tide had left her ſo as to enable the officers and men to get aſhore with ſafety. The gale abated about one, and the crew, with the people from the dock-yard, began to get out the ſtores, the greater part of which will be ſaved. A more melancholy ſcene, for at leaſt two hours, could not be witneſſed, as no other proſpect appeared, during that time, than the loſs of the whole crew, becauſe, in their then ſituation, no aſſiſtance could poſſibly be given them, either on the land or ſea ſide. On board the Pallas one man only loſt his life, and he was killed by the fall of the mainmaſt. The ſhip was reduced to ſuch a ſtate of wreck that ſhe could not be got off; and it was expected ſhe would fall to pieces the next flood tide. A boat belonging to the Canada, in attempting to go to the relief of the Pallas, was upſet, and Mr. Maſſey, acting lieutenant of the Canada, and three ſeamen, were unfortunately drowned.

Being Maunday-Thurſday, his majeſty's annual bounty of bread, meat, fiſh, cloth, and money, was diſtributed, in Whitehall-Chapel, by the rev. Dr. Vincent, ſub-almoner, and the attendants of the houſehold, to ſixty-one poor men, and the ſame number of women; who, according to the uſual cuſtom, after the ſervice, received a bag containing as many penny pieces as the king is years old. An anthem, ſuitable to the occaſion, was ſung by the gentlemen of the chapel royal, during the ſervice: and in the afternoon the

ſame

ſome perſons attended again to receive the cloth allotted.

A boat with a ſail, in attempting to paſs the middle arch of London-bridge, from unſkilful management, was overſet, and five out of eight paſſengers were unfortunately drowned.

The lottery cloſes this day. The laſt drawn blank being entitled to 20,000l. tickets could not be got laſt night at any price. The night before, they ſold for 120 guineas.

10th, *Vienna*. The maſs of the people voluntarily took up arms laſt year to defend the city and the palace of their monarch againſt the attack of the French army, then ſuppoſed to be in full march towards that city. On the evening of the laſt anniverſary of this day, which was celebrated with great ſolemnity, the tri-coloured flag was diſplayed in triumph, a little before ſun-ſet, at the balcony of the French ambaſſador's hotel. A report of this circumſtance being ſuddenly ſpread, produced murmurs of diſcontent among the people, and occaſioned their aſſembling in ſmall groupes in the different ſtreets. One of the chief commiſſioners of the police immediately waited upon the ambaſſador, and preſſed him in the moſt earneſt and ſolemn manner to order the flag to be removed, declaring that the people were ſo exaſperated, that it was impoſſible to anſwer for the conſequences, if it were ſuffered to remain. The ambaſſador received him with great haughtineſs, and, putting his hand upon his ſword, announced his determination to defend the flag, which was hoiſted in conſequence of orders from the directory, to the laſt extremity. The populace, in the mean time, were approaching in great crouds to the houſe of the ambaſſador. They demanded, by loud and repeated cries, that the flag ſhould be taken down, and at length proceeded to aſſail the houſe with ſtones, by which all the windows were ſoon deſtroyed. The loudeſt acclamations of loyalty and attachment to the emperor were heard on all ſides, accompanied with the ſtrongeſt expreſſions of execration and deteſtation of the French. A ſmall piquet of cavalry, with ſome infantry, ſoon arrived; but they were unable to overcome the violence of the people. A boy, aſſiſted by thoſe who were next to the hotel, mounted to the balcony, and pulled down the flag, which was inſtantly torn, and the ſtandard to which it was attached was burnt. The reſentment of the people, now put in motion, did not ſtop here. All the conſequences which were apprehended, immediately followed. They demoliſhed every thing that they found on the ground floor of the hotel. They laid hold of two of the ambaſſador's carriages, and dragged them, the one to a neighbouring ſquare, and the other to the court of the palace, and broke them to pieces. While they were thus employed, a conſiderable detachment of military arrived, and, availing themſelves of the abſence of the mob, occupied the entrances into the ſtreet in which the ambaſſador's houſe is ſituated, and prevented their return. Marſhal Kinſky, governor of the town, and another officer, waited upon the ambaſſador, and informed him, that he had nothing farther to apprehend. The gates of the town were ſhut during the night, to prevent the crowds being increaſed by the people, who were flocking in from all

all quarters of the ſuburbs. When they were opened in the morning, a piquet of cavalry was ſtationed at each gate. Early in the evening, M. Bernadotte wrote to baron Thugut, to inform him of the inſult offered to him, and to demand protection. M. de Degelmann was immediately diſpatched to him, with orders to expreſs the concern with which the Auſtrian government had learned the diſturbance that had taken place, and to aſſure him, that an adequate number of troops was already detached to protect him. In the beginning of the tumult, the ambaſſador invited the miniſters of the powers in alliance with France to viſit him at his houſe. The Spaniſh ambaſſador and Dutch miniſter, the former by his ſecretary, the latter in writing, expreſſed their concern that the ſtate of their health did not permit them to leave their rooms at ſo late an hour. On the following morning they both waited upon him, when he declared to them his determination to quit Vienna, and ſhortly afterwards, M. Godin, firſt ſecretary of the embaſſy, attended by an Auſtrian corporal, paſſed on foot through an immenſe crowd, bearing in his hand a letter for the emperor. When they arrived at the court of the palace, the people appeared to take offence at his national cockade and inſolent air, and the crowd began to preſs upon them on all ſides. The corporal then prevailed upon him to take refuge in the guard-houſe, where the commanding officer entreated him not to think of penetrating to the emperor, as the paſſages were crowded with people, and undertook himſelf to announce his buſineſs to the officers in waiting. One of theſe officers, having taken the emperor's commands, came down and received the letter, and carried it to his Imperial Majeſty. The contents of this letter were to require, as the conditions upon which general Bernadotte would conſent to ſtay at Vienna, 1ſt, The diſmiſſal of the miniſter Thugut.—2dly, The immediate and exemplary puniſhment of the chief of the police, and of the commanding officer of the military.—3dly, The eſtabliſhment of the privileged quarter in the city of Vienna, (already required and refuſed) for the French miſſion, and its compatriots.—4thly, That the emperor ſhould repair, at his own expence, the flag and flag-ſtaff, and the picture of the French arms. It is here proper to obſerve, that the arms of the French republic were over the door of the ambaſſador, and that the offenſive flag was put there in addition to them. It can hardly be neceſſary to ſay, that the whole of theſe demands were peremptorily refuſed. Upon which Bernadotte quitted Vienna, denouncing vengeance againſt the Auſtrians, and threatening to return and puniſh, upon the ſpot, the outrage upon the dignity of the great nation.

A ſmall party of gentlemen, from the city, compoſed of Meſſrs. John Melliſh (of the houſe of John Gore and Co. of Biſhopſgate-ſtreet) Mr. W. Boſanquet, of Biſhopſgate-ſtreet, and Mr. Peter Pole, of Manſfield-ſtreet, quitted town on Friday laſt for Windſor, with a view of taking a few days hunting with his majeſty's ſtag hounds: theſe gentlemen accompanied the hounds on Saturday. His majeſty, underſtanding they were from the city, directed that a deer of much ſpeed and bottom ſhould be turned out on

Tueſday

Tuesday, for their diversion, at Langley Broom; the deer was turned out about nine o'clock in the morning, and was taken at three in the afternoon, after a run of an unusual distance, between Chertsey and Staines. After the chace had ended, the gentlemen returned to the Castle, at Salt-hill, where Mr. Mellish had left his carriage, from which place the party set off for London immediately after dinner. Post horses were put to the carriage, and they were proceeding on their way to town; when, about half an hour past eight, and within a quarter of a mile of the Magpies, on Hounslow-heath, they were attacked by three footpads, who started out of a hedge, one of whom stood at the heads of the horses, while the others went to the side of the carriage, and, without any previous intimation, instantly fired a pistol, the contents of which passed through the window on the left hand side, through the frame of that on the opposite side; on the widows being put down, the assassins demanded the fire-arms in the chaise; they were informed by the gentlemen there were none; whereupon a second pistol was discharged into the carriage, and their money demanded. Mr. Mellish gave his watch, Mr. Pole, a note-case, containing some bank-notes, and Mr. Bosanquet gave them all the money he had in his pocket. None of them expressed a desire of resistance, but immediately surrendered their property. After the robbers had obtained their booty, and before the carriage was allowed to proceed, a third pistol was discharged from the right-hand side of the carriage, the contents of which entering the window in an oblique direction, and Mr. Mellish being seated in the corner of the carriage, unfortunately struck him in the forehead. Mr. Pole, who was seated in the opposite corner, received the gun-powder in his face and eyes, where it lodged, and for a short space of time deprived him of his sight: the person who fired this last pistol, after uttering a most horrid oath, directed the boy to drive on; they had not proceed many yards, when Mr. Bosanquet asked his companions if they had received any injury—to which Mr. Mellish replied, "that he feared he was hit on the head," and coming up to the light at the Magpies, his face and clothes were perceived to be covered with blood; the ball from the last pistol had entered his forehead about half an inch above the right eye; he was much exhausted from the loss of blood, and was carried up stairs at the Magpies, and laid on a bed. A messenger was dispatched instantly to Hounslow for assistance, and Mr. Frogley, an eminent apothecary and surgeon of that place, in proceeding thither, was stopped and robbed by the same gang. The seat of the wound was too complicated and difficult, perhaps, for Mr. Frogley's single interference, and he immediately dispatched a messenger to London, who brought down Messrs. Bizard, Jones, and Rush, by whose united aid, however, the situation of the bullet could not be discovered. He made his will, and expired in forty-eight hours.

An account of this melancholy affair was communicated to sir W. Addington and Mr. Ford, at an early hour on Wednesday morning, who instantly dispatched Townsend, Fugion, Carpmeal, in search of the robbers; and by the accounts given them,

them, they had great hopes of returning to town with the culprits: unfortunately, however, the darkness of the night prevented either the post-boy or the gentlemen in company with Mr. M. from giving an account sufficiently descriptive to enable them to identify the persons of the robbers, who have thereby, for the present, eluded the justice which awaits them. Mr. John Mellish was a married man, and has two children; he long resided in Albemarle-street, and is the brother of Mr. William Mellish, member for Great Grimsby.

11th, *Cork*. The hon. col. King, was this day arraigned and acquitted of the murder of col. Fitzgerald, (particularly related in our vol. for 1797, page 55) as was likewise John Hentney, a person connected with the earl of Kingston's family.—When col. King appeared in court, he was visibly agitated and embarrassed, and seemed to feel, with lively delicacy, the distressed situation in which he was this day placed. The court was considerably crowded. The fact of the murder was not brought home to either of the prisoners.

12th. *Dublin*. A man was seen staggering from the corner of Great George's Street South, just as the patrole guard passed across Dame-street to the corner of Temple-lane, where he fell, and shortly afterwards was found weltering in blood, and quite dead. It was some time before the unhappy man was identified; at length, however, he was recognized to be Mr. Terence Sheel, clerk in the employ of Messrs. M'Auley and Hughes, George's Quay. The body was examined by surgeon Hume on the spot, and it was found that the deceased had received a stab of some sharp instrument at the back, under the left shoulder, which passed to his heart, of which he died instantly. The body was afterwards brought to the parish watch-house, where a coroner's inquest was held, who found a verdict of wilful murder, against some persons unknown. Yesterday, in consequence of this alarming and melancholy occurrence, a meeting of the parishioners of St. Andrew was summoned, for the purpose of inquiring into the manner of the death of the deceased, and to take the best means of discovering the murderer, and bringing him to condign punishment. Several persons who were present reported many instances of violence which they saw offered by the officer or serjeant of the patrole-guard, which passed at the time the deceased received this mortal wound, but none could speak positively as to the regiment, or who was the officer; but a woman who was brought into the assembly by alderman Exshaw, who, he said, came to give evidence of the whole affair, at which she was present. A committee was then appointed to inquire into what evidence could be brought forward to elucidate the melancholy transaction, and report the same, who were instructed to prepare a memorial to his excellency the lord-lieutenant, or take such other measures as to them should seem most proper, to prevent the continuance of those outrages of the military, which had for some time disgraced and distracted the peace of this parish, and put the inhabitants in terror for their lives. At this period of the proceedings, Mr. Hughes, the employer of the deceased, came in, and reported to the meeting that he had just come from

lord

lord Fitzroy, the chief in command; who told him that the murderer was identified on the fulleſt proofs; that his name is J. J——, an officer in the Fermanagh militia; that he had been taken under arreſt, but eſcaped from the guard; that orders had been immediately iſſued to ſearch the packets, and prevent his eſcape that way; and that it was the determination of government to uſe every poſſible means to bring him to juſtice, which, if he was apprehended, ſhould be done in the moſt exemplary way. A ſubſcription was then opened, and a ſum of 400l. ſubſcribed in leſs than five minutes, for the purpoſes above-mentioned. The following garriſon-order was iſſued yeſterday evening, and we conſider it highly honourable to the commanding-officer, and to the army in general, that even the ſuſpicion of individual miſconduct has been ſo promptly and ſo ſolemnly treated: —Garriſon-orders, April 12, 1798. "A ſuſpicion of an inhuman murder having fallen upon the officer who commanded the Fermanagh patrole on Tueſday night, major-general lord Charles Fitzroy was induced to order him into cloſe arreſt till farther inquiry could be made. The officer had, however, abſconded before the order could have got to him, by which he has clearly proved the ſuſpicion againſt him was not ill-founded; and no ſtep will be left untried by the government of the country to bring him to juſtice, and to the puniſhment ſuch unſoldier-like behaviour deſerves. Though we lament the loſs of a fellow-creature, and feel ourſelves aſhamed of the conduct of a brother officer, let us hope that it may, in ſome degree, act as a caution to others, and lead us ſeriouſly to reflect upon our ſituation, and the duties of an officer. True bravery has no connection with wanton cruelty; and if youth is ſometimes an excuſe for ignorance of duty, it is none for barbarity."

Sunday evening, between ten and eleven o'clock, as Mr. Greenwood, ſtock-broker, his wife, and two ſons, were returning from London to Kentiſh-Town, in a hackney-coach, they were ſtopped by a ſingle highwayman, near the old workhouſe, the ſpot on which once ſtood the houſe of judge Jefferies, of notorious memory. The robber was enraged at the coachman for not immediately attending to his firſt call; he thruſt his piſtol into the coach, and exclaimed, "Your money inſtantly, or I'll blow your brains out." Mr. Greenwood gave him a few guineas. The ruffian ſaid, "D—n your eyes! there's more money amongſt you." Mr. Greenwood's ſon gave him all the had in his pocket; and he rode off full ſpeed towards London. Croker, and ſome other Bow-ſtreet officers, came up, ſhortly after the robbery; on the information being given, they returned in the ſame coach, but were not fortunate enough to meet with the highwayman.

On Tueſday night, about nine o'clock, Mr. Lavender, the principal clerk at Bow-ſtreet, attended by a party of peace-officers, went to ſerch a houſe, No. 19, Great Suffolk-ſtreet, Haymarket, againſt which an information had been laid for gaming, but which coſt them near an hour's ſiege before they could effect an entrance, two very ſtout doors, ſtrongly bolted and barred, obſtructing their way in the paſſage; which circumſtance gave all the gameſters, except one, an opportunity

opportunity of eſcaping, and the unfortunate diſciple of chance, getting over to the yard of an adjoining houſe, was diſcovered and ſecured. His companions made good their retreat, by a ſubterraneous paſſage, through a long range of cellars, communicating with each other, and terminating at a houſe in Hedge-lane, from whence their leader, having the keys of every door, conducted them ſafe into the ſtreet; ſo that they were out of danger long before the officers could have got in. A *Ronge et Noir* table, with its appendages, was brought away, and produced before the magiſtrate, who, judging that and the other circumſtances ſufficient evidence of its being a gaming-houſe, committed the porter for trial accordingly, and bound the other perſon over as a witneſs.

The honourable artillery-company, by an order from the ſecretary of ſtate, were under arms the whole of Saturday and laſt night, and patroled different parts of the New River, to guard againſt the miſchievous intentions of diſaffected perſons. A diviſion from the Tower Hamlets kept guard over the water of Hackney, and a party of the military were alſo ſet over the works at London Bridge. It is reported that the 21ſt of next month was the day appointed by the conſpirators to ſet fire to the principal towns in England.

Laſt night, at half paſt nine o'clock, a fire broke out at Mr. Hill's, upholſterer and cabinet-maker, oppoſite York-houſe, Piccadilly, which conſumed the whole of the premiſes and the back warehouſes adjoining; a party of horſe, and a ſerjeant's guard, attended to keep off the populace; the gates of York-houſe were thrown open, for the reception of the furniture of the unfortunate ſufferers, and every aſſiſtance was likewiſe given by the ſervants of the duke of Portland: at twelve o'clock it was ſo far got under that no farther apprehenſion was entertained of its extending to Jermyn-ſtreet.

Some experiments have been lately made in the neighbourhood of Briſtol, under the immediate inſpection of one of the members of the Bath agricultural ſociety, with reſpect to the culture of madder; the reſult of which is, that madder may be produced in large quantities in England, and ſold to the dyers at a cheaper rate than that imported, being of a quality equal to that grown in Zealand.

On the 12th inſt. a chimney took fire in the town of Tipperary, in Ireland, the ſparks from which were communicated by a ſtrong ſoutherly wind to a number of thatched houſes, and in a little more than an hour about 120 dwellings, and a number of ſtables and ſtores, in which were a vaſt quantity of malt and barley, were conſumed. Such was the rapidity and violence of the flames, that the inhabitants were ſcarce able to ſave any thing; their furniture, clothes, and proviſions, being deſtroyed in a very ſhort ſpace of time. Above ſeven hundred perſons, many of whom were induſtrious tradeſpeople, are thus, from a comfortable ſituation, reduced to the loweſt degree of human wretchedneſs.

Peter Perchard, eſq. was elected alderman of Candlewick-ward, in the room of Thomas Wright, eſq. deceaſed.

17th. *Cork.* The trial of John Haye and Timothy Hickey, for the murder

murder of colonel St. George and Jaſper Uniacke, eſq. came on, at our aſſizes, on Saturday morning. The firſt witneſs was the unfortunate Mrs. Uniacke; ſhe ſcarce was on the table when ſhe fainted, and became totally inſenſible; during her examination, ſhe repeatedly ſwooned away, in wading through the horrid detail of her huſband's murder, and her own ſufferings. She ſwore, that, on the night on which the banditti had attacked her huſband's houſe, ſhe was ſitting in her parlour, her boy with her, and a child at her breaſt; that her huſband had attended colonel St. George to his room, to ſee that he had a night-cap and every thing convenient for his reſt; that, whilſt they were talking above ſtairs, the door was puſhed in; that a man came, brandiſhing a piſtol, followed by many others; that, not finding the gentlemen in the parlour, they took the candle, and proceeded to the room; that they ſeized Mr. Uniacke, drew him down ſtairs, ſtunned him with ſeveral blows; that, when they brought him into the parlour, ſhe threw herſelf, with her infant-child, on his body, and intreated them to ſpare the beſt of fathers and of huſbands; that ſhe then received a ſtroke of a piſtol on the ſide of her head, which covered her with blood; that two wretches ſeized her huſband by the legs, whilſt four of them ſtabbed him in various parts; that, during this time, others of the party had been engaged with colonel St. George, and had dragged down his mangled body, and threw it upon her and her infant, as they lay ſtretched on the dead body of her beloved huſband; that ſhe crawled to her room with her child, and endeavoured to prevail on a terrified ſervant-maid to go down and look after her maſter, having brought herſelf to believe that he might ſtill be alive; that, having, with difficulty, ſucceeded with the maid, ſhe went down, and confirmed her in the death of her huſband and his friend. When Mr. Quin, the counſel for the crown, requeſted her to turn round, and ſee whether ſhe could identify thoſe perſons, a moſt afflicting ſcene of horror took place: Mrs. Uniacke had not ſeen the wretches ſince the time ſhe had identified them, and then but for a moment; a cold tremour inſtantly ſeized her, ſhe turned pale, and fainted; when recovered a little from her depreſſion, ſhe made repeated efforts to turn round; the fear of ſeeing them counteracted every effort—"Will they hurt me?" ſhe exclaimed; the court aſſured her not. It was the pure impulſe of nature; it ſpoke home to every heart. When ſhe was turned round, the ſtart of horror which ſhe gave was inconceivable; her look was wild—ſhe gazed at them for a moment; then, recovering a greater degree of apparent ſtrength and compoſure, ſhe ſtarted ſuddenly from the chair, and exclaimed, "O! then, I will point them out.—That is the man who murdered my dear huſband; this is the man who nearly murdered me." She ſunk into her chair, and moaned piteouſly: indeed the whole of her examination gave the attentive ſpectator an unequalled opportunity of tracing the operation of the two moſt powerful paſſions: grief and terror. Maſter Uniacke's evidence was not material. The priſoners attempted an *alibi*; ſuffice it to ſay, their ſtory was diſcredited by an honourable jury.

jury. The two were found guilty, and ſent off for execution to the place at which the murder was committed.

Patrick Haynes was, on Monday afternoon, capitally convicted of being concerned in the murder of colonel St. George and Jaſper Uniacke, eſq. and ſentenced to be hanged on Wedneſday.

19th. Robert Keeves, the ſtock-broker, who was tried and found guilty, laſt January ſeſſions, of forging ſcrip-receipts, but whoſe judgement had been reſpited, on account of a defect in the indictment, was again indicted, and tried for an offence preciſely ſimilar, with intent to defraud a Mr. Parry, and on which indictment he was now convicted.

21ſt. David Wilkinſon was indicted, at the Old Bailey, for forging and counterfeiting, and uttering, knowing the ſame to be forged, a certain bill of exchange for the ſum of 273*l.* 6*s.* purporting to have been accepted by Meſſrs. Favell, Bousfield, and Co. with intent to defraud the bank of England: the ſecond count laid the intention to defraud Meſſrs. Favell and Co. The priſoner, in his defence, entered into a very long detail of circumſtances reſpecting the bill in queſtion, the drift of a great part of which went to throw the blame upon Adamſon, a fellow-priſoner, indicted for a ſimilar offence. He dwelt on the practice, among commercial men, of drawing bills reciprocally in favour of each, for mutual accommodation, as it was a rule of the bank not to diſcount beyond a certain amount, for one individual; that he was perſuaded by Adamſon to act as he had done, &c. He urged, that he had made ample diſcovery upon his apprehenſion, and concluded by an appeal to the compaſſion of the court, ſaying that he had a wife and five children. Several witneſſes were brought forward, in the view to eſtabliſh the points aſſerted in the priſoner's defence; but in this, in the opinion of the court, they totally failed, the inclination of evidence ſeeming to be, if either way, rather to the advantage of Adamſon. Several reſpectable witneſſes gave the priſoner an excellent character. The jury retired for better than half an hour, when they pronounced a verdict of guilty—death. Mr. Wilkinſon is a reſpectable good-looking man, about forty. His deportment, during the whole of his trial, was ſuch as manifeſted the utmoſt fortitude. The queſtions put by him to the witneſſes were judicious. During the interval, when the jury were conſulting, he expreſſed no anxiety. He heard the verdict with firmneſs, and retired with apparent compoſure.

Joſeph Adamſon (above-mentioned) was charged with forging and uttering the ſame, knowing it to be forged, a certain bill of exchange for the ſum of 490*l.* purporting to have been accepted by Meſſrs. Bowles, Beachcroft, and Co. bankers, and drawn by Meſſrs. Stephenſon and Co. with intent to defraud the bank of England, and the ſaid Meſſrs. Beachcroft, and Co. &c. In his defence, the priſoner ſaid, that, he would not have troubled the court with one word, but have ſilently relied upon its ſtrict and merciful adminiſtration of juſtice, were it not that he underſtood that Wilkinſon endeavoured to impute to him the whole blame of tranſactions of which Wilkinſon himſelf was ſolely guilty. He ſolemnly declared that he acted in conſequences of the influence of Wilkinſon by

the whole affair. If he had done wrong, it was intirely through ignorance. Mr. juſtice Buller ſaid, he was inclined to think that there might be ſome truth in what the priſoner ſaid. It appeared, that, at the time he had entered into thoſe practices with Wilkinſon, he bore a very good character; but this did not weigh a feather in the queſtion which the jury had to determine. The caſe was ſo clear, beſides the offence being acknowledged by the priſoner, that he would not trouble them with repeating a word of the evidence; but the circumſtances of extenuation, although they could not influence a verdict, would nevertheleſs have due weight in that quarter which was the fountain of mercy, and might poſſibly obtain ſome remiſſion of his puniſhment. The jury found the priſoner guilty, but ſtrongly recommended him to mercy, which the court ſeemed to approve. Adamſon's conduct, on the trial, was the reverſe of Wilkinſon's: he appeared extremely ill and dejected.

The earl of Briſtol, who is biſhop of Derry, in Ireland, is ſtated, in the laſt Paris papers, to have been lately arreſted at Tedo, a poſt town between Ferrara and Bologna, on ſuſpicion of being a ſpy. The circumſtances attending his arreſt are thus related in a letter from Ferrara, dated the 2d inſt. "His lordſhip ſtopped at Tedo, on pretence of ſickneſs, where he became ſuſpected. Citizen Rouſſelet, commandant at Bologna, gave information to general Guieu, who ordered him to pay the biſhop a viſit, for the purpoſe of reconnoitring him. He accordingly went, attended by twelve chaſſeurs, and found in the apartments of his lordſhip two large portmanteaus, filled with various papers, reflections upon the French nation, its government and principal defenders; a correſpondence with emigrants; a plan of the campaign in Italy; an exact account of our forces in the Adriatic and the iſlands in the Levant: a plan of an invaſion of Mexico, by the emigrants; the reſtoration of the French monarchy; and a proclamation on this ſubject. This ſpy has been conducted to Ferrara, and is going to be tried by a council of war."

The ſubjects for the bachelors prizes at Cambridge this year are for the ſeniors, Utrum Troja unquam extiterit; for the middle bachelors, Utrum, gloriæ cupido plus, boni quam mali, hominibus attulerit. One prize of a former year not having been determined, there will be five prizes given this year, ſhould they be merited.

An experiment was tried on South-Sea Common, near Portſmouth, of a new invention for firing chain ſhot at the maſts of ſhips, which were repreſented by three poles ſtuck in the ground. The ſhot were fired from two guns, placed at the diſtance of thirteen feet aſunder, and diſcharged at the ſame inſtant, by means of a line fixed to the locks of both guns; the ſhot were linked together by a chain eighteen feet in length; ſo that, when the cannon were loaded, the *bate*, or ſurplus of the chain, remained ſuſpended. Another experiment was alſo tried for throwing a line on ſhore, by means of a ſhot fired from a gun on board a ſhip, ſuppoſed to be ſtranded, for the preſervation of the crew. They both anſwered the expectation of the inventor, who is a brazier, at Portſmouth, and are ſaid to be much approved of.

24th.

24th. *Rome.* The private library of the pope, rich in books of the fifteenth century, has been bought by a bookſeller, for 36,000 piaſtres. A conſiderable treaſure of gold and jewels is ſaid to have been found in it. The French commiſſary, Roeſſner, a Sileſian by birth, has bought the celebrated Raphael's tapeſtry for 30,000 piaſtres. Piraneſi, the former Swediſh miniſter here, has reſigned a penſion of 600 ſchudi, granted him by the king of Sweden. On the 29th, all the ex-nobility, who are entitled to wear the badges of any public order, will repair to the capital, and commit their *inſignia* to the flames.

26th. DIED. At Paris, after only ſix days illneſs, Mancini Nivernois, *ci-devant* duc de Nivernois; born December 16, 1716, and formerly ambaſſador to the court of Great Britain. He retained his pleaſant and amiable temper until his laſt hour, and, the very day he died, made verſes on his phyſician. He arrived in London, in September, 1763, as ambaſſador from France, to treat of peace; and, when he appeared on the Royal Exchange, was attended by an amazing crowd, which he took as a compliment. The firſt night of his arrival in England he ſlept at Canterbury, where his bill, for twelve perſons, amounted to near 45*l.* and the wine to 11*s.* a bottle; for which extortion the innkeeper was deſervedly reprobated by all his cuſtomers. His excellency, having executed his commiſſion, returned to Paris in May following, with his majeſty's picture ſet with diamonds. The duke was fond of literature; and, beſides collecting many valuable books in this country, tranſlated into French lord Orford's "Eſſay on Gardening," and wrote a panegyric on captain Cook. Theſe and his other miſcellaneous works (*Oeuvres Melées du Citoyen* Mancini Nivernois) were printed at Paris, in 1797, in 4 vol. 8vo.

Aged eighty-four, at his houſe, in the neighbourhood of Kentiſh-town, where he had reſided more than forty years, John Little, eſq. bachelor. The narrative of his life exemplifies the little utility of money, when in poſſeſſion of ſuch a man. A few days prior to his demiſe, the phyſician, who attended, obſerved how highly neceſſary it was that he ſhould occaſionally drink a glaſs of wine. After much perſuaſion, he was induced to comply; yet, by no means would entruſt even his houſe-keeper with the key of the cellar; but inſiſted on being carried down to the door, which, on being opened, he, in perſon, delivered out one bottle of wine; when, it is ſuppoſed, being removed from a warm bed into a dark humid vault, he was ſeized with a ſhivering fit, which terminated in an apoplectic ſtroke, and occaſioned his death. So great was his antipathy to the marriage-ſtate, that he diſcarded his brother, the only relative he had, for not continuing, like himſelf, in a ſtate of celibacy. On his effects being examined, it appeared, that he had 25,000*l.* in the different tontines, 11,000*l.* in the four per cents. and 2,000*l.* in landed property; one hundred and ſeventy-three pairs of breeches; and a numerous collection of other articles of wearing-apparel were found in a room which had not been opened for fourteen years; one hundred and eighty wigs were found in the coach-houſe, which had been bequeathed to him, with other things,

by different relations, whom he ſurvived, and to which the offending brother becomes entitled.

Of a decline, aged thirty-one, Mr. Jenkins, the bank-clerk, ſo remarkable for his height. He was buried, very early in the morning, by permiſſion of the governors of the bank, in the ground within-ſide that building, which was formerly the burial-ground of St. Chriſtopher's church. The outer coffin meaſured more than eight feet in length. Upwards of two hundred guineas had been offered for his corpſe by ſome ſurgeons.

MAY.

13th. Sir Sidney Smith arrived in town, having made his eſcape from his two years confinement in France. The following is the account he gives of his emancipation:

That he was taken in open day from the Temple, eſcorted by a troop of horſe; and, after paſſing through ſeveral larger ſtreets, the carriage in which he was conveyed, was ſtopped, by a crowd, in a very narrow one, where a great degree of confuſion prevailed, from an affray among a number of women; one of whom had thrown herſelf on the carriage from a two-pair of ſtairs windqw. During the tumult occaſioned by this accident, a man came out of the houſe from which the woman had thrown herſelf, and, opening the coach-door in which ſir S. Smith was ſeated, called on him to follow him; ſaying, that, he ſhould be ſoon out of all danger, as there was a poſt-chaiſe in waiting to convey him to the coaſt. Sir Sidney at firſt heſitated to accept the offer; but, perceiving the earneſtneſs and reſolution which accompanied it, he at length conſented. He then entered the poſt-chaiſe, which was in readineſs, agreeably to promiſe, ſet out upon his journey, and found horſes and drivers awaiting him at the different ſtages till he arrived at Havre.

Sir Sidney's perfect knowledge of the French language, and his unembarraſſed behaviour, ſecured them from ſuſpicion, and facilitated their eſcape. At length they reached the coaſt, which the emigrant was well acquainted with. In a ſmall creek, they found an open boat, with oars, into which they inſtantly jumped, and put to ſea, without loſs of time. After tugging and rowing till they were almoſt worn out, the Argo frigate, captain Bowen, hoved in ſight, to whom they made the beſt ſignals in their power, and, happily, they were taken up, and ſafely landed at Portſmouth; from which place they immediately ſet off for town. On their arrival at the admiralty, an expreſs was ſent off to earl Spencer, at Wimbledon, who came to town immediately. His lordſhip warmly congratulated ſir Sidney on his eſcape, and invited him to dine with him; previous to which, the enterprizing knight paid a viſit to the prince of Wales and the duke of York.

Sir Sidney Smith was in confinement upwards of two years. He was taken priſoner on Monday, the 18th of April, 1796, and effected his eſcape on or about the 1ſt inſtant.

On Sunday night, a moſt barbarous murder was committed, in Drury-lane, by ſome man unknown, on the body of — Watts, a journeyman-

man-tailor, who, it appears, was paſſing by the end of Princes-court, about twelve o'clock, when he was aſſaulted by a man, who ſtabbed him in three different parts of the body, and then, throwing away the weapon, which was a large dagger, ran down the court, where he was ſtopped by a young man, who heard the ſcuffle, but from whom the murderer eſcaped, by tearing away the part of his coat by which he was held. The dagger was picked up by a watchman. The deceaſed received two large wounds on the right breaſt, and one in the ſide, and which cauſed inſtant death.

Monday morning laſt, D. Anker, eſq. a gentleman connected in an eminent mercantile houſe, at Chriſtianſtadt, in Norway, put a period to his earthly exiſtence, at his lodgings, on the North-parade, Bath, by diſcharging a piſtol through his temple, while in bed. It was ſuppoſed this dreadful act originated from having loſt more money at play than was convenient immediately to ſettle; but we are happy to hear that idea was removed, by the money and effects found in his poſſeſſion. It is ſaid, that, ſince the death of a beloved wife (about two years and a half ago), he has been, at times, in a very uncertain ſtate of intellect. Coroner's verdict—lunacy.

18th. After an abſence of many years, Mr. Smith, laſt night, reſumed his favourite character of Charles, in the School for Scandal, for the benefit of his friend Mr. King. That eaſe, grace, and elegance of deportment, which ſo long diſtinguiſhed Mr. Smith in this character, and which have never ſince been ſupplied, not only gratified his old admirers, but furniſhed a treat which thoſe who had never before ſeen him had never experienced. At the cloſe of the piece, an apology was delivered by Mr. Smith, for his now attempting the character, but the applauſe of the audience, throughout the whole piece, rendered this unneceſſary

On Saturday, ten priſoners were tried at the Old Bailey, five of whom were convicted of felony, *viz.* Maria Jennings, for ſtealing four half-guineas, and two guineas, the property of Thomas Hopkins; Mary Allen, for ſtealing a water-pot, value two ſhillings, the property of John Hinde; Hannah Clarke, for ſtealing a ſheet and other articles, the property of Ann Dawſon; Elizabeth Abigail, for ſtealing a man's ſhirt, the property of Winifrid Maddiſon; Mary Cattle, for ſtealing a piece of beef, the property of Joſeph Fiſher: and five were acquitted, *viz.* Sarah Kirk, John Robinſon, John Wilde, Mary Purtin, and Joſeph Hutchins.

The ſame day, ſentence was paſſed, when Richard Phillips, Nicholas Vargin, and Sarah Holloway, received judgement of death. Thirteen were ordered to be tranſported, beyond the ſeas, for the term of ſeven years; ſix were ordered to be impriſoned in Newgate; nine were ordered to be impriſoned in the houſe of correction at Clerkenwell; four to be publicly whipped, four to be privately whipped, and one to be fined a ſhilling and diſcharged.

The deputy-lieutenants of the county of Northumberland lately held a meeting, and paſſed reſolutions, purporting "that it was expedient and proper, in the preſent critical times, that lords lieutenants ſhould reſide in the counties they repreſented; that if the lord-lieute-

nant of Northumberland could not take an active part, on account of his health, he ought to apply to the king to have the lieutenancy put in commiſſion." Theſe reſolutions were forwarded to the duke of Portland, and to his grace of Northumberland, who thereupon reſigned.

20th. Tueſday, admiral lord Duncan waited upon the chamberlain, at one o'clock, and was made free of the city, and received a ſword richly ornamented with diamonds, voted to him by the courts of aldermen and common-council, as a teſtimony of their ſenſe of the important ſervices he rendered to his country, by glorioufly defeating the Dutch fleet on the 11th of October, 1797.

The ſhip-owners of the borough of Campbeltown, in Argyleſhire, have given a moſt laudable proof of their public ſpirit, by a tender of all their veſſels, amounting to about 3000 tons, to government, to be employed in ſuch ſervices as the exigencies of the country may require.

As the hon. colonel Finch was, on Friday morning exerciſing ſome companies of the guards, on Barham-downs, preparatory to their being reviewed on the following day by ſir Charles Grey and prince William of Glouceſter, ſtanding in the centre of the line, giving the word of command, he was dangerouſly wounded in the leſt groin, a little below the hip bone, by ſome combuſtible matter fired from a muſket, and which could not be extracted. The troops were all firing, but by whom the wound was inflicted has not been diſcovered; from the direction, however, ſome perſon in captain Fitzroy's company is ſuſpected. The ball has ſince been extracted, and the colonel recovered of the wound.

Maidſtone, May 21. This morning, at ſeven, the judges met, purſuant to adjournment, to proceed to the trial of the priſoners indicted for high treaſon. The perſons ſummoned as jurors were called. The crown challenged 25, and the priſoners the full number allowed by law. Three hours and a half elapſed before the jury were choſen; and a conſiderable part of this time was taken up in challenging perſons *with cauſe*, and producing evidence to ſhew that they had uſed expreſſions of warmth againſt the priſoners. Some of theſe challenges were admitted, and others refuſed. Mr. Abbott opened the caſe on the part of the crown; and the attorney-general detailed the whole of the circumſtances, ſtating the tenor of the paper, purporting to be an addreſs to the directory of France, together with ſeveral letters of a treaſonable tendency. He entered into a minute hiſtory of the conduct of the priſoners, from Feb. 27, till the time of their apprehenſion, in order to ſhew their deſign was to get to France. On the next day, the court being met, Mr. Plomer, as leading council for Mr. O'Connor and O'Coigley, opened the defence in an able ſpeech, which took up four hours and a half in delivery. The examination of the witneſſes being ended, and Mr. juſtice Buller having delivered the charge; the jury, after a conſultation of forty minutes, returned the following verdict; James O'Coigley, guilty; Arthur O'Conner, not guilty; John Binns, not guilty; John Allen, not guilty; Jeremiah Leary, not guilty. After the jury had given in their virdict, Mr. juſtice Buller, in his addreſs to O'Coigley, which he read from a written paper previous to his

his paſſing ſentence, obſerved, that he had been clearly convicted of the moſt atrocious crime that could be committed in any country; that of meditating the deſtruction of a ſovereign, who was one of the beſt, the moſt juſt, upright, and amiable of princes that ever graced a throne; and he could not conceive what were the motives that could actuate any man to wiſh for the death of ſuch a perſon. The priſoner was alſo found guilty of conſpiring to overturn the conſtitution of theſe kingdoms; a conſtitution which, from the experience of years, had been found to be the beſt calculated of any that ever exiſted in the world, to ſecure the liberty, ſecurity, and happineſs of the people who lived under it. Theſe atrocious crimes became ſtill greater from the manner in which they had been intended to be perpetrated; that of inviting a foreign enemy to come and invade, and conquer theſe countries. Thoſe people, who had thought ſuch an event a deſireable one, ought to think ſeriouſly what the conſequences of it would be, provided it was poſſible to be accompliſhed. Did they ſuppoſe that (deſperate as their preſent ſituation might be) their condition would be bettered by having their country put into the poſſeſſion of people who were holding out the deluſive hopes of what they called liberty to other nations? Could ſuch perſons hope that they themſelves ſhould enjoy liberty, even ſuppoſing the conquerors to have enjoyed as free a conſtitution as any in the world? No! they would become ſuſpected, be deſpiſed, and ultimately deſtroyed by them. A celebrated writer (Monteſquieu) very juſtly obſerved, upon this ſubject, that a country conquered by a democratic nation always enjoyed leſs liberty, was more miſerable, and more enſlaved, than if that country happened to have been conquered by a nation whoſe government was monarchical. But, if there was any illuſtration of this obſervation wanting, one had only to look to the conduct of the French at this moment towards Holland, Italy, Switzerland, and every other country they had conquered. His lordſhip believed that the priſoner might have been actuated by motives ſimilar to thoſe which uſed formerly to induce many people to think that the killing of men of a different religion would give them a claim to canonization. But, though the motives might be ſimilar, the ſubjects connected with them were very different. In the preſent times, he did not believe that any perſon entertained ſuch ſentiments about religion. On the contrary, he was ſorry to find that religion was too much neglected, and that the peace and tranquillity of numbers of people were deſtroyed, in conſequence of having loſt all belief in a Providence, and abandoned all hopes of a future ſtate. He was afraid that the priſoner had been inflicted with this infidelity; and, if he was, he (the judge) prayed that the almighty God, in his infinite mercy and goodneſs, would change his heart, and cauſe him to repent of his ſins. His lordſhip then, in a ſolemn and awful manner, paſſed the ſentence on the priſoner, who had liſtened attentively to the above addreſs; and, after it was concluded, bowed reſpectfully to the court. He did not appear to be at all agitated, but, on the contrary, firm and ſerene.

23d. Soon after four o'clock, a fire broke out at the house of Mrs. Bull, in Gerrard-street, St. Anns, adjoining the Westminster general penny-post-office. The servant girl did not awake till it was too late to make her escape down the stairs; and, endeavouring to make her escape out of the two pair of stairs room, she fell into the street, and was so much hurt, that she expired in the course of yesterday. Mr. Crozer, a copper-plate engraver, who occupied the house adjoining Mrs. B. on the west side, on being alarmed, ran into his two pair of stairs room to save a very valuable plate; where, in a short time after he was found lifeless on the floor, suffocated by the smoak. Several experiments were tried in the course of the day, by some medical gentlemen, to restore life, but in vain.

The following article, which we translate from a foreign journal, records an instance of gratitude no less honourable to those by whom it was performed, than to the person who is the object of it:

"The undersigned artists, to the number of 343 French, Flemish, Savoyard, Roman, Neapolitan, Venetian, Tyrolese, Russian, German, English, Irish, Scots, &c. to citizen Haller, administrator of the finances of the army of Italy.

"Citizen administrator. Among the effects belonging to the English at Rome, upon which seals have been put, are different subjects of art, collected by the bishop of Derry, lord Bristol. The artists, who are at Rome, conceive that they may venture to represent that this generous Irishman, having for forty years spent the greatest part of his income in employing artists of all nations, may be considered as a valuable and useful character to the fine arts, which the French republic protects.

"The pictures and statues which he has purchased, during this period, form a collection of the most choice works of the first painters and sculptors of our time; *unique* in its kind, and worthy of being preserved entire. But a more direct motive, citizen administrator, ought to induce you to reinstate lord Bristol in the possession of these effects; and this is, that these articles are the works, by means of which a number of the first artists, many of whom are French and republicans, have been enabled to subsist during years of war little favourable to the fine arts.

"The important benefits which have been lavished upon the artists of all nations, indifferently, by a generous and impartial patron, induce them to present this petition, and the protection which the French government and the French armies bestow upon the fine arts encourages them to hope that it will be attended with effect."

It does not appear that this liberal and proper petition has been successful. The scandalous plunder in which the officers of rank indulged, when the army was under the command of Massina, may, however, be repaired by his successor general St. Cyr. Perhaps, then, this very fair and reasonable application may have its due weight.

As a sprit-sail vessel, laden with hay, was coming up the river, by some mismanagement, in not letting down the sail, she drove with great velocity against London-bridge. The mast struck the ballustrades over the centre arch, and broke them away to the space of near ten feet. Two men and a boy, who were

were ſtanding at the time looking through, were forced into the highway, and ſeveral of the ſtones fell on them. They were immediately taken to St. Thomas's Hoſpital. The boy having his thigh broken, and his ſkull fractured, died ſoon after; the others, it is thought, cannot recover.

25th. A board of privy council was held at St. James's. Mr. Falkener, as clerk of the council, laid the book, containing the liſt of privy councellors, before his majeſty, in obedience to his commands; when the king drew his pen acroſs the name of the right honourable Charles James Fox, and returned the book to Mr. Falkener.

It is difficult to imagine a fete more brilliant and more magnificent than that which was celebrated at Rome on the occaſion of their federation with France. The place of St. Peter repreſented a field of battle, and at the ſame time a ſuperb amphitheatre; above fifty pieces of cannon were mounted on their carriages, and thirty thouſand men, French and Romans, were drawn forth in array; three hundred inſtruments of muſic, and about ſix hundred vocal performers combined their talents in a concert of hymns and ſongs ſacred to liberty. There was erected on the bridge of St. Angelo an immenſe triumphal arch, under which general Dallmagne and all the French troops paſſed. The centre of the place was occupied by a groupe of ſtatues repreſenting France, Liberty, and Rome; before which was erected the altar, upon which they were to take the ſacred oath of liberty or death; the whole of this was placed upon a theatre, or ſtage, aſcending by ſteps, and it was ornamented with feſtoons and trophies. Juſt under the great obeliſk five trees of liberty were planted, of an extraordinary height, ornamented in an elegant manner, and towering their proud tops to the clouds, and on each ſide two fountains poured forth their waters in abundance. All the grand portico, three ſtories high, which ſurrounds the place, was ornamented with garlands, emblems and allegorical pictures, while above 200,000 ſpectators, Roman, French, and foreigners, aſſiſted in the ſpectacle. After the ſolemnity, in the grand place, there was a dinner of 700 covers, and a general illumination and fire-works concluded the day.

The meeting of the whig-club, at Freemaſon's Tavern, the 20th inſt. was remarkable, on account of Mr. Fox's avowal of ſome bold and extraordinary ſentiments; who ſaid, "I'll give you a toaſt, than which I think there cannot be a better, according to the principles of this club; I mean the ſovereignty of the people of Great Britain."

He then, in a ſpeech fully declaratory of his ſentiments in theſe critical times, condemned miniſters; in the moſt pointed manner, for the meaſures adopted in Ireland, and which meaſures they certainly intended ſhould ſoon be enforced in England. Mr. Fox, however, ſaid, that he would be one of the firſt to aid in repelling any foreign enemy, under whatever government England might be. He compared the miniſtry with the directory of France; affirmed that he was reſolved upon retirement; but that he would be happy to come forward whenever the country demanded his ſervices. He entertained no apprehenſions of an invaſion; and was fully perſuaded, that ſhould the enemy be raſh enough to land even with a formidable force, that

the ſpirit of the people would ſoon rout them, and deſtroy the invaders.

About twelve o'clock at noon, one of the battle powder-mills, belonging to Mr. Harvey, and a drying-houſe and ſtore-room nearly adjoining, were, by ſome unknown accidental communication of fire, blown up, with two tremendous exploſions, and totally deſtroyed. Three men, employed in the mill, were forced into the air with the works, and one of them, an elderly man, rent to atoms, different parts of his limbs having been picked up at conſiderable diſtances from each other; the other two fell, ſadly lacerated, into an adjacent piece of water, out of which they were both taken alive, but in no ſituation to give the leaſt account of the accident. They both died without apparent agony. By the above violent exploſions the houſe of Mr. Harvey was conſiderably damaged, and the inhabitants of the neighbourhood thrown into very great alarm. The trees near the ſpot were totally ſtripped of their infant foliage and bloſſoms, and a horrid ſcene of devaſtation preſented itſelf to the view of the beholder.

Yeſterday morning, about four o'clock, two boys were found dead on a brick-kiln, in the field adjoining the duke of Bedford's private road, where they had laid themſelves down to ſleep the preceding night. Two other boys, who alſo went to ſleep on the kiln, very narrowly eſcaped the ſame fate; being ſo extremely ill when diſcovered as to be obliged to be taken to the hoſpital.

The duke of Northumberland has given inſtructions to the bailiffs of his different manors to lay propoſals before his tenantry and their labourers for forming armed corps of infantry and cavalry, to be under the immediate command of his grace, who propoſes to furniſh clothing and horſe furniture at his own expence, and pay one ſhilling per day to thoſe who chooſe to accept it, for each time of exerciſe.

Dublin, May 21. On certain information, major Sirr, captain Ryan, and Mr. juſtice Swan, proceeded, on Saturday evening, to the houſe of one Murphy, a dealer in feathers, in Thomas-ſtreet, near St. James's gate. They were attended by a ſerjeant's guard only. Major Sirr waited behind to ſtation the guards, ſo as to cut off the poſſibility of the priſoner's retreat. Mr. Swan firſt went up, and coming to the apartment, entered. Lord Edward was in bed. Mr. Swan told him, that he was ſorry to be obliged to ſee him on ſuch an occaſion—that, however, he muſt do his duty as a magiſtrate, and that, on his ſubmitting, he would treat him with every poſſible indulgence. Lord Edward, then immediately turning in the bed, drew a piſtol, which he diſcharged without effect. At this time no one was in the room but lord Edward and Mr. Swan. His lordſhip, on finding his piſtol had not told, aſſailed Mr. Swan with a dagger, and ran him through the body, above the ſhoulder blade. At this inſtant, captain Ryan entered the room, when lord Edward diſengaged himſelf, and made at him with ſuch determined fury, that with one cut he opened his belly to ſuch a degree, that his bowels fell out. So little time paſſed, that major Sirr had no other alarm than the ſhot, and when he ruſhed up ſtairs, he found lord Edward and juſtice Swan ſtruggling for the dagger—both their hands cut. Captain Ryan

was

was in a dying condition—Mr. Swan was exhauſted with loſs of blood—and the deſperate young man making another effort, the major in his own defence fired on him, and wounded him in the ſhoulder. He was then eaſily overpowered, and conveyed to the Caſtle, where he underwent an examination, and from thence to Newgate. It appears that the unfortunate young nobleman, although proclaimed, had made a practice of going out at night in diſguiſe, and to ſleep during the day. He was traced by orders iſſued not many hours before to the ſocieties of united Iriſhmen. The weapon, with which lord Edward Fitzgerald did ſo much miſchief, is of a curious conſtruction. A more bloody inſtrument was never forged. In the middle is a handle, with a blade right and left, which cuts and thruſts—of courſe cuts whether drawn to the right or left. It is ſcarcely poſſible to diſarm a man of ſuch a weapon, without depriving him of life. Lord Edward, when brought to the Caſtle, affected the politeneſs of a courtier, and declared he was ſorry for what wounds he had inflicted When conveyed to Newgate, he appeared to be entirely diſpirited, his voice faultered, his complexion was deadly pale, and his eyes apparently fixed.

Murphy, the owner of the houſe lord Edward lodged in, was conveyed to Newgate, along with his lordſhip.

Daniel Frederick Ryan, eſq. died on Wedneſday the 23d.

Lord Edward Fitzgerald died on Tueſday, the 5th of June: The following is the verdict of the coroner's jury, ſummoned to hold an inqueſt on his body: "We are of opinion that the deceaſed came by his death by an effuſion of water in the left ſide of the thorax, and inflammation of the lungs of that ſide, occaſioned, as appeared to us upon the teſtimony of four eminent ſurgeons, by fever brought on by great anxiety of mind, aided by two wounds inflicted on the right arm by two piſtol balls found lodged over the ſcapula of that ſide."

The following manifeſto was to have been diſperſed through Ireland, which was found in the pocket of counſellor Sheares, who, with his brother (the ſons of a banker at Cork) are now in irons, and in whoſe hand-writing the manifeſto is drawn up.

"Friends and Countrymen,

"Repair to the flag of liberty that is now flying—many of your tyrants have already bled—many more will ſhortly bleed, by the decree of the revolutionary tribunal, which will immediately be eſtabliſhed. Seize this opportunity of reſcuing the country—it is the only one you will ever have."

In conſequence of ſome expreſſions made uſe of by Mr. Pitt, in the houſe of commons, on Friday laſt, Mr. Pitt, accompanied by Mr. Rider, and Mr. Tierney, accompanied by Mr. George Walpole, met at three o'clock, yeſterday afternoon, on Putney-heath.

After ſome ineffectual attempts, on the part of the ſeconds, to prevent farther proceedings, the parties took their ground at the diſtance of twelve paces. A caſe of piſtols was fired, at the ſame moment, without effect; a ſecond caſe was alſo fired in the ſame manner; Mr. Pitt firing his piſtol in the air, the ſeconds then jointly interfered, and inſiſted that the matter ſhould go no farther, it being their decided opinion, that ſufficient ſatisfaction had been given, and that the buſi-

neſs was ended with perfect honour to both parties.

24th. Yeſterday morning were executed, in the front of Newgate, purſuant to their ſentence, Peter Deklerck, a Dutch ſkipper, convicted of iſſuing a forged note of the bank of England; and Thomas Hunter, alias Kavanna, convicted of a burglary in the houſe of the Miſs Eliotts, in Queen Anne-ſtreet, Eaſt. No execution has taken place, for years, that has more powerfully intereſted the feelings of the public, than that of the unfortunate ſtranger, the Dutch captain; whoſe deportment ſtrengthened and confirmed the high character for integrity which he obtained from all who knew him. He declared his innocence of the crime to the laſt moment, and the unaffected firmneſs with which he met his fate, impreſſed every hearer with the truth of his ſolemn declaration. Being a Roman Catholic, he was attended by the reverend Charles Juliaens, a reſpectable German chaplain, and one of the chaplains of the Sardinian ambaſſador, whoſe attentions and conſolations he received with pious gratitude. This ſimple-hearted man could not ſpeak Engliſh, and he could neither read nor write: he received the bank note, for which he ſuffered, together with one more, at Dunkirk, with which he was commiſſioned to buy goods; he ſhewed them to his factor, to learn whether they were good; and receiving his aſſurance that they were, he went to a ſhop to buy boots, and waited an hour and a half, until inquiry was made whether the note, which he offered, was good. Theſe things were all forcibly ſtated at the ſecretary of ſtate's office, by ſeveral gentlemen of the firſt character in the city; but there having been ſome contradictions in his defence on the trial, and the directors of the bank not having interpoſed, the duke of Portland did not think himſelf juſtified to lay the caſe before his majeſty. He ſtated himſelf to have been married for thirty-ſix years, and that he had ſix children, and five grand children alive, beſides a child whom he had adopted. The body was taken away by his mourning friends in a hearſe. We never witneſſed a more general ſentiment of a ſufferer's innocence than was manifeſted by the ſurrounding crowd.

A moſt ingenious, uſeful, yet ſimple, combination of machinery, for the purpoſes of regulating the conveyance of waggons, laden with coal, down an inclined plane, from Benwell colliery, on the north ſide of the Tyne, to the ſtaith at the border of the river, and for bringing up the waggons, when unloaded, by the ſame power that reſiſted its projectile impetus in the deſcent, has lately been perfected, and no doubt can now be entertained of its effective operation. The length of the railway, on which the waggon runs, is eight hundred and ſixty-four yards, which diſtance it deſcends in two minutes and a half, and aſcends it in the ſame ſpace of time; ſo that the loaden waggon can be let down with eaſe and ſafety, the coal diſcharged, and the empty waggon returned to the pit within ſeven minutes.

A handſome monument, to the late king of Poland, has been erected, at Peterſburgh, with the following inſcription in Latin:

To the memory of Staniſlaus Auguſtus, king of Poland, grand duke of Lithuania, an eminent example of

of adverſe fortune. He was temperate in proſperity, and bore adverſity with fortitude. Out of friendſhip to the deceaſed, Paul I. emperor of all the Ruſſias, erected this monument.

DIED. At his houſe in Canonbury-row, Iſlington, the rev. John Williams, LL.D. above forty years an uſeful miniſter among the diſſenters at Sydenham, and well known by ſeveral literary works. "An Enquiry into the Authenticity of the firſt and ſecond Chapters of St. Matthew's Goſpel;" intended to diſprove their authenticity. "Thoughts on Subſcription to the Thirty-nine Articles." "A Concordance to the Greek Teſtament," 4to. Some ſingle ſermons; one for the charity-ſchool, 1771; and "An Enquiry and Obſervation reſpecting the Diſcovery of America." He engaged in controverſy with Dr. William Bell, the celebrated prebendary of Weſtminſter.

JUNE.

7th. *Maidſtone.* Mr. O'Coigley having been informed, between four and five o'clock yeſterday afternoon, that he was to die this day, received the information without the leaſt ſurpriſe, or apparent emotion. He ſpent the evening comfortably. This morning he was viſited by a gentleman, whom he told that he had been very kindly treated by Mr. Watſon, the keeper of the priſon, who was more affected, Mr. Coigley ſaid, than himſelf, when he announced to him the death warrant. Being aſked if he had any communications to make to his friends, he ſaid he had not; for every arrangement he deſired had been already made. He had but one thing upon his mind that created any anxiety, and that was from an apprehenſion that he might be miſrepreſented after his death: that he had been grieved to hear that a ſpeech had, ſome days ago, been cried about as his dying ſpeech. He was anxious to be faithfully reported, and that was all he wiſhed. At a quarter after eleven, he was brought out of priſon, placed upon a hurdle, drawn by two horſes, preceded by the ſheriff's men, and eſcorted by a company of about two hundred of the Maidſtone volunteers. The proceſſion moved ſlowly to the place of execution, on Pennenden-Heath, about a mile from the town. When arrived at the place of execution, he exchanged a few words with the Catholic prieſt who attended him, and read his prayers from a Roman Catholic prayer-book in Latin, which he performed with great fluency and eaſe; after which he ſang a verſe in the Pſalms, in Engliſh. He then took out an orange, and deſired a gentleman who was near him to cut it:—"I will thank you, ſir," ſaid he, "to cut this orange for me; here, take my knife (pulling out a pen-knife); it was ſaid, they were afraid to truſt me with a knife, becauſe I wiſhed to cut my throat; but I would not deprive myſelf of the glory of dying in this manner." He then turned round to the keeper of the priſon, and ſaid, "God bleſs you, Mr. Watſon, you have been very kind and civil to me." He then aſcended the ſcaffold, and, being tied to the gallows, made a very inflammatory ſpeech, in which he proteſted his innocence, and reflected on the jury by whom he was tried, and the witneſſes who appeared againſt him. The ſpeech was of conſiderable length, and he

delivered

delivered it in a ſtedfaſt and impreſſive manner.

The board was then dropped, as at Newgate, and he remained ſuſpended for twelve or thirteen minutes; he was then taken down, the head taken off by a ſurgeon, and the executioner held up the head to the populace, ſaying, "this is the head of a traitor." Both head and body were then put into a ſhell, and buried at the foot of the gallows.

From the London Gazette.

Downing-ſtreet.

9th. The letter and atteſtation, of which the following are tranſlations, having been humbly ſubmitted to his majeſty by the under-mentioned officers, who ſerved in the detachment of his majeſty's 15th regiment of light dragoons, at the action near Cambray, on the 24th of April, 1794, his majeſty has been graciouſly pleaſed to grant to each of them his majeſty's royal permiſſion to wear the medals conferred on them by the emperor of Germany, in teſtimony of the high ſenſe entered by his Imperial majeſty of their diſtinguiſhed conduct upon that occaſion.

Tranſlation of a letter from baron Thugut to lieut.-col. Aylett:

Vienna, March 5,

Sir,

The emperor remembers, with ſatisfaction, the diſtinguiſhed proofs of valour that you, ſir, and ſeven other officers of the 15th light dragoons, manifeſted, on the 24th of April, 1794, near Cambray. His majeſty regrets that the ſtatutes of the order of St. Maria Thereſa, confirmed by conſtant cuſtom, do not allow the croſs of this order, ſtrictly national, to be conferred on officers ſo worthy of being decorated with it; but wiſhing, at the ſame time, to give you, and your honourable companions in arms, a public mark of his particular eſteem, his majeſty has ordered a medal to be ſtruck, to perpetuate the remembrance of this brilliant action, and has commanded me to offer them, in his name, the only impreſſions which have been ſtruck, except that which is placed in the Imperial cabinet of Vienna. In fulfilling the intention of his Imperial majeſty, I beg you to accept, for yourſelf, ſir, and to diſtribute to the other officers, who, in the important affair of the 24th of April, 1794, fought under your command, theſe medals, which, for that purpoſe, I have delivered to captain Ryan. I have the honour to add the aſſurances of the conſideration with which I have the honour to be,

Sir, your moſt obedient
humble ſervant,
Baron von Thugut.

To lieut.-col. Aylett.

Atteſtation of major-general count Merfeld:

Vienna, Dec. 20, 1797.

The 15th light dragoons charged the enemy on the 24th of April, 1794, who were in great force at Villers en Couche, routed and ſabred a great many; and, by this conduct, reſcued his Imperial majeſty from the danger that menaced his perſon, who, being on the road from Valenciennes to Catillon, was cut off by the patroles of the enemy, as his majeſty, on that day, was returning from Bruſſels to the army, and the enemy's patroles had already paſſed the river Selle.

The

The courageous conduct of this regiment, animated by its brave officers, is so much the more meritorious, as the main column of the allied army did not arrive to its support; but this gallant regiment, abandonned to itself, relied on its own valour, attacked the enemy, so much stronger, and whose bravery alone prevented the melancholy consequences above-stated; and, not content with that, they took from the enemy, who were so much more numerous, three pieces f cannon.

(Signed) M. compte de Merfeld,
Major-general.

Officers who served in the detachment of his majesty's 15th regiment of light dragoons, at the affair near Cambray, on the 24th of April, 1794, with the ranks which they respectively held in the said regiment upon that day:

Major William Aylett.
Capt. Robert Pocklinton,
Edward Michael Ryan.
Lieut. Thomas Granby Calcraft,
William Keir,
Thomas Burrell Blount.
Cornets, Edward G. Butler,
Robert Wilson.

A terrible earthquake took place at Sienna, on the 25th *ult.* The shock was felt about fifteen minutes after one. A noise, similar to a discharge of cannon, accompanied an undulatory movement of the earth, which made all the inhabitants of the town join at once in an exclamation of terror. It was observed, in the country, that the shock was less sensibly felt towards the sea than southward. No extraordinary phenomena preceded this alarming event. It was only observed, that, for some days before, the air was extremely thick and cloudy, and that the temperature passed, several times in the day, from excessive heat to insupportable cold. Almost all the churches have been damaged. The dome of a lecture-room, in the college of Boromeus, fell in. Seventeen young students, who were assembled in the room, were all either killed or wounded. The son of the governor of Leghorn, who was one of them, has lost both his arms. The number of the persons killed, in consequence of the earthquake, is supposed to be fifty. The number of the wounded is much more considerable. A part of the convent of St. Barbo, where the pope resided, is destroyed. Fortunately for the sovereign pontiff, he was then in the gardens of the Sallerani family. All the inhabitants fled to the country, where they erected tents for their accommodation. A slight shock occurred during the night, and, between three and four o'clock, next morning, a more violent one took place, which renewed the general alarm. Even on the 27th, the people did not think themselves safe in the churches, and an altar was erected in the great square, where divine worship was celebrated.

The execution of Mr. Reeves, Mr. Wilkinson, and Mr. Adamson, which took place this morning, in the front of Newgate, was the most awful example of severe justice we ever witnessed. Three persons, all of the rank and with the education of gentlemen, suffering at one moment, and all for the same modern but now unhappily common crime of forgery, ought to make a deep impression on every heart. Above

100,000

of 00,000 ſpectators were aſſembled on the dreadful occaſion, of whom we lamant to ſay, a great proportion were women, and many of them with the appearance of ladies. The houſes oppoſite to the gaol had not only their windows all taken out to give greater accommodation for the curious; but ſome of them were untiled and canopied with heads. The humane and attentive keeper, Mr. Kirby, permitted their agonized families, and, at the requeſt of Mr. Wilkinſon, a methodiſt clergyman to remain with them till a late hour laſt Tueſday night, and every poſſible indulgence, conſiſtent with ſafety, was ſhewn them. Mr. Reeves and Mr. Wilkinſon manifeſted the moſt ſteady compoſure and reſignation. Mr. Adamſon, who had cheriſhed hopes of pardon, from the applications which had been made for mercy, ſunk into deſpondency, and having contrived to procure opium into his cell, had ſo far eluded the vigilance of the turnkeys, as to take a large doſe during the night. About five o'clock in the morning it was diſcovered by the deleterious effects, and Mr. Ramſden, the ſurgeon, was ſent for. The opiate, which moſt probably he intended for no more than to compoſe his ſpirits, threw him into a convulſed, and feveriſh ſtate of diſability; and it was with inceſſant difficulty that he was rouſed and kept up. By the attention of the people, however, he was able, under ſupport, to join with the others in taking the holy ſacrament, which the rev. doctor Ford adminiſtered with the moſt beneficent regard to their unhappy ſituation. They all deſired to have the laſt ſolemn prayer given to them in private, that they might remain expoſed to the multitude as ſhort a time as poſſible, and with this doctor Ford alſo moſt humanely acquieſced. The awful ceremony took place at a quarter paſt eight yeſterday morning. Mr. Reeves mounted the platform firſt, and Mr. Wilkinſon followed, both with undaunted though pious fortitude; and while they were prepared for their fate, Mr. Adamſon was ſupported by two men, by whom he was at length led to the ſame place. He viewed it with a delirious ſtare, and it ſeemed as if he could not have ſurvived the doſe he had taken, even if the royal mercy had at that inſtant intervened. They were then launched into eternity, and ſuch is the merciful fatality of the new contrivance of the drop, that they all died without a ſtruggle.

At the laſt meeting of the court of proprietors of the bank of England, the governor informed the court, that the following letter had been received from the chancellor of the exchequer.

"*Downing-ſtreet, June* 14,

"Gentlemen,

"It being intended to propoſe to parliament a clauſe, authorizing the bank of England to receive, in payment of the three millions of exchequer-bills, charged on the loan for the preſent year, as the ſeveral inſtalments become due, other exchequer-bills, at the ſame rate of intereſt, to be charged on the ſupply to be granted for the ſervices of the enſuing year, I have to requeſt you to communicate ſuch intention to your court; and to ſtate that, if the clauſe ſhould be approved by parliament, their conſenting to receive payment of the exchequer-bills, in the manner propoſed, will, at this period, afford an

an important accommodation to government.

I have the honour to be, &c.

"WILLIAM PITT."

He then ſtated that the court of directors had taken this letter into their conſideration, and they were of opinion the accommodation might be granted, and had accordingly come to the following reſolution:

Reſolved, That the letter of the chancellor of the exchequer be laid before a general court of proprietors, and that the governor be authoriſed to declare, that it is the opinion of the court of directors the accommodation requeſted by government may be granted, on depoſiting, in payment of the three millions of exchequer-bills ſecured on the loan of the preſent year, other exchequer-bills, at the ſame rate of intereſt, to be paid out of the firſt inſtalment of the ſupply to be granted next ſeſſions of parliament.

The queſtion was put; and the court of proprietors unanimouſly concurred in the above reſolution.

The cauſe reſpecting the Downing eſtate, which has been ſo long in litigation, between the univerſity of Cambridge, and the occupiers of the eſtate, who have been in poſſeſſion of it above 30 years, is at length finally determined in favour of the univerſity; and the lord chancellor has ordered a receiver thereof to be immediately appointed. The arrears of rent will be more than ſufficient to erect the new college, agreeably to the will of ſir Jacob Downing, whoſe name it is to bear, as ſoon as any piece of land, proper for the purpoſe, can be found, and purchaſed.

In the court of king's-bench, yeſterday, a Mrs. Mary Henderſon was found guilty of obtaining a ſum of money from lord Eardley, for ſuppreſſing the publication of a pamphlet, reflecting on his lordſhip in the moſt unfair terms. The noble lord, as ſoon as he gave her the money, cauſed her to be taken into cuſtody. It appeared ſhe had two aſſociates in the buſineſs, againſt whom, however, a verdict could not in this caſe be obtained, as the iſſue was not joined againſt them.

The French papers, which arrived lately, contain an account of a lover, who certainly burnt with one of the ſtrongeſt paſſions we ever remember to have ſeen recorded. His miſtreſs having proved unfaithful to him, he called up his ſervant, informed him that it was his intenſion to kill himſelf, and requeſted, after his death, that he would make a candle of his fat, and carry it lighted to his miſtreſs. He then wrote a letter, in which he told her, that as he had long burnt for her, ſhe might now ſee that his flames were real; for the candle by which ſhe would read the note was compoſed of part of his miſerable body.

18th. A woman, dreſſed in deep mourning, waited yeſterday afternoon at the garden-gate, St. James's, in anxious hope, when their majeſties ſtepped into their carriage, of preſenting a petition; but being prevented by the officers on guard from approaching near enough, ſhe retired to ſome diſtance from the place, and threw a petition into his majeſty's coach, which fell into the lap of the princeſs Elizabeth. She ſaid, ſhe had loſt her huſband on board the Queen, in the Weſt Indies; that one of her ſons, a lieutenant, had been murdered by the crew of the Hermione; that another had

had fallen in action, while ſerving on board the Leviathan, and that ſhe was reduced to great diſtreſs.

The following are the correct particulars of a late diſturbance at Eton-college:—Many of the boys of the fifth form, together with ſome juniors, had formed a reſolution of rowing up to Maidenhead on Tueſday evening laſt, an act which, if put into execution, would have rendered it impoſſible for them to attend ſix o'clock abſence. Dr. Heath, having heard of the above purpoſe, endeavoured to counteract it, firſt by remonſtrance, and next by threats. The fifth form, with ſome others, however, in deſpite of the doctor's counſel and menaces, went upon the expedition, and, on their return, underwent puniſhment. Here the matter reſted, until the ſucceeding day (Wedneſday) when one of the boys of the fifth form being guilty of another act of aggreſſion, it was deemed expedient, in order to ſupport due ſubordination in the ſchool, to ſend him away in a private manner. No other expulſion took place on the occaſion, and all the boys, fully ſenſible of their error, returned to obedience.

20th. The king has granted unto lord viſcount Duncan, his royal licence and authority, that he and his iſſue may bear, as an honourable augmentation, in the centre of his paternal arms, a repreſentation of the gold medal conferred upon him by his majeſty upon occaſion of the victory of the 11th of October, pendant from a blue and white ribbon, enſigned with a naval crown, and ſubſcribed, "Camperdown."

Yeſterday morning a man of the name of Smart was found drowned in the Thames, near Windſor-bridge; he had been employed in his majeſty's gardens for many years, and is ſuppoſed to have fallen in by accident, being found with his clothes on. A boy on Sunday alſo loſt his life in bathing near Datchet-bridge.

Early on Saturday morning the ſhop of Mr. Fitzpatrick, ſilk-mercer, in Cranbourn-alley, was robbed of property to the amount of near 300*l.* and a young man, of the name of Richard Clarke, is charged on ſuſpicion of being concerned in the burglary.

24th. Early this morning the Caſtle Inn, in Highgate, was entered by ſome villains, and robbed of caſh and notes to the amount of about 40*l.* and a quantity of ſilver plate, with which they got clear off.

The ſea in the neighbourhood of Sunderland has been ſo uncommonly clear for a fortnight paſt, that a great number of anchors, kedges, ſhips guns, and all kinds of ſhips iron work, have been ſeen many fathoms deep, and a very ſucceſsful fiſhery of thoſe articles carried on; ſome large anchors have been recovered which lay a conſiderable way out to ſea.

Saturday night ſix and twenty perſons were apprehended at a houſe in Liſle-ſtreet, Leiceſter-fields; illegally aſſembled for the purpoſe of gaming; they were taken to St. Martin's Watch-houſe, where ſix of them were bailed, and two yeſterday; the reſt remained in confinement.

25th. This evening, about ſix o'clock, as Mrs. Stow, of Wargrave, near Maidenhead, was travelling in a poſt-chaiſe, in company with two ladies, near the 33d mile ſtone, on the Reading road, they were ſtopped by a ſingle highwayman with crape over his face, who robbed them of a watch and their caſh.

A few

A few evenings ſince, as an agent of Mr. Fleming's, of Salt-hill, was travelling over Hounſlow-heath, he was ſtopped and robbed by a ſingle highwayman of a 10*l.* bank note and three guineas.

On Friday afternoon, about three o'clock, as Mrs. Gordon, of Gerrard-ſtreet, Soho, was travelling in a poſt-chaiſe over Madams-Court-Hill, near Seven Oaks, Kent, ſhe was ſtopped by a ſingle highwayman, who robbed her of her caſh and notes.

The ſame evening, as Dr. Pitcairn was returning to town, near Eltham, he was ſtopped by two footpads, who robbed him of his caſh and watch.

The following extract from the ſpeech of admiral De Winter, on his public entry, at Amſterdam, on on the 7th ult. bears honourable teſtimony of the greatneſs and liberality of the Engliſh character:—

"Citizen Councellors and Fellow Burghers,—It is with the moſt grateful acknowledgements I receive your congratulations, and I rejoice in the conſolatory ſatisfaction to find myſelf once more in the territory of my native country, and again to reſide in the midſt of my worthy fellow citizens. The fortune of war formerly forced me for a while to live abroad, and being ſince, for the firſt time, vanquiſhed by the enemy, I have experienced a ſecond ſtate of exile. However mortifying to the feelings of a man who loves his country, the ſatisfactory treatment I met with on the part of the enemy, the Engliſh, and by the humane and faithful ſupport and aſſiſtance they evinced towards my worthy countrymen and fellow-ſufferers, whoſe blood flowed by torrents in their country's cauſe, have conſiderably ſoftened the horrors of my ſituation—nay, worthy burghers, I muſt not conceal from you, that the noble liberality of the Engliſh nation, ſince this bloody conteſt, juſtly entitles them to your admiration."

30th. Yeſterday the recorder made his report to his majeſty of the following priſoners, under ſentence of death in Newgate, convicted in May ſeſſion laſt, viz.

Richard Philips, for ſtealing an ingot of gold, value 8*l.* the property of Charles Aldrige, in an out-houſe belonging to his dwelling-houſe. Nicholas Vargin, for feloniouſly aſſaulting James Stow, on the King's highway, near Hammerſmith, putting him in fear, and taking from his perſon 3*s.* 6*d.* in money, and a red morocco card-caſe. Sarah Holloway, for ſtealing a bank-note, value 10*l.* the property of Charles Dibdin, in his dwelling-houſe. When they were all reſpited during his majeſty's pleaſure.

A vaſt dock is making in Portſmouth-yard, which is intended to receive ten ſail of the line for equipment, which may be effected in much leſs time than by ſending every article by boats to the veſſels in the harbour, as is the caſe at preſent, and by which the waſte and plunder that attends the preſent ſyſtem will be obviated. The dock will be 22 feet deep, and faced with cut ſtone. The excavation is removed to a part of the yard near the arſenal, for the purpoſe of making a gun-wharf and battery. A ſteam-engine is about to be erected in the yard, for the purpoſe of pumping the water out of the docks, which is at preſent effected by horſes.

The following letter, dated Whitehall, June 22, has been writ-

ten by his grace the duke of Portland, to Meſſrs. Jordan and Bowen, at Haverfordweſt:

Gentlemen,

I have received your letter on the ſubject of the late influx of perſons in your country from Ireland, and am extremely ſorry to obſerve that there are ſo many young clergymen and able-bodied men among them. The conduct of ſuch perſons, in remaining out of Ireland at a moment like the preſent, is very much to be cenſured; and I deſire that you will uſe your beſt endeavours to impreſs them with a due ſenſe of the dangerous tendency of ſuch an example, and of the diſhonourable and diſgraceful imputations to which it obviouſly expoſes themſelves; and, at the ſame time, that you will make it known to the clergy, that their names will certainly be reported to their reſpective dioceſans. With reſpect to Mr. Colclough and Mr. M'Cord, I deſire that they may have full liberty either to go to Ireland, or to ſtay in this country; and that all perſons for whom they will anſwer, as well as all the infirm men, women and children, may be admitted to the ſame indulgence.

I am, Gentlemen, your moſt obedient humble ſervant,

Portland.

To Meſſrs. Jordan and Bowen, Haverfordweſt.

(A True Copy.)

Died. 19th. In his ninety-ſeventh year, William Jennens, of Acton-place*, near Long Melford, in the county of Suffolk, and of Groſvenor-ſquare, eſq. He was baptized in September, 1701; and was the ſon of Robert Jennens, eſq. aid-de-camp to the great duke of Marlborough (by Anne, his wife, daughter and heir of Carew Guidot, eſq. lineally deſcended from ſir Anthony Guidott, knt. a noble Florentine, employed on ſundry embaſſes by king Edward VI.), and grandſon of Humphrey Jennens, of Erdington-hall, in the county of Warwick, eſq. lord of the manor of Nether-Whitacre, in that county, in 1680, and an eminent iron-maſter at Birmingham†. King William III. was godfather to the late Mr. Jennens; and, amongſt other valuables diſcovered in his houſe, is a ſilver ewer, which was the

* Acton-place was formerly the ſeat of the Daniels; they ſold it to Robert Jennens, eſq. who began to rebuild it; his ſon William finiſhed it, and made it a fine ſtructure. The edowſon is in Mr. Jennens; but the monuments of all the former owners of the church are deſtroyed, or ſhut up from public view.

† Who purchaſed a family-ſeat at Gopſal, in Leiceſterſhire; and poſſeſſed ſome very extenſive forges at Whitwick, on the edge of Charnwood-Foreſt. Bromford-forge and Acton-furnace, alſo, in the county of Warwick, and Hales-Owen iron-works, in Shropſhire, formed part of his extenſive concerns. His houſe in Birmingham was in High-ſtreet, now in the occupation of John Ryland, eſq. and Erdington-hall his country reſidence. The father of Humphrey is ſuppoſed to have reſided at Hales-Owen; and it is conjectured that his predeceſſors were originally inhabitants of Yorkſhire. This family is one among the many who have acquired ample fortunes at Birmingham, where they were equally famous for induſtry and generoſity. John Jennens and his wife were benefactors to the poor there in 1651; and another John Jennens, their deſcendant, in 1749, built the church of St. Bartholomew, in that town, at his own expence. (Anecdotes of Bowyer, p. 646.)

preſent

preſent from that monarch at his baptiſm. He had been page to George I; and, during the long period of his life, remained a bachelor, more given to penurioufneſs than hoſpitality; of courſe his accumulations magnified even beyond his powers of computation. He was the laſt annuitant of the exchequer-tontine of 100*l.* a ſhare, for which he had received 3000*l.* a year for many years paſt. He had property in almoſt every fund.* And ſuch was his immenſe wealth, that the dividends on moſt of his ſtocks have not been received ſince 1788, nor the intereſt on his mortgages for a long time. In his iron-cheſt, the key of which could not be found till after a long ſearch hid in a mortgage deed, there were bank-notes of the year 1788 to the amount of 19,000*l.* and ſeveral thouſand new guineas. About 20,000*l.* were found, in money and bank-notes, at his town and country houſes, and alſo a key to the cheſt containing his mother's plate and valuables, which is depoſited at Child's, the banker's, and has never been opened ſince her deceaſe. He is reported to have always kept 50,000*l.* in his banker's hands, for any ſudden emergency, and had not drawn a draft on the bank for the laſt fourteen years. He never, till very lately, employed a regular ſteward. Not many years ſince, an eminent attorney of Suffolk, who happened to be preſent, offered his aſſiſtance at his audit, thinking the fatigue too great for Mr. Jennens's age; but he was anſwered, "What! do you think I can't write?" He was very regular and exact in all his accompts; inſomuch that he even noticed his houſehold-bills exceeding their uſual weekly amount. His expences were ſuppoſed not above 3000*l.* a year, although his property, it is thought, cannot fall ſhort of two millions. It appears that he has had very faithful ſervants, who will be all well provided for.—A will was found in

* The following is given as an accurate ſtatement of his property:

Capital.		Intereſt in Arrears.	
South Sea Stock	£.30,000	Intereſt on ditto	£.8,725
Ditto, new ditto	30,000	ditto	7,650
Ditto, old ditto	40,000	ditto	9,600
India Stock	23,890	ditto	18,570
Conſols. 3 per cents.	50,000	ditto	17,250
Ditto, ditto, his mother's	10,000	ditto	5,450
Bank Stock	35,000	ditto	19,600
5 per cent. ditto	30,000	ditto	17,250
4 per cent. ditto	24,000	ditto	11,520
Reduced annuities	50,000	ditto	16,800
Long ditto	2,000 per ann.	ditto	22,000
Account at the Bank	57,719		
Ditto at Child's	6,000		
Ditto at Hoare's	17,800		
Ditto at Stephenſon's	19,000		
Ditto at Goſling's	7,000		
In London Aſſurance Office, 400 Shares		Due upon them	3,400
New River concern		Dividend due	5,000
On mortgage	200,000	Intereſt due	
Landed eſtate	3,000 per ann.	rent due.	

his coat-pocket, ſealed, but not ſigned, which was owing, as his favourite ſervant ſays, to his maſter leaving his ſpectacles at home when he went to his ſolicitor for the purpoſe of duly executing it, and which he afterwards forgot to do. By this teſtamentary inſtrument, in which John Bacon, eſq. of the Firſt Fruits office, was a reſiduary-legatee, the whole property was intended to be totally alienated from the channels into which it has accidentally fallen.

The moſt material ſufferers by Mr. Jennens dying without a will are, the Hanmer family, of Betteſfield-park, in Flintſhire, and Holbrook-hall, in Suffolk. Mr. Jennens's own aunt was mother to William Hanmer, eſq. of the Fenns, firſt couſin of the late ſir Walden Hanmer, of Bettesfield and the Fenns; and his deſcendants, particularly thoſe reſiding in Suffolk, have moſt certainly been in the greateſt habits of friendſhip with Mr. Jennens. The above-mentioned William Hanmer, eſq. married his firſt couſin, Miſs Jennens, of Gopſal, by whom he had a daughter, Heſter, who married Aſsheton, now lord Curzon, by whom he had a ſon (the honourable Penn Aſsheton Curzon, M. P. for Leiceſterſhire), who married lady Sophia Charlotte Howe, daughter of earl Howe, and died September 1, 1797, leaving an infant ſon, George Auguſtus William Curzon, who was born May 14, 1788, and is now heir at law to all the real eſtate of Mr. Jennens (which he had poſſeſſed for ſeventy-three years). His perſonal property devolves on his couſins, William Lygon, eſq. M. P. (grandſon of Mrs. Heſter Hanmer, aunt of the deceaſed), and Mary, relict of William Howard, commonly called viſcount Andover (eldeſt ſon of Henry Bowes Howard, late earl of Suffolk and Berks), granddaughter of Dame Anne Fiſher, alſo aunt of the deceaſed. Thus his moſt incalculable wealth merges into three individuals poſſeſſing previous fortunes almoſt immenſe. On the 29th, his remains were interred in the family vault, at Acton-church, with much funeral pomp. On opening the vault, the coffins of his father and mother only were found therein, the former of whom had been buried ſeventy-three, and the latter thirty-ſeven, years.

Lady Dorothy Hotham, relict of ſir Charles Hotham Thompſon, colonel of the 5th regiment, and groom of the bed-chamber to his majeſty. She was daughter of the firſt earl of Buckinghamſhire, by his firſt wife, and was married to ſir Charles, Oct. 21, 1752, by whom ſhe had one daughter, Henrietta, married to ſir Alexander Hood. By her ladyſhip's death, her immenſe fortune thus ſingularly comes into the hands of her only daughter, Miſs Hotham. Her ladyſhip, ſome years paſt, had informed baron Hotham, of the exchequer, that ſhe had appointed him her ſole executor; and alſo hinted, that it was her intention to leave him the bulk of her eſtate. On her death, the baron convened Miſs Hotham, and a few particular friends, to hear the will read; when, holding it in his hand, he thus addreſſed that lady: "Your mother, lady Dorothy, while living, made many handſome declarations of bequeſts in my favour. Whether they are ratified by this inſtrument, I know not; but, before I open it, I think it a duty I owe my own feelings to declare, that, if it prove

ſo,

ſo, I ſhall, with pleaſure, renounce all claim to thoſe poſſeſſions, which, in common equity, can only appertain to you!" The will was now opened, wherein the baron found himſelf ſole reſiduary-legatee, and became entitled to the bulk of the fortune; which, however, in manner correſpondent with the amiable diſintereſtedneſs of his character, he, the next morning, transferred, by the proper legal inſtruments, to Miſs Hotham, and her heirs for ever.

Executed at Wexford, in Ireland, for rebellion, aged near 70, Cornelius Grogan, who poſſeſſed an unincumbered eſtate of more than 6000*l.* a-year. He had been high-ſheriff of the county of Wexford, and twice a candidate to repreſent the county: had not been in the habit of meddling with the politics of that country; and was generally eſteemed for his hoſpitality. At the ſame time and place were alſo hanged, two of his companions in the ſame crime, viz. J. Colclough, and Beauchamp Bagnall Harvey. The latter was ſome time commander-in-chief of the rebels, in that part of the kingdom; and for his apprehenſion government had offered a reward of 1000*l.* He was taken in a cave in one of the Saltee iſlands, whither he had fled with Mr. and Mrs. Colclough, accompanied by Mrs. H. her infant, and one ſervant maid. They had proviſions for ſix months, and all their plate and money. They were diſcovered, it is ſaid, by ſoap-ſuds ſpilled at the mouth of the cave, which had been obſerved by three officers, who were on a fiſhing-party there, who immediately entered the cave with preſented arms, and perceiving Mr. Harvey and Mr. Colclough, deſired them to ſurrender; telling them that reſiſtance was vain, as the cave was ſurrounded with armed men, and that they ſhould be obliged to fire on them if they heſitated. Hereupon they ſubmitted, and walked out, but appeared greatly mortified on not ſeeing the force they expected, as they had with them, in the cave, arms and ammunition in abundance. They were marched to a ſmall boat, which waited for the officers, and conveyed to Wexford. On landing at the quay, Mr. Harvey appeared quite dejected, and extremely pale; but Mr. Colclough's fortitude did not, apparently, forſake him until he approached the goal, where he beheld his friend Keogh's head on a ſpike. On inquiring whoſe head that was, and hearing it was Keogh's, he ſeemed like a man electrified, and ſunk into all the anguiſh of deſpair and guilt, and never recovered any ſhew of ſpirits. Mr. Harvey was about thirty-ſix years of age; formerly a practitioner in the law; and, at his death, poſſeſſed an unincumbered eſtate of near 2000*l.* a year, beſides perſonal property to the amount of 20,000*l.* He married, about a year ſince, a young woman of conſiderable perſonal merit, but no fortune, the daughter of an honeſt and induſtrious tradeſman at Clonegall. She had been lately delivered of a ſon, and remains in a ſituation of mind bordering upon diſtraction. — Their heads were cut off, ſtuck upon pikes, and fixed on the market and ſeſſions houſes at Wexford. — The defence ſet up by theſe wretched men was, that they had acted by compulſion. Fortunately, for public juſtice, it happened that a young but intelligent gentleman (who paſſed unnoticed while the

rebels poſſeſſed Wexford) had recorded every circumſtance as it occured, in a ſort of journal; which, when produced before the courts-martial, proved a faithful and irrefragable regiſter of the voluntary crimes of the chief traitors; and ſupported by other evidence, left no room for heſitation of their guilt.

JULY.

2d. A deputation of the Royal Humane Society, conſiſting of Dr. Lettſom, Dr. Hawes, Mr. Thompſon, and Mr. Nichols, had the honour of preſenting to his royal highneſs prince Erneſt, at his apartments at St. James's, the honorary medallion, which had been unanimouſly voted to his royal highneſs for his exalted philanthropy in the reſtoration of an unfortunate deſponding ſuicide. The medal was preſented by Dr. Hawes, after an appropriate addreſs. The prince was pleaſed to expreſs the warmeſt wiſhes for the proſperity of the Humane Society, and graciouſly deſired to become a governor, aſſuring the deputation that he experienced a moſt ſincere ſatisfaction in having been inſtrumental in the preſervation of life, and ſhould, at all times, be ready to render the ſame aſſiſtance if ever it ſhould be required. The Tranſactions of the Society were alſo preſented to his royal highneſs, and accepted with that amiable grace, which adds dignity to the moſt elevated ſtation.

The Princeſs Amelia, captain John Ramſden, was burnt, by accident, off Pigeon iſland, on the Malabar coaſt, the 5th of April, 1798, when about forty of the crew were unfortunately loſt.

The Raymond and Woodcot, captains Smedley and Hannay, were taken, after a gallant reſiſtance, by the French frigate, La Precieuſe, in Telliſherry-roads, the twentieth of April.

During the laſt week, eighteen veſſels arrived in the river from Peterſburgh: their cargoes conſiſted of 77,807 bars of iron; 4,034 caſks of tallow; 176 caſks of aſhes; 466 bales of linen; 1,248 bundles of hemp; 596 bobbins and 62 bundles of flax; 54 bags of feathers; 122 caſks of briſtles; 10 bags of bees wax; 74 bags of iſinglaſs.

5th. As Mr. Dearling, of Weymouth, was paſſing over London-bridge, he was huſtled by a gang of pickpockets, and robbed of his pocket-book, containing two bank-notes for 20*l.* and 10*l.* a ſingular draft drawn at three minutes after date, by Mr. John Cox, on Mr. Puckett, of Weymouth: it is ſuppoſed to be the ſame gang who uſed to parade Fleet-ſtreet and the Strand, but have left thoſe places, within theſe few days, in conſequence of two of their gang being detected.

6th. A fire broke out, laſt night, at a cork cutter's in a court vulgarly called Rat's Caſtle, in Church-lane, St. Giles's, which raged with great fury till eleven o'clock, before they could procure water; five houſes were then down; a child is ſaid to have periſhed in the flames, and a woman was dragged out of her houſe very much ſcorched. The horror which pervaded the poor inhabitants cannot eaſily be deſcribed, as they could ſcarce ſave an article

article of furniture, from the narrowneſs of the court.

A negro woman, of St. Domingo, emancipated by her maſter eighteen years ſince, being informed that he ſerved in the army of Condé, offered him pecuniary aſſiſtance. The French officer returned in anſwer, that, though he was very thankful for her offer, yet he could not accept it, his pay being fully ſufficient for his ſupport. Nevertheleſs, the grateful negro has ſent over 45*l.* to be tranſmitted to him on her part, as a pledge of her gratitude towards her ancient maſter.

8th. Yeſterday morning John Alliſon for forgery, and William Hill for a burglary, were executed at Kennington, purſuant to their ſentence at the laſt Surry aſſizes. They behaved themſelves in a manner becoming their unhappy ſituation, particularly Alliſon, who ſtood up previous to his being turned off, acknowledged his crime, and expreſſed his contrition for it, and begged leave to be allowed to return his hearty thanks to Mr. Allport, the keeper of the priſon, for his kind and humane attention. Hill did not make any addreſs, but died, as he lived, firm and unaccommodating.

In the evenings of the 13th and 14th, there were violent ſtorms of thunder and lightning at Ramſgate: about two o'clock a ſmall waterſpout diſcharged itſelf, by which the cellars, in ſome parts of Ramſgate, had four feet water. The Tornado was ſo local, that many parts of the town had ſcarcely a drop of rain.

Laſt night, preciſely at ten o'clock, Joſeph Greenway, who on Tueſday night ſtrangled himſelf in bed in the gaol of Newgate, where he had been committed for forging a receipt, purporting to be the receipt of Heſter Clarke (who had cohabited with him, but had been dead ſome years,) for the ſum of 20*l.* 18*s.* 9*d.* an annuity allowed to her, was, in purſuance of the coroner's warrant, and by order of the ſheriffs, buried between Newgate-ſtreet and Snow-hill, in a very deep hole made for the purpoſe; he was eſcorted by four of the ſheriff's officers, preceded by ten of the keeper's men, and the corpſe carried by the two executioners, amidſt a great concourſe of people.

17th. At a court of common-council, Mr. Powell moved, "that it be referred to the committee of city lands, to conſider the neceſſity and expediency of aboliſhing Bartholomew-fair;" which was ſeconded by Mr. Stokes. This motion Mr. Goodbehere oppoſed. It was not in the power of the court to put a ſtop to the fair, it being held under the charters of Henry VIII. and Edward VI. A court-leet, and a court of *pied poudre*, were held from the opening of the fair to the ſetting of the ſun. The lands which were held by the city of London in free ſoccage by the charters, included Smithfield-market, ſeveral of the houſes, and a ſtreet in joint tenancy with the earl of Leiceſter. Many of the houſeholders were capable of diſcharging their rents and taxes by the fair. In this way it had been maintained quietly for a number of years. No misfortune of any conſequence had happened, not ſo much as a broken head. The riſing generation were amuſed half a day only once in a year; ſurely that was not too much: almoſt every pariſh in the kingdom has its revels, its amuſements; and ſometimes

times blood has been ſpilt. All nations, ancient and modern, had allowed ſport and feſtivity, to prevent greater and more ſerious evils. Mr. Goodbehere therefore, was decidedly againſt the motion. It was then propoſed to ſhorten the period to one day; upon which Mr. Hodgſon and Mr. Waithman objected on the ground that the account of the immenſe crowd of people from all parts of the metropolis would render ſuch a ſcheme dangerous, and be the means of loſing a great number of lives. After ſome debate, it was referred to a committee.

Two cauſes of libel were tried before lord Kenyon, in the court of king's bench, both founded on the ſale of Mr. Wakefield's pamphlet, in anſwer to the biſhop of Landaff's addreſs. The firſt plaintiff, Mr. Jordan, threw himſelf upon the mercy of the court; ſtating that he bought the pamphlet of the publiſher, Mr. Cuthell, and ſuppreſſed it as ſoon as he knew it to be exceptionable. The other plaintiff, Mr. Johnſon, tried the iſſue, and was convicted; the tract in queſtion being declared, by lord Kenyon and the jury, to be a libel.

19th. About ſeven o'clock this morning a fire broke out on board the Walmer Caſtle Eaſt Indiaman, a new ſhip, lately launched at the lower water-gate, Deptford, occaſioned by ſome looſe powder taking fire in the gun-room. The explo-ſion did not do much damage to the ſhip. Three floating engines were ſent down from London-bridge to aſſiſt on the occaſion. Two men on board the ſhip were ſo ſhockingly burnt, that they were ſent to the London-hoſpital, with little hopes of recovery.

As lieutenant Millar, of the Grace, gun-boat, and lieutenant Dawſon, commanding another gun-veſſel, were going aſhore at Sheerneſs, they had a diſpute, and, on Mr. Millar ſtepping from the boat, the other drew his hanger, and ran it through his body, occaſioning his inſtant death. The deceaſed has left a widow and two young children. Dawſon is in cuſtody.

The late doctor Farmer's library ſold for 2,210*l.* and his pictures for 500*l.* Such is the rage for muſty literature. The whole, it is eſtimated, was purchaſed by the doctor for a ſum much under 500*l.*

Yeſterday morning, Mr. Birks, an eminent ſadler, in the Haymarket, cut his throat with a razor. He was diſcovered by his ſervant, in the act of holding a baſon to catch the blood. A ſurgeon was ſent for, but the unhappy man expired juſt as he arrived. No cauſe can be aſſigned for his committing this raſh action, as he was poſſeſſed of conſiderable property. He ſpent the preceding evening in a very chearful manner, with ſome friends, in the neighbourhood, and no appearance of mental derangement was noticed by the company. Coroner's verdict—lunacy. The deceaſed was above ſixty years of age.

On Saturday night laſt, a gentleman was ſtopped, between nine and ten o'clock, by two footpads, near Langley-Broom, who robbed him of 10*l.* It is imagined they are the ſame men who ſtopped a gentleman, on the ſame road, laſt week, as the deſcription of their perſons perfectly agree.

At Chelmsford quarter-ſeſſions, on Tueſday laſt, a queſtion came on, by appeal, whether the Elder Brethren of the Trinity-houſe were exempted,

empted, by their charters of Charles II. and James II. from ſerving the office of overſeer, as they were from that of jurors, and other offices requiring perſonal ſervice; when the court adjudged, that the exemption could not legally be mantained, and therefore confirmed the appointment of captain Cotton, of Layton-ſtone, in Eſſex, as overſeer of that pariſh.

The propoſal for opening a direct communication between the two great maritime counties of Eſſex and Kent, by a cylindrical tunnel of keyed ſtones, bids fair to be adopted, by a general ſubſcription of the principal inhabitants of both: this *ſub-aqueous* work is propoſed to be in a direct line from Graveſend to the oppoſite ſhore, weſt above Tilbury-fort. Government have already given their ſanction to the work. The extreme width of the river at high water, on this ſpot, is 800 yards; the depth about four fathoms and a half. The central point of the ſegment, which is to form the tunnel, will be twenty-five feet below the bed of the river, and the diameter of the tunnel ſixteen feet in the clear, and to be lighted up with lamps. The ſubſtratum, for more than three parts over, is known to be of chalk, and it is conjectured, that the other part is at leaſt a chalky clay, equally favourable for the operation. The eſtimate of the whole, including pipes, lamps, ſteam-engine, and all other machinery and materials, amounts to 15,955*l.* The projecting engineer, on this occaſion, is a Mr. Dodd, who, on Thurſday laſt, laid his plan before the judges of aſſize, and magiſtrates, aſſembled at Chelmsford, and, next week, he propoſes making a ſimilar diſplay of it at the aſſizes in Kent: after which, a meeting will be convened, in town, of the principal gentlemen of each county, in order to propoſe a general adoption of the plan, and the means of carrying the ſame into immediate execution.

Colonel Twiſs and other officers, of the engineers, have been employed by government to examine the propoſition, made by Mr. Dodd, for forming a tunnel under the river Thames, from Graveſend to Tilbury; and we underſtand their report to be highly in favour of the meaſure.

So very productive have the fiſheries of Greenland and Davis Straits been this ſeaſon, that, in ſeven ſhips, arrived at Hull, laſt week, there were brought 119½ whales, 2,960 ſeals, producing 2,338 buts of blubber. The Dutch Greenland-men, twenty-two in number, are alſo reported to be full of fiſh.

The emperor of Ruſſia has iſſued an edict, by which the greater part of the printing-offices in the kingdom are ſuppreſſed. No work can be printed, and no work, printed in a foreign country, can be introduced into Ruſſia, until it has been approved by cenſors, appointed for that purpoſe. All the German newſpapers are prohibited, and all the French periodical works.

An unfortunate accident happened yeſterday evening: a fine girl, of three years old, fell out of a three pair of ſtairs-window, at the houſe of Mr. Carey, linen-draper, in the Strand, by which ſhe had her ſkull fractured, and her thigh broke in two places.

24th. At the Old Bailey: this day ſentence was paſſed, when Charles Davis, Elizabeth Staronaugh, John Crawford, George Singures, Samuel Bamber, Suſan, otherwiſe,

otherwiſe Suſannah, otherwiſe Sarah Skelton, James Macknell, George Clerk, and John Gilbert, ſeverally received judgement of death. Twelve were ordered to be tranſported, beyond the ſeas, for the term of ſeven years; and one was ordered to be tranſported for the term of fourteen years.

On Tueſday laſt, the rev. G. Scott was convicted of defamation, at Shrewſbury, on the ſuit of the rev. J. Rocke, and ſentenced to pay a fine of 1,000*l.* with coſts; and, in an action preferred againſt him, by the rev. H. C. Adams, for the like offence, was fined 500*l.*

The following is the account of the mutiny on-board the Lady Jane Shore, tranſport:

The Lady Shore had on board, beſides convicts, eighty ſoldiers of the New South-Wales corps, amongſt whom were German, French, and condemned criminals, reprieved on condition of ſerving, during life, at Botany-Bay. They arrived at Portſmouth while the mutiny on-board the fleet was at its height. They formed a plan to ſeize the ſhip when ſhe ſhould get out to ſea. Of this captain Wilcox was informed by major Semple. He complained to the tranſport-board of the danger of proceeding to ſea with ſuch men, while they had arms in their hands. The colonel of the regiment was ſent to inveſtigate the buſineſs; but he, perhaps, heſitating to give credit to Semple, and, from the benevolence of his own heart, entertaining a better opinion of his men than it would ſeem they deſerved, overruled captain Wilcox's deſire. In this ſtate they went to ſea.—When four days ſail from Rio de Janeiro, the mutineers roſe, in the night, on the ſecond mate, who was then on watch. He found reſiſtance to ſo many armed men to be all in vain, and, of courſe ſubmitted to ſave his own life. They then entered the cabbin of the chief mate, and murdered him in the moſt ſavage manner, cutting his head off. They then proceeded, paſt Mr. Black's birth, to the round-houſe, where captain Wilcox was, and demanded admiſſion, which he refuſed, and, on their farther perſiſtance, fired a piſtol at them through his door. They inſtantly broke the door in pieces, and murdered poor Wilcox in a manner too ſhocking to deſcribe. They then returned to Mr. Black's hammock, and, without the leaſt warning, thruſt their bayonets through it in ſeveral places, not in the leaſt doubting but he was in it. But, during the diſturbance, he had quitted it, and concealed himſelf; which gave him an opportunity of begging his life, when their rage began to abate. This they granted; put him and ten others into the long boat, gave them a compaſs, and turned them adrift. They got ſafe to Rio de Janiero, from whence Mr. Black took his paſſage in a foreign ſhip; but at ſea fell in with a South Whaler, the captain of which (captain Wilkinſon) received him on-board. After this, captain Wilkinſon took a Spaniſh veſſel, value about 10,000*l.* Mr. Black was appointed prize-maſter, and carried her to the Cape. He has ſince ſailed, with captain Wilkinſon, to the coaſt of New Holland, to fiſh for whales.

The following reſolutions, ſo honourable to the parties concerned, were entered into by a number of our priſoners (natives of Ireland) at this time confined in France:

"At a meeting of the Iriſh priſoners of war, held at St. Charles's priſon, in Orleans, this 9th July, 1798, to take into conſideration an order of the French government, to ſeparate us from our fellow ſubjects and priſoners of Great Britain, by ordering the latter to be ſent to Valenciennes, and us to Cambray, the following reſolutions were unanimouſly agreed to, *viz.*

"Reſolved, That any attempts to promote jealouſy between us and our fellow-ſubjects of Great Britain, we behold with contempt.

"Reſolved, That, attached to our gracious and good king, and to the glorious and free conſtitution we were born under, we will defend them, on all occaſions, with our utmoſt ability, againſt our foreign and domeſtic enemies.

"Reſolved, That, ſhould any man, or ſet of men, preſume to attempt to ſuborn us, or any individual of us, from that affection and attachment we bear our king and country, we pledge ourſelves to diſcloſe the ſame immediately, and to bring the author or authors to ſuch puniſhment as we can inflict.

"Reſolved, That, let our ſufferings, in this our captivity, be of whatever magnitude a diſappointed and inveterate enemy may inflict, we ſwear never to deſert our king and country.

"Reſolved, That our king and country are entitled to our heartfelt gratitude, for the handſome proviſion afforded us in this our captivity.

"Reſolved, That theſe reſolutions be ſigned by each individual, and forwarded, by the firſt conveyance, to Great Britain and Ireland, for publication."

"Signed by all the natives of Ireland, priſoners of war, at Orleans."

Many hundred Roman catholics, in the north of Ireland, after publicly avowing their abhorrence and deteſtation of the rebellion in that country, have publiſhed a declaration, conſiſting of the following articles:—

"1ſt, We declare ourſelves ſatisfied and happy in the peace and quiet we have for ſome time paſt enjoyed.

"2dly, That one of the fundamental principles of the Roman catholic religion is, to obey the higher powers, both in church and ſtate, becauſe we know that ſuch powers are delegated by God, or at leaſt they exiſt by his permiſſion: to rebel againſt them, therefore, we conceive to be rebelling againſt God, who permits their appointment.

"3dly, Chriſt, our law-giver, deſires us to pay tribute to Cæſar; St. Paul tells us, honour to whom honour, tribute to whom tribute.

"Filled with theſe ſentiments of our religion, a due ſenſe of the danger we incur of God's wrath by rebellion, and a firm and faithful allegiance to his majeſty George III. whom God has appointed our king, and his ſucceſſors, we declare ourſelves avowed foes to rebellion, and are ready, at any call, to aid and aſſiſt his majeſty's officers, civil or military (in ſuch manner as they ſhall think proper), to ſuppreſs and repel any treaſonable or ſeditious practices which may take place."

27th. The new church of St. Paul's, Covent-garden, which, on Wedneſday laſt, was conſecrated by the biſhop of London, was opened for divine ſervice, the day being Sunday, at the uſual hours, *viz.* eleven in the morning, and four in the afternoon.

The ſermons were preached, one by the rector, and the other by the lecturer of the pariſh; after each of which there was a collection for the parochial charity-ſchools.

The following view of the exports from North America, in 1793, may be regarded as intereſting at this criſis, as it affords ſome idea reſpecting the extent and proportion of her ſeveral commercial connections with Europe:

	Dollars.
To Great Britain . . .	8,431,239
France	7,050,498
Holland	3,169,536
Spain	2,237,950
Germany and the low countries	1,013,347
Portugal	997,590
Denmark	870,508
Hanſeatic towns .	792,537
Sweden	310,427
Italy	220,688
Ruſſia	5,769
Total .	25,100,089

Accounts from Peterſburg and Mittau mention two remarkable edicts lately put in force: by the firſt, the entrance of the Ruſſian empire by all ſtrangers (couriers and deputies from foreign courts, foreigners of diſtinction, and perſons in the Ruſſian ſervice, excepted) is forbidden; and, has been ſo ſtrictly enforced, that ſeveral merchants, and other perſons, coming by water from Lubeck and Riga, and not knowing of the order, were obliged to return. By the ſecond edict, all young men from the Ruſſian provinces, ſtudying in any of the foreign univerſities, are recalled, under pain of confiſcation of property; and their friends and tutors are alſo called upon to enforce their return home in the courſe of the preſent month.

27th. Lieutenant Dawſon, convicted of the murder of lieutenant Millar, was executed on Pennenden-heath. The deceaſed and Dawſon were old friends; but, after dinner, on the day of the murder, when heated with wine, had ſome angry words. Dawſon went a-ſhore, and challenged the other, who, treating the matter with levity, irritated Dawſon, and produced the melancholy cataſtrophe which enſued.

28th. The ceremony of the conſecration of the Jewiſh ſynagogue was performed, on Friday and Saturday, at their houſe of worſhip, in Leadenhall-ſtreet. The building has been repaired, and beautified in a very elegant and neat ſtyle. The high prieſt, with the ſubordinate rabbies, chorus and attendants, with a great number of the fathers of families in their proper veſtments, were at the ceremony, which was awful, grand, and affecting. The muſic and the voices performed in the eaſtern manner of ſtrophe, antiſtrophe, and full chorus. The anthems were performed, by the four brothers who ſing there, in a very ſuperior ſtyle of modulation and harmony. A crowd of people attended, but they all conducted themſelves decorouſly. A ſubſcriptions was opened, and, in about twenty minutes, upwards of 200*l.* was ſubſcribed, which is more than ſufficient to cover the expences.

29. Peter de Pon, a French emigrant, was committed to priſon, for aſſaulting and ill-treating his wife, an Engliſh woman, of very pleaſing perſon; who, it appeared, he married about ſix years ago, at

at which time ſhe was only ſixteen years of age: and that, in leſs than ſix months after her marriage, though pregnant, he compelled her to proſtitute herſelf for his ſupport, and in which ſtate ſhe has continued ever ſince, ſubject to his ill-treatment, whenever ſhe could not obtain a ſufficient ſum of money to maintain him in diſſipation and idleneſs.

Eighteen men and one woman, apprehended at a gaming-houſe, in Little Suffolk-ſtreet, Charing-croſs, were brought to Bow-ſtreet, on Saturday, on whom were found large ſums of money. Four of the priſoners, who are Frenchmen, were committed to priſon; the reſt were diſcharged on finding bail. A *rouge et noir* table, and ſeveral other articles, ſeized in the houſe, were, at the ſame time, brought to the public-office.

29th. The four French emigrants, apprehended, on Saturday laſt, at a gaming-houſe, in Suffolk-ſtreet, and Peter de Pon, alſo a Frenchman, in cuſtody for ill-treating his wife, were conveyed to Graveſend, for the purpoſe of being ſent out of this kingdom.

30th. *Briſtol.* At the annual methodiſt conference, held here this day, it appeared, that the numbers in the methodiſt ſocieties are as follows: Great Britain, 85,055; Ireland, 16,640; Weſt Indies, 11,986; United States of America, 58,655. Total—172,336.

DIED. At his houſe, in Lincoln's-inn fields, James Adair, eſq. king's prime ſerjeant at law, M. P. for Higham-Ferrers, and chief juſtice of Cheſter. His death was occaſioned by a paralytic ſtroke, which ſeized him while walking along Lincoln's Inn. He was aſſiſted home by ſome gentlemen who were paſſing by, and died in a few hours. This gentleman was equally diſtinguiſhed for great eminence in his profeſſional line, and in his political capacity; for a ſound knowledge of, and warm attachment to, the principles of the conſtitution. On being called to the bar, he joined the Oxford circuit, on which, for a conſiderable time, he was the leading advocate. His firſt riſe into public notice was his election, about the year 1778, to the office of recorder of the city of London, in which he ſucceeded Mr. ſerjeant Glynn, the popular defender of "Wilkes and liberty," who, but a ſhort time before, had been choſen in the room of the preſent chief juſtice of the common pleas, on his advancement to a judicial ſeat in the court of exchequer. In conſequence of buſineſs increaſing very faſt upon him, Mr. ſerjeant Adair found himſelf obliged, in the year 1788, to reſign the recorderſhip of London, the heavy duties of which were incompatible with his laborious engagements at the bar. He was then at the head of his court, the common pleas; and, notwithſtanding the ſhare he took in political concerns, and his advanced age, it is greatly to his credit, that, to the laſt day of his exiſtence, he fully maintained his profeſſional ſuperiority, and never relaxed his efforts in his profeſſional character. In the beginning of laſt year, on the death of Edward Bearcroft, eſq. he was appointed chief juſtice of Cheſter, which he owed, in ſome meaſure, to the friendſhip of the duke of Portland, but, in a greater degree, probably, to his high name and perſonal reſpectability. Until the great ſchiſm of oppoſition, in

1793,

1793. Mr. Adair was the moſt zealous and moſt intimate of the friends of Mr. Fox; he was accuſtomed always to be at his ſide at his elections for Weſtminſter, and on other public occaſions; and he preſided, as chairman, at the meeting for raiſing a ſubſcription to diſengage the right honourable gentleman from his pecuniary embarraſments. So intimately, at that period, was he connected with the party, that, at the time of the diſcuſſion on the expected regency, in the year 1789, he was talked of as likely, in the event of a change of adminiſtration, to ſucceed to the Iriſh chancellorſhip. Latterly, however, on queſtions relative to French politics, he had voted with adminiſtration, from a conviction that more danger at this criſis was to be apprehended from miſtaken notions of liberty, than from the prerogatives of monarchy. In this perſuaſion he was upholden by the greater part of thoſe with whom he had formerly acted: but though Mr. ſerjeant Adair was induced, on this ground, to give a powerful and independent ſupport to government, he did not condeſcend to become their paſſive tool, or their unqualified defender. On every occaſion on which he could not conſcientiouſly approve of their meaſures, he warmly oppoſed them; of which his able and eloquent ſpeech on the introduction of the Heſſian troops into the Iſle of Wight, in 1794, in which he denied the regal powers, contended for by miniſters in that inſtance, is a full and convincing proof. Of his ſentiments in favour of religious toleration, he gave a fair ſpecimen, in his efforts in favour of the quakers, laſt year; and his zealous exertions againſt the continuance of the ſlave-trade, atteſt his love of humanity and juſtice. In the houſe of commons he was eſteemed a forcible and impreſſive ſpeaker, and at the bar a powerful and weighty advocate.

At Vienna, almoſt as much from melancholy as diſorder, the preſent ſituation of affairs on the continent having affected him beyond meaſure, field-marſhal lieutenant-general Clairfait. During his long and painful illneſs, he exhibited the ſame greatneſs of ſoul, the ſame wiſdom, and all the virtues by which he had been diſtinguiſhed during the whole of his honourable military career. As he was generally beloved in his life-time, ſo his death is univerſally lamented. He had been in the ſervice of the illuſtrious houſe of Auſtria forty-five years, under four regents, during which time, his fame, his zeal, and his fidelity, were equal: impartial hiſtorians will, no doubt, rank him with the firſt generals. He looked upon the ſoldiery as his children; he encouraged them by his benevolence, which proved that he was continually occupied by their neceſſities; hence he frequently heard them call him father. He diſtinguiſhed himſelf as an excellent officer very early in life; eſpecially, during the ſeven years war; and, about the end of the ſame, was made a colonel. He was not leſs conſpicuous in the campaign relative to the Bavarian ſucceſſion. In the laſt Turkiſh war, where he commanded a particular corps, he gained, upon all occaſions, a number of ſignal advantages. The two maſterly retreats from the Netherlands which he made, after ſuſtaining repeated misfortunes, drew the attention of all Europe upon

upon him, in 1792 and 1794; but his fame attained its higheſt pitch, through the happy iſſue of the campaign upon the Rhine, in 1796; after which, like another ſage, he returned to Vienna, and lived in a dignified retirement. The ſympathy of their majeſties, the emperor and the empreſs, honoured the loſs of this eminent ſervant of the ſtate, and cauſed his remains to be interred with every mark of diſtinction, though his requeſt was, to have been buried in private.

~~Executed~~, at Dublin, Meſſrs. Henry and John Sheares, barriſters, ſons of the late Henry Sheares, eſq. of Cork, a repreſentative in parliament for the borough of Cloghnakilty; and who had a penſion of 300*l.* a year on the Iriſh eſtabliſhment, which continued till he obtained the lucrative ſituation of weigh-maſter of the city of Cork. He publiſhed, in that city, a ſeries of periodical eſſays, under the title of "The Modern Monitor," which, by their fancy, humour, and elegance, place him in the very firſt line among the numerous imitators of Addiſon. He died about twenty years ago, leaving his widow and eldeſt ſon Henry 500*l.* per annum each, and 4,000*l.* to each of his five younger children. Two of the ſons of this gentleman were drowned; one of them on-board the Thunderer, which foundered on her paſſage to the Weſt Indies, during the laſt war. Henry, the eldeſt of theſe unfortunate brothers, was about forty years of age: he married a Miſs Sweete, an heireſs, with whom he got a fortune of 600*l.* a year. This lady died, about nine years ago, leaving five children. Through the intereſt of lord Shannon, who had, on all occaſions, been a friend to the family, Henry obtained a commiſſion in the 11th regiment of foot; but he did not continue more than three years in the army; after which, he entered at the Temple, and was called to the Iriſh bar. The younger brother, John, was called to the Iriſh bar in 1790. Unhappily for theſe gentlemen, they viſited France together, and were at Paris during the dreadful æra of Auguſt 10, 1792, when the Swiſs guards were maſſacred, and Louis XVI. and his family were impriſoned. They ſoon became acquainted, in that metropolis, with the principal leaders of the jacobin party, and are ſuppoſed to have imbibed there the revolutionary principles which ever marked their conduct, both in public and private life. They were conſtantly in the company of Thomas Paine, attended the different clubs, and were introduced to Robeſpierre, Roland, and Briſſot, whoſe confidence they enjoyed. They were ſo extremely unguarded at Paris, in their public declarations of the neceſſity of a revolution in Ireland, that they received, from ſeveral of their acquaintance, and even from men of their own way of thinking, repeated cautions of the impropriety of their conduct, which might ſubject them, on their return to Ireland, to a charge of treaſon. After the murder of the unhappy Louis, theſe two unfortunate men left France, and returned to Ireland, were they found a ſociety ready formed to receive and encourage the doctrines which they imported from France; and, in the original united Iriſhmen of Dublin, they could obſerve no very faint reſemblance to their prototypes, the jacobins of Paris. How far they de-

ſigned to go, was, perhaps, not very clear to themſelves; from ſtep to ſtep, they proceeded from libellous manifeſtoes, iſſued from Tailors-hall, to the demoniac ſpirit which dictated the mercileſs proclamation found among their papers.

AUGUST.

3d. About two o'clock in the morning, the French general Baraguay D'Hillier, and Monſieurs Antoinie Houdart Lamotte and Couttand Vullié, his aid-du-camps, with their ſervants, after landing at Portſmouth the day before, arrived at Lewes, on their way to Dover, to embark, in ſome neutral veſſel, on their parole, for France.

The general and his ſuite, neither of whom could ſpeak a word of Engliſh, experienced great inconvenience from want of accommodation in point of conveyance, it being at the time of Brighton races, for which all the poſt-chaiſes in town had been previouſly engaged; a circumſtance that proved the more diſtreſſing, as their journey to Dover was, by their paſſport, limited to five days from the 31ſt of July, and they expreſſly prohibited going by the way of London. About eight o'clock, a cart being provided for the conveyance of their baggage, which was conſiderable, the general had reſolved on walking the next ſtage, which was to Horſebridge, and diſtant from Lewes about ten miles; but, the circumſtance being made known to H. Shelly, eſq. he, very laudably, for the credit of our country, exerted his authority, and cauſed chaiſes to be procured for them, in which they proceeded on their journey about ten o'clock.

D'Hillier, though more in appearance, is only thirty-three years of age, and a very fine looking man, being ſix feet two inches high, proportionably made, and remarkably upright in his gait. He wears his own hair ſhort, like our modern crops, and his upper lip being unſhaven, the whiſker, or muſtachio, adds to the natural ferocity of his look, and gives him a very commanding countenance.

5th. Laſt night, at eight o'clock, two houſes, in St. Martin's lane, inhabited by a Mr. Kiſh, ſaleſman, and a Mr. Lawſon, as an eating-houſe, fell down; happily, no lives were loſt, as the tenants had warning of their danger, on Wedneſday afternoon, by the ſtair-caſes giving way, and, at ſeven yeſterday morning, an univerſal crack appriſed them that it was neceſſary to quit the premiſes; and, by the aſſiſtance of their neighbours, they ſaved all their furniture. Great apprehenſions were for a time entertained, that the adjoining houſe would alſo fall.

Yeſterday ſennight, after ſome days of extremely ſultry weather, a violent thunder ſtorm (accompanied by hail and rain) came on at Southampton; it commenced about ſeven, and laſted until near ten, o'clock. The lightning was extremely vivid, and had an uncommon appearance, the ſky opening, and large ſtreams of electric fluid, like fiery or blazen ſerpents, reaching from the horizon to the earth. From the beach, the ſtorm appeared grand and awful; a large portion of furze, on the oppoſite ſhore, having been ſet on fire, the blaze extended far and wide, and was ſuppoſed to have been kindled by the lightning; but we have ſince been informed, it was nothing more than

than the uſual cuſtom of burning the heath, to enrich the land. A horſe killed by the lightning, in Eaſt-ſtreet, was the only accident in the neighbourhood, from a ſtorm which threatened ſo much miſchief. The ſtorm extended as far as Spithead, where a ſeaman, in the tranſport-ſervice was ſtruck blind.

It has been lately determined by the lord chief juſtice of the court of king's bench, that, where a ſheriff's officer takes civility-money, as it termed, by which is meant a gratuity for keeping a perſon, whom he has under arreſt, in a ſpunging-houſe, and not carrying him to the county-gaol, at the expiration of twenty-four hours after the arreſt, ſuch money may be recovered, by the perſon paying the ſame, in an action againſt the ſheriff; and it was, at the ſame time, determined, that, where a bailiff takes for a bail-bond more than is allowed (which is 6*s.* 8*d.* including the ſtamp), whether it be under the pretence of a gratuity for accepting the bail or otherwiſe, the ſheriff is likewiſe anſwerable to the party in an action.

7th. On Monday night the neighbourhood of Somer's town was extremely alarmed by the riotous behaviour of a number of Iriſh recruits belonging to the ſeventeenth regiment of light dragoons, who were in barracks, in Chalton-ſtreet, and who ſeverely beat and ill-treated ſeveral perſons. On Tueſday afternoon, much to the joy of the inhabitants of that place, the whole party, conſiſting of fifty-one, including two ſerjeants, were marched off to Billingſgate, and embarked on board a Graveſend-boat, for the purpoſe of being conveyed to the head-quarters of the regiment at Canterbury; but, it being a conſiderable time before high water, the veſſel could not ſet ſail; on which they began to murmur, and at laſt reſolved to return a-ſhore, and go back to their old quarters at Somer's town. They immediately put their reſolution into execution, and, all the way through the city, conducted themſelves in the moſt outrageous manner. In Gray's-inn lane, the riot was carried to ſuch an exceſs, that the civil power was found inſufficient to ſubdue the tumult; application was therefore made to the St. Pancras aſſociation; who aſſembled, and marched to the ſpot with all poſſible ſpeed, when the rioters diſperſed, and took refuge in the barracks, whither they were purſued, and taken priſoners, without bloodſhed. It was then thought adviſable to remove them to different watch-houſes in the pariſh, where they remained, under a proper guard, till yeſterday, when they were reconducted to the barracks, and four of the principal ringleaders, among whom were the two ſerjeants, were committed to the houſe of correction, by Mr. juſtice Leroux, of Somer's town, who attended on the occaſion. About four o'clock yeſterday afternoon, the remaining forty-ſeven were conducted, under a ſtrong detachment of the aſſociation, to the water-ſide, to be again embarked for Graveſend. One watchman, wounded in the affray, lies without hopes of recovery, and ſeveral others, we underſtand, are ſeverely wounded. The rioters are all very young men, and juſt arrived from Ireland.

A curious improvement in the art of gun-making has lately been brought to perfection. It conſiſts in

in the barrels being bored out of ſolid pieces of ſteel, inſtead of being forged hollow from the iron, in the old way. Theſe barrels, in addition to their never burſting, carry cloſer and ſharper, in a great proportion, than the common ones.

We lament to have to ſtate the deſtruction of another of the India company's ſhips, together with the greater part of her crew, by lightning. This melancholy event is thus mentioned in the laſt accounts from Bengal.

The Royal Charlotte and Britannia lay at anchor at Culpee, three or four cables length aſunder, each having about five hundred barrels of gunpowder onboard, as part of their cargoes for the Cape. A thunder-ſtorm ariſing, the crew of the Britannia were employed in placing wet ſwabs round the foremaſt and pumps, when they were ſtunned by the exploſion of the Royal Charlotte, and covered with fragments of the wreck. Every ſoul on-board, to the number of one hundred and forty, periſhed. Amongſt the number were, Mr. Stoddard, chief mate; Mr. Barnard, ſecond; Mr. Miſſing, fourth; Mr. Saunders, pilot; Mr. Guthrie, carpenter; Thomas Collins, captain's ſteward; Stephen Collins, a Portugueſe gunner; a cook, ſeventy-five Laſcars, and about fifty women and children. The ſhock was diſtinctly felt at Calcutta, a diſtance of fifty miles; and the ring of one of her anchors, and a copper bolt, were found about three miles from where the ſhip lay.

12th. This morning, at two o'clock, a woman, confined in the mayor's priſon, which is over the court-hall, in Maidſtone, contrived to get out on the roof, and took the deſperate reſolution to leap on a houſe below, from thence ſhe fell into the ſtreet; in all, a height of near ſixty feet. The noiſe made by the falling created an alarm, by which means the woman was retaken, and conducted to her late habitation. She was much bruiſed, but, ſtrange to tell, none of her bones were fractured, and ſhe appears pretty well.

The New York American cabbage is cultivated with ſuch ſucceſs in this kingdom, that ſeveral have been produced at Covent-garden, this ſeaſon, that have weighed from ſixteen to twenty pounds each, and ſold at the low rate of twopence. In ſome of the ſheep-breeding counties they have been brought to much greater perfection in the open fields.

Whitehaven. We had one of the heavieſt gales of wind on Tueſday evening ever remembered, at this ſeaſon of the year, which occaſioned a very melancholy accident. The ſloop John and Thomas, Keſſick, which had ſailed from Liverpool the preceding day, was forced on ſhore, almoſt at low water, near the North wall. There were two female paſſengers on-board, with each a child (one of them at the breaſt), and a girl about fourteen years of age. This was about ſeven o'clock in the evening. The tide was flowing, and the wind cauſed ſuch a ſurge, that for ſome time no boat could get to their aſſiſtance. The ſailors, as it appears, had laſhed the women and children to the maſt, as the only poſſible means of ſaving them. The veſſel unfortunately grounded, and, as the tide flowed, it, in a ſhort time, made a road over the deck. In this ſituation, to the

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aſtoniſhment of all who witneſſed this excruciating ſcene, they ſurvived, and, about twelve o'clock, hopes were entertained of preſerving them all; but, juſt at the moment when the moſt ſtrenuous effort was made for the purpoſe, a violent ſwell of the ſea waſhed the girl off the deck, and the two infants out of the arms of their mothers. The former was taken out of the water with life, but expired in a few minutes, and the lifeleſs bodies of the two infants were found ſoon afterwards; the reſt were all ſaved.

13th. This day, John Newborn, an attorney's clerk; Thomas Gibbons, clerk to a ſcavenger; and R. Dixon, a journeyman-baker, were charged, at the public-office, Bow-ſtreet, by Dowſett and others, of the patrole, who apprehended them, the preceding evening, in a field near White Conduit-houſe, with having met for the purpoſe of fighting a duel. The whole buſineſs, on inveſtigation, appeared ſo thoroughly contemptible, that the magiſtrate (Mr. Bond) ordered it to be diſmiſſed *in toto*, and adviſed the parties to return to their ſeveral occupations.

A diſcovery has lately been made, which promiſes the moſt important conſequences to navigation. It conſiſts of a compaſs and latitude-inſtrument, in which we underſtand, the magnetic fluid is ſo diſpoſed and controuled, that it ſhall lie truly on the meridian in all parts of the globe, and that conſtantly. The other inſtrument, by a ſimilar management of the fluid, gives the latitude, with the ſame univerſality, in all ſeaſons and weathers, within a few minutes of a degree.

The four antique horſes, brought from Venice to Paris, are to take their ſtation in the Place de la Revolution, formerly La Place de Louis Quinze. They are to be harneſſed to a triumphal car, in which the goddeſs of liberty is ſeated; the whole to be guarded by a ſuitable encloſure.

Early yeſterday morning, Abel and Roberts, two felons, broke out of the Poultry-compter, by ſawing away part of the roof of the priſon: they ſawed off their irons, and got through a houſe, into Grocers-hall-paſſage, and made their eſcape.

From the periodical account, publiſhed laſt month by the Moravians, it appears, their congregation in St. Kitt's alone conſiſts of 1,870 negroes; in Antigua, the celebration of Paſſion week and Eaſter was attended by many thouſand blacks; in the year preceding, 287 negroes were baptized, and 285 admitted to the ſacrament.

Yeſterday, Mr. D. Carco, hatter, in Piccadilly, was arreſted, under authority of a warrant from the ſecretary of ſtate, charging him with being concerned in certain treaſonable practices. Mr Carco is a foreigner, but has reſided in this country upwards of thirty years. Aiding and aſſiſting French priſoners in their eſcape, we underſtand, conſtitutes one of the charges. He is the ſame perſon, who, in 1793, lent an aſylum to Dumourier, during the ſhort ſtay which the government of this country thought proper to lend to that famous adventurer, who, a few months before, had threatened to hoiſt the tri-coloured flag on the tower of London.

14th. The Serpentine River, notwithſtanding the remarkable calmneſs of the weather for ſome days

paſt, has recently ſwelled its ſurface to ſuch a height, as to occaſion much conſideration with reſpect to the probable cauſe of ſuch an unuſual appearance.

On Thurſday night laſt at Liverpool, a little before ten o'clock, a terrible guſt of wind, or tornado, came on, during which a ferry boat, with a boatman, ſeven men and boys, and one woman, going to a veſſel at the Slyne, was upſet; three of the men were ſaved by boats belonging to flats, two were picked up by a flat going to Runcorn, and one ſaved himſelf by ſome oars or ſpars, which he tied together with the handkerchief from his neck, and on which he floated until the next morning at ſix o'clock, when he was caſt on ſhore near Bank-hall, with little life in him, but we are happy to find he is likely to recover. The boatman, the woman, and a young man, foreman to Mr. Allen, ſail-maker, were unfortunately drowned.

The Cherokee chief, who recently came to England, in the Iſis man of war, is the celebrated general Bowles, who was in London before, about ſeven or eight years ſince. He had been under an arreſt for ſeveral years by the Spaniards, but contrived to get on board a ſmall veſſel, which, on its way to England, fell in with the Iſis, by which he was brought ſafe over.

Lady Edward Fitzgerald ſailed for Hamburgh, on Thurſday morning, from Yarmouth, on board the Prince of Wales packet. Her ladyſhip was attended to the packet by her brother-in-law lord Henry Fitzgerald, who left Yarmouth on the ſailing of the packet.

17th. Mrs. Summerfield, wife of William Summerfield, ſervant to the queen, was delivered of a boy; at five in the afternoon ſhe was delivered of another boy; and at nine at night ſhe was brought to bed of a fine girl, all likely to live. On Saturday the children were half baptized by the names of George, John, and Sarah. The queen ſent for them to lady Cathcart's houſe, where they were brought for the princeſſes to ſee them. Her majeſty deſired that two proper nurſes ſhould be procured for the boys, the girl is to be under the care of her mother. Moſt of the nobility have been to viſit the mother and children, and have alſo contributed towards making them comfortable.

15th. The ſtorms have been remarkably ſevere in Kent, particularly in the Iſle of Thanet; but the lightning has had the beſt effects on the fly, which has ſo long infeſted the hop-grounds, which now put on a better appearance. In the evenings of the 13th and 14th, at Ramſgate, there were violent ſtorms of thunder and lightning. About two o'clock, a ſmall water-ſpout diſcharged itſelf, by which the cellars, in ſome parts of Ramſgate, had four feet of water in their hold. Some walls were broken down, and ſeveral roofs damaged. The lightning was very vivid, and laſted many hours; but, fortunately, no lives were loſt. The tornado was ſo local, that many parts of the town had ſcarcely a drop of rain.

An earthquake at Sienna took place on the 25th of May. The ſhock was felt about 15 minutes after one. A noiſe ſimilar to a diſcharge of cannon, accompanied an undulatory movement of the earth, which made all the inhabitants of the town join at once in an exclamation of terror. It was obſerved

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in the country, that the ſhock was leſs ſenſibly felt towards the ſea than ſouthward. No extraordinary phenomina preceded this alarming event: it was only obſerved that, for ſome days before, the air was extremely thick and cloudy, and that the temperature paſſed ſeveral times in the day from exceſſive heat to inſupportable cold. Almoſt all the churches have been damaged. The dome of a lecture-room in the college of Boromeus fell in. Seventeen young ſtudents, who were aſſembled in the room, were all either killed or wounded. The ſon of the governor of Leghorn, who was one of them, has loſt both his arms. The number of perſons killed, in conſequence of the earthquake, is ſuppoſed to be 50. The number of the wounded is much more conſiderable. A part of the convent of St. Barbo, where the pope reſided, is deſtroyed. Fortunately for the ſovereign pontiff, he was then in the gardens of the Sallerani family. All the inhabitants fled to the country, where they erected tents for their accommodation. A ſlight ſhock occurred during the night; and between three and four o'clock next morning, a more violent one took place, which renewed the general alarm. Even on the 27th, the people did not think themſelves ſafe in the churches; and an altar was erected in the great ſquare, where divine worſhip was celebrated.

24th. The propoſed improvement in the gold and ſilver coin of the kingdom, which has been ſubmitted to the conſideration of the royal academy by the lords of the committee of council, was diſcuſſed at the meeting of the academicians this evening, when the deſigns or models of ſuch of the members as had prepared them, were received.

The following circular notice had been iſſued on this ſubject to the academicians:

"*Royal Academy, Auguſt* 20, 1798.

"Sir,

"The lords of the committee of council having expreſſed a deſire that the gold and ſilver coins of this kingdom ſhould have every improvement which the preſent ſtate of the arts can afford, and the royal academy having agreed to take the ſame into their conſideration, the preſident has accordingly ordered a general meeting of the academicians, on the 20th of September next, at ſeven o'clock in the evening, to receive the deſigns or models of ſuch of the members of the academy as will then offer; which deſigns or models are intended, by the lords of the committee, to be preſented for his majeſty's inſpection, previous to their being carried into effect.

"The coins intended are as follow:

Gold. { A two guinea piece, A guinea, and A half guinea.

Silver. { Five ſhilling piece, Half crown ditto, One ſhilling, Sixpence.

The head of his preſent majeſty,
The arms of the realm,
The lion, the crown, and Britannia

"In forming the deſigns or models, it is deſired that attention be paid to the roundneſs and ſimplicity of the coin; to the whole or part of the inſcription on the ſame, and to guard againſt the wearing or filing.

"JOHN RICHARDS, R. A.
Secretary."

John's Haven, near Montroſe, 24th.

On Wedneſday night, or early on Thurſday morning laſt, came on ſhore, about one mile to the eaſtward of this place, in a thick fog, the ſhip Ewrittie, of North Shields, captain John Boſwell, from the Weſt Ice, with the produce of eight large fiſh. The ſhip ſtruck a little after high water, and drove on the top of a long ridge of rocks, where ſhe ſtood upright all the tide of ebb, when, by the aſſiſtance of ſome ſhipmaſters, with all the boats and fiſhermen, and many other uſeful hands, from this place to the aſtoniſhment of all preſent, the ſhip was got off next highwater, and in ſuch a ſtate, that ſhe could be kept with the pumps, to proceed on her voyage to Shields. Too much praiſe cannot be given to the people employed in the ſaving ſo valuable a property.

The New York Daily Advertiſer of the 24th ult. gives the following ſtatement of an unhappy deed, perpetrated on the preceding Friday, near the exchange of that city, between three and four o'clock in the morning:

"Madame Gardie, late of the theatre, was in bed with her ſon, about eleven years of age; Mr. Gardie, who had cohabited with her a number of years, and who lodged in the ſame room, got up, ordered the boy to riſe, and got into her bed. The boy hearing his mother cry out, aſked what was the matter? Mr. Gardie deſired him to be ſtill, his mother had only fainted. Soon after, the boy hearing a knocking againſt the partition, he got up and went to the bed, where he found Mr. Gardie in the agonies of death, and his mother lying dead on the bed. It appears the former had ſtabbed her with a new carving knife, in the left breaſt, which penetrated immediately to the heart, as ſhe appears to have expired inſtantly. Gardie, in the height of his frenzy, appeared to have wounded himſelf in the breaſt in two places, with his own hand, and muſt have died in great agony, as he had fallen from the bed on the floor, and was covered with blood. The coroner's inqueſt brought in a verdict, that he was the cauſe of her death, and afterwards committed ſuicide. The cauſe of this dreadful cataſtrophe is attributed to extreme penury, and her refuſing to accompany him to France, whither he was going ſhortly, having taken his paſſage. This refuſal created jealouſy, though there were no grounds for the ſuſpicion. The body of Gardie was immediately interred in Potter's fields, and the remains of the unhappy female were reſpectfully interred in the Catholic burial-ground.

The Surrey aſſizes concluded this day. The following is a liſt of thoſe who received ſentence of death, viz. John Aliſon, attorney, for forgery; Nicholas Abrathat and John Speares, left laſt aſſizes for a point of law; Martha Hill, for robbing her ready-furniſhed lodgings, in St. George's Fields, and John-ſtreet, in the pariſh of Chriſtchurch; William Hill, for houſebreaking, at Bermondſey; Stephen Freeland and William Maynard, for appearing on the king's highway with fire-arms, and aſſiſting in carrying away a quantity of unaccuſtomed tobacco, againſt the ſtatute; John Skinner, for ſtealing two horſes, from Batterſea-riſe; Sarah Clarke, for a burglary, at Benſtead; Thomas William Willington, for footpad robberies,

beries, on Morden-common; and William Robertſon, for aſſaulting and robbing Sarah Jackſon, on the king's highway, of a bonnet and cap. They were all reſpited, except John Aliſon, for forgery, and one other, who are left for execution.

26th. At the Glouceſter aſſizes four criminals were capitally convicted, and are left for execution, viz. William Sheppard, John Roberts, John Hawkins, and Benjamin Gullick. They were charged with having broken into the houſe of George Jones, a horſe-dealer, of Hanham, near Briſtol, and ſtealing from thence caſh and bills to the amount of 150*l*. The three following alſo were convicted of capital offences at Glouceſter, but afterwards reprieved: Wm. Hogg, for ſtealing above the value of 40*s*. from Mr. Samuel Holliday, of Minchin-Hampton; Thomas Robinſon, for taking two ſurplices from the church of St. George; and John Marſh, for houſe-breaking.

There have been ſome diſputes in the corporation of the city of Edinburgh, relative to the choice of magiſtrates, at the enſuing election. All of the parties profeſs equal attachment to Mr. Dundas, who has written to the lord provoſt the following epiſtle, which has ſatisfied thoſe who, not knowing his pleaſure, had unwarily offended him.

Letter from Mr. Secretary Dundas to the Lord Provoſt.

Edinburgh, 28th Auguſt, 1798.

My lord,

It is with very ſincere regret that I learned, ſome time ago, and which has been confirmed to me ſince my arrival here, that there exiſted diviſions and a difference of parties in the council of Edinburgh. At a moment when it is the duty of every good ſubject of Great Britain to lay aſide all paltry conſiderations, and to look only to the great intereſts which ought to occupy the attention of every good citizen, I lament that the metropolis of Scotland ſhould allow themſelves to be diſtracted by objects of ſo inferior a nature, as who ſhould occupy this or the other ſeat in the council. It is the firſt time, ſince I was connected with the city of Edinburgh, that I have perceived any ſuch ſpirit among you; and leaſt of all ſhould I have expected to have ſeen it at a time when provoſt Elder preſided over them. Delicacy prevents me enlarging further on this topic; but I beg your lordſhip diſtinctly to underſtand, that, in ſo far as I am perſonally concerned, I muſt diſclaim all profeſſions of friendſhip from any perſons who think themſelves at liberty to hurt your feelings at the concluſion of your magiſtracy. If the city of Edinburgh has any deſire to cloſe their political connection with me, it will coſt them no trouble; a hint from them will do the buſineſs; but, as that connection began in concert with you, it cannot continue at the expence of any injury done to your feelings; and your lordſhip is at liberty to convey that ſentiment to any of my conſtituents with whom you conceive it will have weight.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed)

Henry Dundas.

Died. 2d. This evening, while performing the part of the Stranger, on the Liverpool ſtage, Mr. John Palmer, the comedian. It is univerſally admitted that a fit of apoplexy occaſioned his death; but profeſſional

professional men differ on the cause of it; some asserting that his constitution must have been prone to apoplexy, and that his life would have been so terminated at all events; while others affirm the fit to have been occasioned by the effort of the moment. Doctors Mitchell and Corry gave it as their opinion, that he certainly died of a broken heart, in consequence of the family afflictions which he had lately experienced. He received, on the morning of the day in which he was to have performed the Stranger, for the first time, the distressing intelligence of the death of his second son, a youth in whom his fondest hopes were centered, and whose amiable manners had brought in action the tenderest affections of a parent. The play, in consequence of this, was deferred till the Friday following, during which interval he had, in vain, endeavoured to calm the agitation of his mind. The success with which he performed the part called for a second representation, in which he fell a sacrifice to the poignancy of his own feelings, and in which the audience were doomed to witness a catastrophe which will never be forgotten. On the preceding Sunday he dined with Messrs. Hurst, Hammerton and Mara. After dinner, Mr. Hurst complained, that of late he had always found himself exceedingly drowsy after his meals. Mr. Palmer, in a most friendly and feeling manner, said, "My dear Dick (for so he familiarly called Mr. Hurst), for God's sake, endeavour to overcome those alarming symptoms; and, after a short pause, added, "I fear, my dear friend, that my own afflictions (alluding to the recent loss of his wife and favourite son) will very shortly bring me to my grave." For some days, however, he seemed to bear up against those trying misfortunes with much resolution; and, on the Wednesday following, performed the part of Young Wilding, in the Liar, with a considerable degree of spirit. On Thursday morning he appeared rather dejected, and all the efforts of his friends were scarcely capable of rouzing him from the state of melancholy in which he appeared to have sunk. In the evening of that day he appeared in the character of the Stranger, in the new play of that name, and, in the two first acts, exerted himself with great effect: in the third, he displayed evident marks of depression. In the fourth act, Baron Steinfort obtains an interview with the Stranger, whom he discovers to be his old friend. He prevails on him to relate the cause of his seclusion from the world; and, as he was about to reply to the question of baron Steinfort, relative to his children, he appeared unusually agitated. He endeavoured to proceed, but his feelings evidently overcame him; the hand of death arrested his progress, and he instantly fell upon his back, heaved a convulsive sigh, and instantly expired without a groan. The audience supposed, for the moment, that his fall was nothing more than a studied addition to the part; but, on seeing him carried off in deadly stiffness, the utmost astonishment and terror became depicted on every countenance. Hammerton, Callan and Mara, were the persons who conveyed the lifeless corpse from the stage into the scene-room. Medical assistance was immediately procured; his veins were opened, but they

they yielded not a ſingle drop of blood, and every other means of reſuſcitation was had recourſe to without effect. The gentlemen of the faculty, finding every means ineffectual, formally announced his death. The piercing ſhrieks of the women, and the heavy ſighs of the men, which ſucceeded this melancholy annunciation, exceeded the power of language to deſcribe. The chirurgical operation upon the body continued about an hour; after which, all hopes of recovery having vaniſhed, he was carried home to his lodgings on a bier, where a regular inventory was immediately taken of his property. Mr. Aickin, the manager, came on the ſtage to announce the melancholy event to the audience, but ſo completely overcome with grief as to be incapable of uttering a ſentence, and was at length forced to retire without being able to make himſelf underſtood. Incledon then came forward, to communicate the dreadful circumſtance. The houſe was inſtantly evacuated in mournful ſilence, and the people, forming themſelves into parties, contemplated the fatal occurrences in the open ſquare till a late hour next morning.—As an actor, his death is a great loſs to the public. His figure and manner gave an importance to many characters, which, in other hands, would have paſſed unnoticed. In delivering a prologue, and in the graceful and inſinuating way in which he impreſſed an occaſional addreſs, he was unequaled. A more general performer, ſince the days, and during the latter part of the days, of the inimitable Garrick, the ſtage has not boaſted; and, in the peculiar province to which his talents were adapted, he not only ſtood without a competitor, but poſſeſſed very great excellence. The province to which we allude was certainly the ſprightlier parts of comedy, of which the predominant feature is eaſy confidence: ſuch as Dick or Braſs, in "The Confederacy;" Bruſh, in "The Clandeſtine Marriage;" and Lord Duke, in "High Life Below Stairs." In all theſe parts, but particularly the latter, the authors might be ſuppoſed to have written them on purpoſe for him, which was, indeed, the caſe with Bruſh, a ſubordinate part, but rendered very conſpicuous and very entertaining in the hands of Palmer. This province ſeemed to be what may be more immediately termed his forte; but he poſſeſſed conſiderable merit in a variety of characters. His colonel Feignwell, in "A Bold Stroke for a Wife," was an admirable proof of the force and verſatility of his powers, and, perhaps, was altogether equal to any comic performance ever ſeen. Sir Toby, in "Twelfth Night," was alſo a part in which he manifeſted uncommon abilities, and which he ſupported with ſuch force, humour, truth, and ſpirit, as to produce all the effect of real life. Another of his moſt ſucceſsful exertions was Serjeant Kite, in which he muſt have completely ſatisfied the wiſhes of Farquhar, who, in all probability, never ſaw it performed with equal pleaſantry, correctneſs, and humour. This part, though ſo well performed by Mr. Palmer, he relinquiſhed for Brazen, in the ſame excellent comedy; but, whether he had not ſtudied it with equal attention, or whether the public regretted the loſs of ſo exquiſite a Kite, he certainly did not make

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ſuch an impreſſion upon them as might be expected from the nature of his talents. The merit of his Joſeph Surface has been univerſally admitted, and it was, indeed, a proof of great ſkill. The hypocriſy was repreſented with a ſmooth and ſpecious ſubtlety that left nothing for the author to deſire beyond what was evident in the performance. But Palmer did not excel in comedy only. He was very forcible and impreſſive in the turbulent parts of tragedy, ſuch as uſurping tyrants and ambitious ruffians. There was, however, one part in which he ſuſtained a dignified ſerenity, mingled with the emotions of tender affection, and ſupported by gentlemanly manners that might rank with the very beſt efforts of his theatrical powers, his Villeroy, in the tragedy of Iſabella; was fairly entitled to a high degree of critical applauſe. Stukely, in "The Gameſter," was alſo another proof of Mr. Palmer's ability that deſerves a diſtinct notice. Nothing could be more finiſhed than his artful mode of deluding the credulous and irreſolute huſband, his inſidious attempts to excite and to work upon the jealouſy of the wife, and the ſhame, confuſion, and mortification, of conſcious cowardice when he is reproached and inſulted by the virtuous Lawſon. His manners, in private life, were thoſe of the poliſhed gentleman; and the feelings of his heart were ſuch, as the circumſtances which we have already related forbid we ſhould mention again. Though Mr. Palmer's character has been often the ſubject of public notice, it is but juſtice to ſay, that cenſure has been rather too ſevere in her animadverſions. If he was brought into embarraſments by his deſire of becoming a manager, he only indulged a natural ambition, and ſuch as his abilities might warrant. In his attempt to eſtabliſh the Royalty Theatre, he was, in a great degree, deceived by "the glorious uncertainty of the law;" for he certainly conſulted many profeſſional men, of acknowledged ability, on the occaſion, and was emboldened, by their opinions, to perſevere in raiſing an expenſive edifice, which would, moſt probably, have afforded him an ample fortune, if his efforts had not been ſuppreſſed by authority. He, perhaps, gave into a ſtyle of living, which, conſidering his large family, and the precarioufneſs of his profeſſion, it is impoſſible to reconcile with the rules of rational economy; but allowance ought to be made for the manners of the times, for the prevalence of the paſſions, and, indeed, for the influence of a handſome perſon, that expoſed him to expences which the prudent may condemn, but which they, perhaps, would hardly have avoided if they had been placed in a ſimilar ſituation, with ſimilar recommendations. He was a moſt affectionate father, and many of the embarraſments under which he laboured aroſe from the exceſs of parental fondneſs. His ſudden death is a fatal blow to his family, for the loſs of his wife had been ſuch a ſhock to him, that he had determined to ſquare his future conduct by the rules of ſevere prudence, and as it was underſtood that he would certainly have ſucceeded to the management of Drury-lane theatre, it is not improbable that he would finally have ſurmounted all his troubles,

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and have left a comfortable provision for his offspring. For variety of talents, and professional industry, Mr. Palmer has not left his superior on the English stage. His rise to the great share of public patronage which he enjoyed was, however, very slow, and opposed from time to time by obstacles which would have discouraged any other man, less confident and persevering. An application was made in his favour to Mr. Garrick, to grant him an engagement at the early age of 15; but the manager, having condescended to hear him rehearse, declared that he would never make an actor. The soundness of Mr. Garrick's judgement was by no means proportionate to the splendour of his mimic powers, as this inimitable performer afterwards pronounced a similar opinion on Henderson and Mrs. Siddons. His first part was Harry Scamper, in Foote's pleasant piece of "The Orators," and Charles Banister made his *début* at the same time, in the character of Will, an Irishman. He was discharged at the end of the season, and played afterwards at Sheffield and Norwich. He returned to the Haymarket theatre, when Mr. and Mrs. Barry were engaged there, and distinguished himself very much by his performance of several respectable parts. In consequence of this success, Mr. Garrick enrolled him in the Drury-lane corps, but trusted him with nothing of importance till the death of his namesake Mr. Palmer, son-in-law to the celebrated Mrs. Pritchard, and who was in considerable repute for the ease and elegance with which he played the genteelest cast of characters. From this period Mr. Palmer had constant opportunities of displaying an uncommon versatility of powers, and at length became an universal favourite. With the exception of the last four or five years, Mr. Palmer had been imprudent in the management of his domestic affairs; but his misfortunes were still greater than his imprudence. Being involved, for some years past, in pecuniary embarrasments, his creditors, not long since, insured his life at Black-friers, for 2000*l.* which sum they are, of course, entitled to. He might have justly said, even to the end of his career, in the language of the poet,

"Woes cluster; rare are solitary woes;
They love a train—they tread each other's heel."

His funeral took place on the 6th, and was conducted with the most solemn respectability. The hearse was preceded by mutes on horseback, four mourning coaches (being the whole the town could furnish) and one glass coach; and followed by Messrs. Aickin, Holman, Whitfield, Incledon, Mattocks, and Wild. The chief mourners were Mr. Hurst (as his oldest acquaintance) and a Mr. Stevens, cousin to the deceased. Next came major Potts, captain Snow, (the gentleman who performed, near two years since, at Covent-garden, under the assumed name of Hargrave), captain Kennedy; Messrs. Hammerton, Farley, Tomkins, Toms, Emery, Demaria (the painter), Clinch, Hollingswood, and the rest of the company; the whole of whom accompanied the corpse, in mournful silence, from Liverpool to the neighbouring village of Walton, where the body was interred. There were also two or three coaches of private parties belonging to the town. The

procession

proceſſion ſet out at eight o'clock in the morning, and reached the church about half paſt nine. Prayers being read over the body, it was committed to a grave, ſeven feet deep, dug in a rock. The coffin was of oak, covered with black cloth, and on the plate was ſimply inſcribed, "Mr. John Palmer, aged 53."—He was, however, three or four years older, but there was no perſon in Liverpool who correctly knew his age. A ſtone is to be placed at the head of the grave, with the following inſcription, being the very words he had ſpoken in the character of the Stranger:

"Oh! God! Oh! God!
There is another, and a better world!"

Mr. Palmer has left eight children, who, in a few months, have loſt a father, mother, brother, and uncle. We learn, with much ſatisfaction, that a play was performed at Liverpool theatre, on the 13th, when the receipts of the houſe amounted, it is ſaid, to 400*l*, including a donation of 50*l*. from the counteſs of Derby. Mr. Taylor, proprietor of the Opera-houſe, generouſly gave a free night, at his theatre, for the benefit of the four orphan daughters of Mr. Palmer, when the receipts amounted to 700*l*. and Mr. Sheridan has, with equal liberality, given one for the ſame purpoſe, at Drury-lane theatre.

SEPTEMBER.

1ſt. The Daily Advertiſer, the oldeſt of the London diurnal publications, was ſold, on Saturday, to the proprietors of the Oracle, with which paper it is intended to be conſolidated.

2d. *Glaſgow*. A number of young folks, to the number of eight or nine, if not ten, went down yeſterday the length of Helenſburgh, on a party of pleaſure, in a boat belonging to Meſſrs. Truemans, rope-ſpinners here, having one of the rope-ſpinners on board to help to work the boat, and with the intention of returning to-day. In coming up the river, however, the boat unfortunately upſet; and, ſhocking to relate, one perſon only was ſaved, by catching hold of a piece of floating timber. The names of the ſufferers that have come to our knowledge are, the two Meſſrs Truemans; Miſs Sally Trueman, their youngeſt ſiſter; Mr. Brown, partner of Brown and Bogle, merchants below the exchange; Matthew Gilmour, writer; and Mr. William Dick, agent for the Paiſley bank here. The fate of theſe ſufferers is here univerſally lamented.

4th. This afternoon, about ſix o'clock, the north-eaſt bank of the New River ſuddenly burſt, about half a mile from Hornſey-houſe; and between that ſpot and the part called Tottenham freehold, the neighbouring meadow lands, for a circuit of perhaps three or four miles, were preſently inundated, and the lower parts of them to the depth of three or four feet. The part of the bank which is completely carried away, is about nine yards in length, and the rupture goes ſo low as within eighteen inches of the bed of the river. At ſeven o'clock the water at Hornſey was not knee-deep. The noiſe, occaſioned by the fall of water, was plainly heard at the diſtance of a mile. A great number of workmen were diſpatched to repair the damage, which may be ſo far effected in the courſe of this day, as to

to afford the metropolis the uſual ſupply of water; but it is thought, that, to make an effectual and permanent repair, a temporary change of the current will be neceſſary.

The lateſt accounts received from the Engliſh miſſionaries at Otaheite mention, that a whole province has been ceded to them. It is ſufficient to ſuſtain 10,000 perſons. The king of that place ſeemed ſo highly pleaſed with an Engliſh infant, born ſoon after the miſſionaries landed, that he ſhewed it to a number of his ſubjects, and indicated his joy by dancing with it in his arms. A ſchool has been eſtabliſhed, where the children of the Otaheitans learn the Engliſh alphabet. The labours of the carpenters and ſmiths are looked at by the inhabitants with aſtoniſhment. The bread-fruit has alſo been made uſe of in the adminiſtration of the ſacrament. But nothing is ſaid to ſtagger the Otaheiteans ſo much as the ceremony and the conditions of marriage, as practiſed by the Europeans.

The following is a copy of an aſſignat, iſſued by the rebels, in Ireland:—No. I. In the name of the French government—good for *half-a-guinea*, to be raiſed on the province of Connaught.

(Signed) JOHN MOORE.

We are concerned to have to relate a moſt daring and, apparently, unprovoked murder, committed on the body of Mr. William Sneyd, of Tubberbony, in the county of Dublin, a reſpectable farmer, and a member of the Coolock yeoman cavalry. The deceaſed had been at the fair of Kilſallaghan, on Saturday laſt, and while holding familiar converſation with the villain who murdered him, the demon took a piſtol from Mr. Sneyd's holſter, and ſhot him through the head. Through the confuſion incident to the event, the perpetrator of this horrid deed eſcaped from immediate puniſhment, but, we truſt, will not be able to elude the hands of juſtice.

On Thurſday evening a gentleman in a ſingle-horſe chaiſe, accompanied by a lady and child, drove into what he conceived a ſhallow part of the Serpentine River, Hyde-park, in order to waſh the wheels of his carriage; but going to the brink of the declivity, which is ſaid to be near fifteen feet deep, the chaiſe was overturned, and the whole party were precipitated into the water. We are happy, however, to add, that by the exertions of ſeveral perſons, who fortunately happened to be on the ſpot, the lady, gentleman, and child were ſaved; but the horſe was drowned, it being impoſſible to extricate it from the carriage.

5th. Monday morning a fire broke out at Mr. Walker's oil warehouſe and colour manufactory, in Baker's Row, Cold-bath-fields. The combuſtible matter upon the premiſes occaſioned the flames to rage with great fury. The whole of Mr. Walker's premiſes, together with articles of trade to a large amount, and ſome adjoining ſtables and outbuildings were entirely conſumed.

7th. Laſt Monday evening, as the Rev. Dr. Green, of Steyning, was returning home from Whiſton, he was overtaken by a ſoldier, who aſked him his way to Steyning, when the doctor anſwered he was going there, and, if he choſe, he might accompany him; but they had not walked far together before the ſoldier drew his bayonet, and demanded the doctor's watch and money, which he gave him, luckily having

not

not more than ten ſhillings in his pockets. The robber, on obſerving the watch to be an old one, and apparently not of much value, returned it, but made off with the caſh. The doctor, on arriving at Steyning, learnt, that not long before, there had been, at a public-houſe, a ſoldier anſwering the deſcription of the one that had robbed him, who ſaid, he belonged to the Suſſex militia, ſtationed at Dover, and that captain Poyntz had ſent him from thence to Cowdry, for a dog. Several perſons went in purſuit of him, but without effect.

On laſt Wedneſday ſe'nnight, in the evening, the following melancholy accident happened at Petworth, in Suſſex: As the coachman of the earl of Egremont was watering a pair of horſes in a pond in the park, during the ſtorm, one of them took fright, at a flaſh of lightning, and plunged from him into the water beyond his depth, when the coachman perceiving that he was unable to ſwim, and attributing the cauſe to his being curbed, followed him on the other horſe, in order to remove the impediment, but in the attempt, he fell into the water, and was unfortunately drowned, with the beaſt he endeavoured to ſave. The other horſe ſwam, and recovered the land without injury.

12th. The ſtorm of wind laſt night was as tremendous as any remembered by the oldeſt man living; at the turn of the tide, contrary to the wind, a great number of boats were daſhed to pieces and ſunk; and, below bridge, ſeveral ſhips were driven from their moorings, and ſuſtained conſiderable damage: by land its effects were alſo ſeverely felt. In Lambeth, ſeveral houſes were unroofed and chimneys blown down; and, in Hyde-park and Kenſington-garden, a great many trees were torn up by the roots, and ſhattered branches of them carried through the air to remote diſtances. Even in the ſtreets, the current of wind was, in ſome places, ſo violent as to break the lamps. We do not, however, hear any perſon has ſuffered bodily hurt.

18th. The following priſoners, for the following offences, received ſentence of death, *viz.* John Lowther, for ſtealing goods, value 10*l.* in a dwelling-houſe; Dennis Nugent, for a rape; Thomas Henry Wiltſhire, for ſtealing goods, value twenty-three ſhillings, privately in a ſhop; Joſeph Peachy, for ſtealing goods, value 20*l.* in a dwelling-houſe; Thomas Allen, for the like offence; James Wingrove, for a burglary; Robert Ladbrook Troyt, for forgery; John Bruton, for highway robbery; William Hewlings and Joſiah Oliver, for ſtealing goods, above forty ſhillings, from a ſhip in the river Thames; Catherine Lehay, Anne Warner, Sarah Willis, and Anne Sidney, for high treaſon, that is to ſay, for coining. The ſentence of John Collins was reſpited for the opinion of the twelve judges.—The ſeſſions was then adjourned to the 24th of October next.

Sunday morning, Mr. Dreſſings, the meſſenger, was ſtopped, on the other ſide of Saxmundham, in Suffolk, by two footpads, who robbed him of his money, and a green bag containing linen, and his whip and ſpurs. Mr. Dreſſings was ſent off, by government, to Yarmouth, to overtake the mail, in order to forward ſome diſpatches.

Yeſterday, William Williams, late proprietor of the reading-room, in Round-

Round-court, in the Strand, appeared before the magiſtrate, on ſix different informations lodged againſt him, by virtue of the 29th George III. ſect. 9; whereby it is enacted, that, "if any hawker of any newſpaper, or other perſon, ſhall let out any newſpaper for hire, to any perſon or perſons, or to different perſons, or from houſe to houſe, he, ſhe, or they, ſo offending, ſhall forfeit and pay the ſum of five pounds." Francis Gibbs ſtated, that he went to the houſe of the defendant, on the 2d of May laſt, and there having read a newſpaper of that day, called the Daily Advertiſer, paid to the defendant one penny for the ſame; which being conſidered concluſive evidence by Mr. Eſtcourt, ſolicitor for the Stamp-duties, he reſted his caſe here; when Mr. Barry, as counſel for the defendant, was heard againſt it. It was at length mutually agreed, that, in conſideration of the peculiarity of the caſe, and the defendant waving all appeal, and promiſing never to commit the like offence, one conviction only ſhould take place, and all proceedings on the remainder ceaſe. He was therefore fined in the penalty of five pounds; which operating as a precedent, ſeveral other perſons were fined in the like ſum; and thus it is eſtabliſhed, that reading-rooms of this deſcription come within the meaning of the aforeſaid act.

19th. The mayor and corporation of Canterbury, having heard of the arrival of his royal highneſs the prince of Wales, at Charlton, near that place, waited on his royal highneſs with the freedom of this ancient city, which they preſented in an elegant gold box. They all met with a moſt gracious reception.

The following is the addreſs of the mayor, &c. to his royal highneſs, on the occaſion:

May it pleaſe your royal highneſs,

We, the mayor, recorder, aldermen, and common council, of the city of Canterbury, thoroughly ſenſible of the manifold benefits and advantages which we enjoy, under the mild and juſt government of your royal father, are extremely happy in this opportunity of teſtifying to your royal highneſs, on occaſion of your firſt coming to this ancient city, the duty and loyalty which we owe to his majeſty, and the perſonal reſpect and reverence which we have for your royal highneſs.

And if any thing could increaſe that reſpect, it would be the ſatisfaction which we receive at ſeeing your royal highneſs appear here in arms, in defence of the country againſt the worſt and moſt unprincipled enemies that ever diſgraced any age or period. And we have no doubt, but, if any neceſſity ſhould occur, which heaven avert, the inhabitants of this city and the county of Kent would be found ready, to a man, to ſecond your royal highneſs's ſpirited exertions.

For ourſelves, we beg leave to take this occaſion of declaring to your royal highneſs, our firm attachment to his majeſty's perſon and government, and our full intention to uſe our utmoſt endeavours to ſupport the laws and conſtitution of this country.

As an additional proof of our perſonal reſpect for your royal highneſs, we humbly intreat that you will condeſcend to accept, from our hands, the freedom of this ancient city, ſo that this corporation may,

in all future time, be honoured with having your royal highneſs's name enrolled among the number of its citizens.

Given under the common ſeal of the ſaid city, the 18th day of September, in the year of our Lord, 1798.

To which his royal highneſs was graciouſly pleaſed to deliver the following anſwer:

Mr. Mayor, Mr. Recorder, and gentlemen of the corporation,

The token of eſteem and attachment to myſelf and family, which the loyal and ancient corporation of the city of Canterbury have this day been pleaſed to grant me, I accept with many thanks.

It is impoſſible for me not to feel very forcibly the truly ſpirited and patriotic ſentiments which pervade the whole of your addreſs. For myſelf, I can only aſſure you, that it will be the pride and glory of my life, upon every occaſion, to give my moſt cordial co-operation towards reſcuing from dangers, foreign or domeſtic, our preſent ineſtimable conſtitution, which the experience of ages, and our own conviction, prove to us is the only one exiſting under which individual happineſs is cemented by rational freedom.

An unfortunate accident happened on-board the Endymion, two or three days before ſhe came into Portſmouth. Some piſtols lying on the gun-room table, Mr. Thompſon, a marine officer, took up one of them, not ſuppoſing it to be loaded, and preſented it at Mr. Hogg, a ſurgeon, ſaying, "I'll ſhoot you;" when it unfortunately went off. The ball entered at one ear, and came out at the oppoſite ſide, carrying away part of the tongue. Mr. Hogg was ſent immediately to Haſlar-hoſpital, where hopes are entertained of his recovery.

20th. John Shaw, eſq. was duly elected alderman of Portſoken-ward, vice ſir Benjamin Hammett, reſigned.

A genteel young man, dreſſed in the naval uniform, has lately obtained money from the collectors of the cuſtoms, at various ports in this country, under pretence of being landed near the ſaid ports, and going expreſs to the admiralty, with letters of the greateſt conſequence; at the ſame time, producing the packets with which he was charged, and drawing bills on London for the ſums he received, to diſcharge the expence of his conveyance; which have ſince been found to be drawn by and on perſons of fictitious names, thereby defrauding thoſe who advanced the money. On the 29th ult. he made the like attempt on the collector at Stockton, who, after examining him, put him under the care of a conſtable, and carried him before a juſtice of peace, who committed him to Durham gaol; but he eſcaped on the road.

A large quantity of foul air broke out in a coal-pit belonging to Mr. Whittuck, of Hanham, Glouceſterſhire, occaſioned by the proprietor having ſtopped a communication between that pit and the duke of Beaufort's coal-work adjourning; by which accident, the whole pit's company, conſiſting of twenty-nine men and boys, were in imminent danger of being ſuffocated; but, receiving timely aſſiſtance from ſome of his grace's colliers, that were at work very near, they all providentially eſcaped, though ſome were ſaved with great difficulty, the foul air continuing ſo very powerful as to

to render fruitleſs all the endeavours made, for ſeveral days together, to purify the coal-pit, and to fit it for work again.

A remarkable comet, or meteor, was obſerved on the 10th inſtant, about twenty minutes before twelve o'clock at night, by Alexander Campbell, one of the Maſters of the free ſchool at Alnwick, Northumberland, and another perſon. It appeared in the ſouth-weſt at a conſiderable altitude; at firſt it was no bigger, but much brighter, than a common ſtar, but preſently expanded into the form and ſize of an apothecary's peſtle. It was then obſcured by a cloud, which was ſtill illuminated behind; when the cloud was diſpelled, it re-appeared with a direction ſouth and north, with a ſmall long ſtreamer, cutting the peſtle a little below the centre, and iſſuing away to the eaſtward. It was again obſcured, and, on its re-appearance, the ſtreamer and the peſtle had formed the appearance of a hammer or a croſs; preſently after the ſtreamer, which made the ſhaft to the hammer, or ſtalk to the croſs, aſſumed two horns to the extreme point, towards the eaſt, reſembling a fork. It was then a third time obſcured, but when the cloud paſſed over, it was changed into the ſhape of two half moons, back to back, having a ſhort thick luminous ſtream between the two backs: it then vaniſhed totally from their ſight. It is obſervable that every new appearance became brighter and brighter, till it became an exceedingly brilliant object, all the other ſtars, in compariſon, appearing to be only dim ſpecks. The time of obſervation was about five minutes.

Bridgewater-bridge.—This ſtructure, which is principally compoſed of caſt-iron, brought in pieces from Colebrook-dale, Shropſhire, by water-carriage, is now pretty well completed: it conſiſts of one arch, the ſpan of which is ſeventy-five feet; the road-way is twenty-four feet wide in the clear, including two foot pave-ways; it is lighted with ſix lamps. The expence of erecting the bridge is about 4,000*l.* which was collected by an additional toll on all the turnpikes leading to the town. The former bridge had ſtood five hundred years, and was built by an ancient lord of Bridgewater; the piers are not yet quite taken away. The iron bridge is one of the handſomeſt in the kingdom.

On Saturday, Mr. Mackintoſh, of Micklem, near Leatherhead, was ſtopped and robbed by three foot-pads, near the ſeven mile-ſtone on that road, one of whom ſtruck him a violent blow with a ſtick.

Bartholomew fair.—The lord mayor, according to ancient cuſtom, with the ſheriffs, and alderman Boydel, went in ſtate yeſterday, at one o'clock, from the manſion-houſe, and proclaimed the fair. The common buſineſs being done, and the jury of the Piedpoudre-court ſworn, his lordſhip returned to give a dinner to the ſheriffs and aldermen. The hollowing, roaring, ſtaring, ſhouting, trumpeting, grinning, ſwearing, drinking, &c. &c. then began. The crowd was uncommonly great, and, it being market-day, the fun created by the gentlemen of the cleaver, driving their *beaſteſes* through the mob, was laughable and entertaining, but, happily, no miſchief was done.

29th. This being the anniverſary of the birth of her royal highneſs the

ducheſs of Wirtemberg, who entered into the thirty-third year of her age, their majeſties received the compliments of the nobility at Glouceſter-lodge, Weymouth. The day was ſpent with great feſtivity; and the following rural ſports formed a part of the celebrations, at Maiden-caſtle, Dorcheſter:

No. 1. To be played for at cricket, a round of beef. Each man of the winning ſet to have a ribband.

No. 2. A cheeſe to be rolled down the hill.—Prize to whoever ſtops it.

No. 3. A ſilver cup to be run for by ponies—the beſt of three heats.

No. 4. A pound of tobacco to be grinned for.

No. 5. A barrel of beer to be rolled down the hill.—Prize to whoever ſtops it.

No. 6. A Michaelmas-day gooſe to be dived for.

No. 7. A good hat to be cudgeled for.

No. 8. Half-a-guinea for the beſt aſs—in three heats.

No. 9. A handſome hat for the boy moſt expert in catching a roll dipped in treacle, and ſuſpended by a ſtring.

No. 10. A leg of mutton, and a gallon of porter, to the winner of a race of 100 yards, in ſacks.

No. 11. A good hat to be wreſtled for.

No. 12. Half-a-guinea to the rider of the aſs who wins the beſt of three heats, by coming in laſt.

No. 13. A pig.—Prize to whoever catches him by the tail.

An umpire to be choſen, in each of the above caſes, to ſettle all circumſtances relative to the ſame, and declare the winners; and, if he gives ſatisfaction, he will receive half-a-crown.

The duke of Bedford, or, as we ſhould rather hope, ſome of his agents, has ſtopped up the road leading from Southampton-row to Somers-town. This, though called a private road, and, as ſuch, not open to carriages, has been a foot-way from time immemorial. It is hoped, therefore, that the duke, without waiting for a legal proceſs, will reſtore that privilege, which the inhabitants would rather owe to his own beneficence.

Early on Sunday morning, ſeventeen French priſoners effected their eſcape out of the caſtle of Edinburgh. They had made a large hole in the wall, through which they crept, and, by means of a rope, got to the bottom of a rock; fifteen of them got down ſafely, but the rope broke with the two laſt, and they were much hurt. Having gone into a houſe to get their wounds dreſſed, they were ſeized, and ſent back to the caſtle. Parties were ſent out in all directions, in order to retake them, and we learn that ſeveral of them have been ſecured. The two that were hurt were ſent to the royal infirmary. A perſon in the weſt port, who is ſuſpected of aiding and aſſiſting them, is apprehended.

Yeſterday morning, while the city light-horſe volunteers were exerciſing in a field, at the end of Gray's-inn Lane, one of the horſes ran off with his rider. An old man, ſtanding near the wall, was ſtruck with ſuch violence, while the horſe was attempting to leap over, that he was killed upon the ſpot. His body was carried to the Blue Lion to be owned. What was very remarkable, although the horſe knock-

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ed a number of bricks from off the top of the wall, and tumbled over with his rider upon the oppoſite ſide, yet neither were much hurt.

Saturday night, James Bond, a carpenter, in Dean-ſtreet, Weſtminſter, came home in liquor, and having words with his wife, beat her on the back part of her head with a mallet, which fractured her ſkull, and occaſioned her death; he was immediately ſecured, and taken to Tothillfields-bridewell. The unfortunate man is ſixty-ſeven years old.

Voluntary contributions.—Bank report, to September 20, 1798:

	£	s.	d.
Voluntary contributions . . .	1,514,933	12	9
Aſſeſſed Taxes . .	821,717	16	7
Total .	2,336,551	9	4

A melancholy circumſtance took place on Tueſday afternoon, near Dover: as ſome artillerymen were firing the great guns in Archcliff's fort, one of the ſhot unfortunately ſtruck his majeſty's ſloop Oſprey, and killed two men on the ſpot, and ſhattered another poor man's arm ſo badly, that he died yeſterday. His royal highneſs the prince of Wales, hearing of the above, was much affected, and immediately ordered the greateſt poſſible care to be taken of the wounded man, and of the families of the deceaſed. It appears the gun had been pointed ſome hours before it was fired, and, by the changing of the tide, the Oſprey was in its direction.

Yeſterday morning, about one o'clock, a fire broke out at the houſe of Mrs. Wood, baker, in Little Britain, which communicated to three houſes adjoining, and two back houſes. The whole premiſes were intirely deſtroyed, together with the goods; happily, no lives were loſt.

On Wedneſday laſt, was caught, in Southampton-water, a ſpermaceti whale, meaſuring twenty-five feet in length, and eighteen in circumference. It was taken by the fiſhermen to Itchen, where it was exhibited while it could be kept, and afterwards was cut up and boiled for oil.

The village of Ordrup, about a mile from Copenhagen, the ſummer retreat of numbers of the inhabitants of that city, has been moſtly reduced to aſhes, by the breaking out of a fire in the night, with all the grain of this year's growth cut in the neighbourhood.

30th. On Saturday, a common-hall was held at Guidhall, for the election of a lord mayor for the enſuing year. The recorder having ſtated to the livery the importance of the buſineſs for which they were convened, the common ſerjeant called over the names of the different gentlemen who had ſerved the office of ſheriff. The names of Mr. alderman Combe and ſir Richard Carr Glynn were received with loud applauſe, and it was declared, that the voice of the livery was in favour of thoſe two gentlemen. Mr. aldermen Newman previouſly declined the conteſt. The court of aldermen retired for about half an hour, and, at their return, the recorder ſaid their choice had fallen on ſir Richard Carr Glynn, who was immediately inveſted with the inſignia of the mayoralty.

Mr. alderman Combe ſaid, his feelings were ſufficiently gratified by the approbation of the livery, the ſhew of hands having preponderated in his favour. He had no fault to

find with the court of aldermen, for the preference which they had made — perhaps their choice had fallen upon a worthier, though a junior alderman, than himſelf. He ſhould continue his exertions for the advantage of the livery, and he pledged himſelf that the event of the day ſhould excite no animoſity in his breaſt againſt any individual whatever.

The number of aldermen that voted on Saturday, were, 15 for ſir Richard Carr Glynn, and 5 for Harvey Combe. eſq.

Died. At his houſe in Park-ſtreet, Windſor, in his 84th year, Owen Saluſbury Brereton, eſq. many years recorder of Liverpool, F. R. and A. SS. and vice-preſident of the Society of Antiquaries. He was going to Egham races, when he dropped down in a fit, and ſoon expired. He was buried in Saint George's chapel, Windſor, on the 22d. He repreſented the borough of Ilcheſter, in one parliament; and was an early member, and one of the vice-preſidents, of the Society of Arts and Commerce, and various other literary and charitable ſocieties. He held the recorderſhip of Liverpool at the particular deſire of the corporation; and has left the bulk of his fortune, after the death of his widow, to Mrs. Brand, ſiſter of ſir Harry Trelawny, bart. who was his ward. He had an eſtate in Flintſhire, and was conſtable of Flint-caſtle, a ſinecure place. In a Roman ſtation, called *Crocs Atti*, on his eſtate, his horſe kicked up ſeveral Roman antiquities, engraved and deſcribed in Pennant's Welſh Tour, I. 51, 52, 67—73. He was elected F. A. S. 1763; and, in the "Archæologia," II. 80, is a paper of his obſervations on Peter Collinſon's account of the round towers in Ireland, I. 305. In III. 111, his tour through South Wales; and, p. 154, extracts from Henry VIIIth's houſehold book; account of a painted window in Brereton church, Cheſhire, IX. 368; a non-deſcript coin of Philip King of France, X. 463. Mr. B. married one of the Whitmores, of Shropſhire, by whom he had 5 children, who all died young, the eldeſt ſon aged 5.

OCTOBER.

1ſt. Yeſterday the lord mayor, alderman Boydell, and three others, with the late ſheriffs and city officers, appeared in the court of exchequer, to preſent the new ſheriffs to the curſitor baron. The ceremony of ſwearing the old ſheriffs to the truth of their accounts, and the appointment of under ſheriffs being finiſhed, the feudal ceremony of chopping the ſticks for a tenement, called the Moor, in the county of Salop, and telling the horſe-ſhoes and ſixty-one nails for a tenement, called the Forge, near Temple Bar, was performed by alderman ſir John Eamer; and then the lord mayor, ſheriffs, and aldermen, returned to the London-Tavern, to partake of a ſumptuous dinner. Baron Maſeres was invited, but declined the invitation.

That beautiful edifice, Wanſtead church, Eſſex, was laſt week robbed of all its elegant communion plate, and the pulpit, deſk, &c. ſtripped of their neat velvet coverings. The ſacrilegious villains afterwards drank all the wine deſigned for the holy ſacrament, leaving the bottles all broke about the church, and a candle burning, which providentially did

did not ſet fire to the building. The gang conſiſted of ſixteen, ſix of whom are already taken, and we ſincerely hope the reſt will meet with that puniſhment which they ſo juſtly deſerve. Houſe-breaking, in the neighbourhood of Maryland Point, Laytonſtone, and Wanſtead, has recently been very frequent. The Bow-ſtreet officers ought moſt certainly to pay that quarter a viſit.

3d. This day the court of common council was attended by two hundred members. The buſineſs was opened by the lord mayor's reading the following letter, which he had received from admiral Nelſon, viz.

"*Vanguard, Mouth of the Nile, Auguſt* 8, 1798.

"My lord,

"Having the honour of being a freeman of the city of London, I take the liberty of ſending to your lordſhip the ſword of the commanding French admiral, Monſieur Blanquet, who ſurvived after the battle of the 1ſt, off the Nile, and requeſt that the city of London will honour me by the acceptance of it, as a remembrance, that Britannia ſtill rules the waves; which that ſhe may for ever do, is the fervent prayer of

"Your lordſhip's

"Moſt obedient ſervant,

"Horatio Nelſon."

"Right hon. the lord mayor of London."

A tumult of applauſe immediately followed the reading of the letter; and, upon the motion of Mr. deputy Leekey, the ſword was ordered to be placed among the city regalia.—The thanks of the court were then unanimouſly voted to admiral lord Nelſon, and to the officers and ſeamen under his command.

5th. Yeſterday the lord mayor, ſixteen aldermen, and nearly two hundred common councilmen, attended. Deputy Leekey preſented a report reſpecting the French admiral's ſword. After a ſhort debate, the court ordered it to be placed in a very elegant glaſs caſe, in the moſt conſpicuous part of the council-room, with the following inſcription upon a tablet of marble:

The ſword of Monſieur *Blanquet*,
The commanding French admiral
In the *glorious victory* off the Nile,
On the firſt of Auguſt, 1798.
Preſented
To this court by the right honourable
ADMIRAL LORD NELSON.

Reſolved, That a ſword, of the value of 200 guineas, be preſented to rear-admiral lord Nelſon, by this court, as a teſtimony of the high eſteem they entertain of his public ſervices to this city, and to the whole empire.

That the lord mayor be requeſted to provide and preſent the ſaid ſword to admiral lord Nelſon.

That the freedom of the city of London be preſented to captain Berry, in a gold box of 100 guineas value, as a teſtimony of the high eſteem entertained of his gallant behaviour on the 1ſt of Auguſt laſt.

That the thanks of the court be given to all the other officers, ſeamen, and marines, for the undaunted bravery and ſteady conduct which they exhibited on that ever-memorable day.

All theſe motions were carried unanimouſly, with repeated burſts of applauſe.

The Halifax and New York mails, which arrrived yeſterday, brought the moſt melancholy accounts of the ravages of the yellow fever at Philadelphia, New York,

and Boſton. At the former place, ſixty perſons died in a day, upon an average, when the laſt return was made; but the number had ſo greatly increaſed, that publication has ceaſed to be made; and, in order to conceal the dreadful effects of the peſtilence, the unfortunate ſufferers were buried in the night. The diſtemper had made nearly as mortal a progreſs at New York, where about twenty perſons died every day, and all the principal families had deſerted the city. Not a ſingle perſon is to be met in the ſtreets without a handful of ſegars, and one ſmoking in the mouth, as an antidote to the diſeaſe. At Boſton, the dreadful malady had alſo committed ſome alarming ravages.

Conſtantinople, Sept. 8.

Immediately upon receiving the news of the victory off the mouth of the Nile, the grand ſeignior directed a ſuperb diamond aigrette (called a chelengk, or plume of triumph), taken from one of the imperial turbans, to be ſent to admiral ſir Horatio Nelſon, together with a piece of ſable fur of the firſt quality. He directed alſo a purſe of two thouſand ſequins to be diſtributed among the Britiſh ſeamen wounded at the battle of the Nile. Theſe preſents are to be conveyed to ſir Horatio Nelſon in a Turkiſh frigate.

The following is a tranſlation of the note delivered to Mr. Smith, his majeſty's miniſter plenipotentiary, upon the occaſion:

TRANSLATION.

It is but lately that, by a written communication, it has been made known how much the ſublim Porte rejoiced at the firſt advice received of the Engliſh ſquadron in the White Sea having defeated the French ſquadron of Alexandria, in Egypt. By recent accounts, comprehending a ſpecific detail of the action, it appears now more poſitive, that his Britannic majeſty's fleet has actually deſtroyed, by that action, the beſt ſhips the French had in their poſſeſſion. This joyful event, therefore, laying this Empire under an obligation, and the ſervice rendered by our much eſteemed friend, admiral Nelſon, on this occaſion, being of a nature to call for public acknowledgement, his imperial majeſty, the powerful, formidable, and moſt magnificent grand ſeignior, has deſtined as a preſent, in his imperial name, to the ſaid admiral, a diamond aigrette (chelengk), and a ſable fur with broad ſleeves; beſides two thouſand ſequins, to be diſtributed among the wounded of his crew. And as the Engliſh miniſter is conſtantly zealous to contribute, by his endeavours, to the increaſe of friendſhip between the two courts, it is hoped he will not fail to make known this circumſtance to his court, and to ſolicit the permiſſion of the powerful and moſt auguſt king of England for the ſaid admiral to put on and wear the ſaid aigrette and pelice.

September 8, 1798.

Halifax, Nova-Scotia, Sept. 29.

On Tueſday laſt, the 25th inſtant, in the forenoon, the atmoſphere appeared thick, the ſky lowering, and every thing gave tokens of an approaching gale. The wind, nearly ſouth, about noon began to freſhen into a heavy breeze, and backened towards the eaſtern board to about ſouth-eaſt. Between four and five o'clock P. M. a ſmart ſhower of rain paſſed over, which ſeemed to have given additional force to the wind. The veſſels in the harbour prepared

to

to ſuſtain it by ſtriking their top-gallant maſts, yards, &c. letting go their beſt anchors, and exerting every means which might enable them to withſtand its fury, which by this time produced a conſiderable ſwell in the road. The firſt ſhip which began to drift, notwithſtanding all theſe neceſſary precautions, was the Penelope, an American veſſel, acquitted but a few days before by the admiralty; ſhe fell athwart the bows of a Daniſh veſſel, recently brought in for examination. The Dane's bowſprit carried away the Penelope's mizen-maſt; the latter then got clear, and ſoon after was driven up towards the Navy Yard. The gale now increaſed to a moſt tremendous violence, veered from the eaſtward, and blew directly up the harbour. The ſea ran dreadfully, and daſhed to pieces almoſt every thing which oppoſed it. The prize veſſels lately ſent in by the Prevoyante, the tranſports with the troops on board, nearly ready to ſail for Bermuda, and many other veſſels, were hurried before it, without being able to make the leaſt reſiſtance. The tide, which ſhould have ceaſed riſing by eight o'clock, continued to flow till near nine. The wharfs were nearly all under water; the timber began to give way, and the veſſels faſtened to them aſſiſted in dragging them into the harbour. The moon, which occaſionally broke through the clouds, diſcloſed a proſpect which baffles all deſcription: ſhips driving before the hurricane nearly on their beam-ends, others actually upſet, many with their maſts torn by the board, wharfs and ſtores, filled with valuable merchandize, daſhed into atoms; and, in ſhort, one continued ſcene of devaſtation and ruin, the whole length of the town, from the king's Lumber Wharf to the Navy Yard. The brig Betſy, nearly ready to ſail for London with a valuable cargo of ſugars, &c. drove from the Long Wharf, together with the ſhip Liberty (a large retaken American veſſel, that had juſt landed her cargo); the head of the Liberty was towards the town, and in her paſſage up the harbour ſhe ran foul of and dragged many other veſſels adrift, which might otherwiſe have ſuſtained the tempeſt without much injury. The ſhip Matilda (belonging to Mr. Anderſon), and a coaſting ſloop, were completely upſet. A ſchooner, belonging to Meſſrs. Pryors, drove from their wharf, and forced a paſſage through the next wharf, nearly thirty feet from its head. The ſtores occupied by Meſſrs. Lawſons on Auſtin and Kidſon's wharfs were beat down by a brig, which drove from Tremain's wharf, and ſugars, rice, &c. &c. to a conſiderable amount, were almoſt intirely deſtroyed. The damage is computed at fully 100,000*l.* The Lynx ſloop of war had a moſt ſingular eſcape; after driving from her anchors, ſhe ran foul of another man of war, and in paſſing her ſhe fortunately hooked on the other ſhip's anchors into her aſtermoſt port, which ſhe carried off with the cable to it, and by this ſhe out-rode the whole gale with her ſtern to the wind, as the other man of war was luckily ſo well moored as to hold them both. The appearance of the country after the ſtorm was ſingular; every tree and vegetable was blighted and withered, as if they had been ſcorched with fire.

Dublin Caſtle, Oct. 18.

Correct Copy of the Letter of the Lord Lieutenant's Secretary, to the Preſi-

dent of the Court-Martial, who acquitted Whollaghan, the Wicklow Yeoman, of the Murder of Dogherty, a Peasant of the same County.

"Sir,

"Having laid before the lord lieutenant the proceeding of a general court-martial, held by your orders in Dublin barracks, on Saturday the 13th inst. of which colonel the earl of Enniskillen is president, I am directed to acquaint you that his excellency intirely disapproves of the sentence of the above court-martial, acquitting Hugh Whollaghan of a cruel and deliberate murder, of which, by the cleareſt evidence he appears to have been guilty.

"Lord Cornwallis orders the court-martial to be immediately dissolved, and directs that Hugh Whollaghan shall be dismissed from the corps of yeomanry in which he served, and that he shall not be received into any other corps of yeomanry in this kingdom.

"His excellency farther desires, that the above may be read to the president and members of the court-martial in open court. I have the honour to be, sir, your most obedient humble servant,

"H. Taylor, Sec.

"Lieut. general Craig, &c. &c.

"P. S. I am also directed to desire that a new court-martial may be immediately convened, for the trial of such prisoners as may be brought before them; and that none of the officers who sat upon Hugh Whollaghan be admitted as members."

The court-martial above, so justly reprobated, sat in the barracks, on the trials of Hugh Whollaghan and James Fox, sen. and James Fox, jun. privates in the New town Mount Kennedy corps of yeomanry; the first charged with the wilful murder of Thomas Dogherty, of Delginny, in the county of Wicklow, and the two latter with being aiding and assisting in perpetrating the same. Mary Dogherty, mother to the deceased, deposed, that on Monday se'nnight the prisoners, Whollaghan and Fox, jun. came to the cabin of a woman where she then resided (her own dwelling and her son's having been destroyed by the soldiery); that Whollaghan only entered the room, the other prisoner wearing the uniform of his corps, having a musket, and, as the deponent verily believed, came on the same errand, having waited outside of the door, against the churchyard wall, opposite the cabin: on Whollaghan's entering the room, he asked, "Are there any bloody rebels here?" Witness replied, "No, sir." Her son, she said, was sitting behind her, eating some bread and milk. The prisoner addressed himself to him, and asked him if he was not Dogherty's eldest son? He replied, "I am." The prisoner then said, "You must die immediately." Her son answered, "I hope not, sir; if there is any thing against me, let me have a fair trial, and I will abide the consequence: I am ready to go with you now up to Mr. Latouche's." (Delginny is on Mr. Latouche's estate.) The prisoner said, "he did not care about Mr. Latouche any more than himself." The witness then begged of the prisoner to spare her son; he damned her for an old b—h, and snapped his piece, which missed fire; he then snapped it again, and it again missed. On this another yeoman, named Charles Fox, came in and said, "Your gun is not worth a penny, but by G—d that fellow

muſt die." The witneſs, ſeeing the priſoner intent on murdering her ſon, caught hold of the muzzle of the piece, and endeavoured, as far as her ſtrength would allow her (being an old infirm woman), to prevent him being killed by the diſcharge; the gun went off on the third attempt; the ball grazed the breaſt of her ſon, and entered his arm, which it broke. He let fall the veſſel in which he held his milk, and dropped down, exclaiming, "Oh, mother, pray for me!" The witneſs, in an agony of woe, took hold of his head, which ſhe ſupported in her arms. The priſoner immediately went out, returned in a few minutes after, and ſaid, "Is the villain dead yet?" Witneſs replied, "Indeed he is, ſir." The priſoner then obſerved, "For fear he ſhould not, let him take this," and immediately fired a ſecond ſhot, which entered her ſon's body; he never ſpoke after, but immediately uttered a groan and expired. He did not ſpeak from the time he received the firſt ſhot till he died, except the one exclamation mentioned before. Witneſs thinks he might have lived, had he not received the ſecond ſhot. Witneſs had no charge againſt James Fox, ſen. They were all acquitted.

Dublin. 24th. Mr. alderman Truelock, who has laboured for ſeveral months paſt under a ſtate of mental derangement, put an end to his exiſtence with a piſtol, at his houſe at Symond's Court, near Ball's Bridge. This unfortunate gentleman's prevalent ſymptom of inſanity was a perſuaſion that his family and ſervants were leagued in a plot to poiſon him; and ſo ſtrongly did this idea poſſeſs his mind, that, for many days previous to his unhappy cataſtrophe, he could not be prevailed on, even on the advice and ſtrenuous remonſtrance of his phyſicians, to take any food until Friday morning laſt, when he took ſome jelly. On the night of that fatal day, when ſitting alone with his lady, he ſuddenly ſeized a piſtol, which hung over his chimney-piece for the protection of his houſe, ever ſince a robbery which was committed on him there a ſhort time ſince, and the ball paſſed through the back of her neck. Mrs. Truelock, with much fortitude and preſence of mind, ran out of the room, in order to ſend one of her ſervants for a ſurgeon; and the inſtant ſhe quitted the room, the alderman bolted it on the inſide, and with a ſecond piſtol diſpatched himſelf. The ſervants, alarmed by the report, broke open the door, and found that the unfortunate gentleman effected his fatal purpoſe by placing the muzzle of the piſtol in his mouth, for the ball paſſed diagonally through the occiput. The coroner's inqueſt ſat on the body, and returned their verdict—lunacy.

31ſt. The Board of Agriculture have come to an unanimous reſolution, that their preſidency, in future, ſhall be annually elective.

DIED A few days ago died, ſuddenly, in his ſtall in the Borough, —— Leeds, a cobler, aged 89, a melancholy example of the viciſſitudes of human life. He was formerly an officer of rank in the army, but ſold his commiſſion, and became tea-dealer. He afterwards quitted this buſineſs, and accepted a commiſſion in the Ruſſian ſervice; but happening to kill a brother officer in a duel, he fled to England, where he had not been long, when, being reduced to want, he hired himſelf as book-

book-keeper to an eminent woollen-draper; in this ſituation he remained five years, when his employer dying, he ſet up a chandler's ſhop, in which he failed; and, after encountering many changes and chances, being reduced to the greateſt diſtreſs, he turned cobler, which trade he followed till his death.

At Vienna, after a few days illneſs, of a complaint in his bowels, the abbé Joſeph Hilarius Eckhel, director of the Imperial cabinet of medals, and profeſſor of antiquities in the univerſity of Vienna. He was born at Enzesfeld, in Auſtria, January 13, 1737. His learned friend, the abbé Michael Denis, firſt keeper of the Imperial library, has written the following lines on his death:

"In obitum Joſephi Erkhelii τῶ νομισματοφύλακος Palat.

: : : : : : : : :

Eckhelium brevis horatulis; ſed diva Menet,
Scripta Viri ſecum vivere ſecla jubet."

By his death, numiſmatic ſcience will ſuſtain a great loſs. His capital work is intituled, "Doctrina Nummorum veterum," in four parts, Vienna, 1792—1794, 4to; to the firſt of which are prefixed general prolegomena. In 1786, he publiſhed a ſpecimen of this work, intituled, "Deſcriptio Nummorum Antinchiæ Syriæ;" alſo, "Sylloge Nummorum veterum Anecdotum Theſauri Cæſarei. Vien. 1786," 4to.

At his houſe, at Pinner, John Zephaniah Holwell, eſq. formerly governor of Bengal, almoſt the only ſurvivor of that ever-memorable and fatal cataſtrophe, the black-hole priſon, at Calcutta, and writer of the affecting narrative of that night of horror, publiſhed in 1758, and abridged.

NOVEMBER.

5th. An old woman, ſervant to Dr. Maclaurin, of Great Queen-ſtreet, Lincoln's-inn Fields, who was left in care of the houſe, while the family were in the country, coming home much intoxicated with liquor, fell down the kitchen ſtairs, and fractured her ſkull in ſo dreadful a manner, that ſhe loſt her life.

6th. The new-erected mill, at Wooley, near Torrington, was, for the firſt time, ſet to work, when one of the mill-ſtones ſplit in two parts, and was ſlung off with ſo much force, as to ſtrike a young man at the diſtance of 25 feet, and killed him on the ſpot; a woman alſo received ſo violent a ſhock as to break her arm; and the miller received a blow from one piece of the ſtone, which fractured his leg and thigh.

7th. *Bath.* This day the lord biſhop of Bath and Wells, aſſiſted by his ſon (the chancellor), and Dr. Philpot, archdeacon, and attended by the clergy of the pariſh of Walcot, (together with ſuch other gentlemen as have been concerned in the undertaking) and by the proper officers, conſecrated the free church in this city.

The bankruptcy cauſe of Mr. Bowes came on to be argued in the court of chancery on Monday laſt, in conſequence of his having preſented a petition, the prayer of which was, that a commiſſion of bankruptcy, lately iſſued againſt him, might be ſuperſeded, at the expence of Mr. Francis Peacock, the petitioning creditor, who was formerly

formerly the agent of Mr. Bowes. The doubt on which the preſent application was founded, it appeared, had exiſted for upwards of eleven years; no legal act of bankruptcy had been proved, and no ſatisfactory evidence had been given of Mr. Bowes's being a trader. The only proof of his being a trader was ſtated in the depoſition to be this, "that Mr. Bowes was intereſted in four collieries; that he was part owner of a ſhip, which he had freighted, and thereby ſought to get his livelihood as other ſhip-owners uſually do."—After the whole of the caſe was heard, the lord chancellor was clearly of opinion, that Mr. Bowes ought to be conſidered merely as a part owner of a ſhip, and that he was not a trader within the meaning of the bankrupt laws. His lordſhip alſo thought that the petitioning creditor's debt, and the alleged act of bankruptcy were defective, and did not warrant the ſuing out a commiſſion. Upon theſe ſeveral grounds his lordſhip ordered the commiſſion to be ſuperſeded, at the expence of the petitioning creditor.

About ſix o'clock, a fire broke out at Meſſrs. Gordon and company's, diſtillers, in Goſwell-ſtreet, which conſumed part of the premiſes, but was, by the timely aſſiſtance of the firemen and engines, got under without doing any farther damage.

13th. On Thurſday, a grand match, of ploughing againſt time, was performed in Windſor Great Park, between the oxen belonging to his majeſty, and thoſe of lord Somerville, which his lordſhip had brought, with his plough, from Somerſetſhire. Half an acre of ground being meaſured, lord Somerville's oxen (four in the plough), ſtarted firſt, and performed it in an hour and twenty minutes. The machine went over two furrows at a time. His majeſty's oxen were then put to the plough (ſix in number), but they loſt the match by forty minutes.—The duke of Clarence, prince Erneſt, lord Walſingham, generals Harcourt and De Budie, with a number of gentlemen farmers round the country, were ſpectators.—Lord Somerville's oxen were ſent off yeſterday for Suſſex, to plough a match againſt time.

14th. This morning at ten o'clock, at the White Hart, a public-houſe, in Southampton, a well-dreſſed man, between thirty and forty years of age, put a period to his exiſtence by a piſtol. In the morning, he had aſked the chambermaid for a glaſs of water. As ſoon as he was dreſſed, and retired into the bed-room, where he ſlept the night before, the miſtreſs of the houſe expreſſing ſome wonder that he had not called for breakfaſt, the glaſs of water was mentioned to her as a reaſon for his not being in a hurry for it. After waiting ſome time longer, a meſſage was ſent to him, when he was diſcovered lying dead on the floor. So cloſely had the piſtol been applied to his temple, that no report from it had been heard in the houſe. A ſmall hole was made in the temple, whence a great effuſion of blood enſued.

Prince Edward, on his landing at Portſmouth, proceeded, amidſt the ſalutes of the batteries and the populace, to the commiſſioner's houſe, where he was waited on by the mayor and aldermen of that town, who, after addreſſing him in very loyal language, preſented him with the freedom of the corporation. The

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anſwer of his royal highneſs was as follows:

"I am particularly flattered by this mark of your early attention. I thank you for your ſentiments of attachment towards my family; and in reſpect to the latter part of your addreſs, I accept of it with pleaſure, that of being enrolled amongſt the burgeſſes of your borough."

16th. Wedneſday evening a coroner's inqueſt ſat at the pariſh church of St. Lawrence, Cateaton-ſtreet, on the body of — Norman, a private in the Weſt Yorkſhire militia, who was unfortunately killed by a fall from the roof of the Mancheſter coach, the preceding day, when a verdict was returned of accidental death. The proprietor of the coach is ordered to pay a fine of twenty guineas.

19th. Two young men, who eſcaped ſome days ſince from the ſhip North Britain, to avoid being impreſſed, were, on the following morning, found frozen to death in the road, near Patrington.

On Monday, at Liverpool, a perſon attempted to go down, in a diving apparatus, to the wreck of the Pelican (overſet in the river, about five years ſince). He deſcended about four fathoms and a half; but, owing to one of the tubes breaking, and want of proper perſons to work the air pumps, was obliged to be taken up immediately, to prevent ſuffocation.

In an important tythe cauſe, ſolemnly argued by demurrer before lord chief juſtice Kenyon, a few days ſince, it was ruled by his lordſhip as the eſtabliſhed law of the land for more than a century, that the owner, or occupier of land, cannot, by turning in cattle, or otherwiſe, deſtroy the tythes ſet out in kind, on a pretence of having given reaſonable notice for the removal of the ſame; but muſt recover damages for any unreaſonable detention of the tythes on his land, by a proof of the fact, in an action againſt the proprietor of ſuch tythes.

The markets at Taunton and Tiverton, in Somerſet and Devon, were laſt week reduced much in price, to the great comfort of the inhabitants: Beef 3¼d. the beſt; inferior, 2½d.; mutton and pork, upon the average, 3½d to 3d.; poultry, 2s. 6d. the beſt in their feathers; geeſe, 2s. to 2s. 6d. each.

Letter of General Koſciuſko to the Emperor Paul I. of Ruſſia.

Sire,

I profit of the firſt moments of the liberty I enjoy, under the protecting laws of the greateſt and moſt generous nation, to return you the preſents that your apparent bounty, and the atrocity of your miniſters, forced me to accept. If I do wrong, ſire, attribute it only to the irreſiſtible force of the attachment that I bear for my compatriots, companions in misfortunes, and the hopes of yet ſerving my country. Yes, I repeat it, ſire, and I am deſirous of making to you the declaration; your heart appeared to me to be touched at my diſaſtrous ſituation; but your miniſters, and their ſatellites, have not conducted themſelves to me according to your wiſhes. Should they attempt to impute to my free will a meaſure they compelled me to take, I will develope to you, and to all men who know the value of honour, their violence and perfidy; and that it will be to them only you will owe the publication of their crimes. Receive, ſire, the teſtimonies of my reſpect. (Signed) Koſciuſko.

Paris, 17 *Thermidor*.

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The ravages of the yellow fever, in America, have been of the moſt dreadful deſcription. At Philadelphia, ſeventy and eighty deaths are reported, on an average, in twenty-four hours; and in one inſtance the report of the health committee ſtated one hundred and eighteen to have died within that ſpace. The laſt details, however, we are happy to ſtate, are not of ſo melancholy a complexion. On the 15th ult. the deaths in the above city were only twenty-ſeven, and the new caſes forty-eight. At New York, on the 17th of the ſame month, the deaths were no more than twenty-nine; but moſt of the citizens, who had returned to the ſickly part of the city, had caught the infection. At Boſton, on the 23d, the fever had entirely diſappeared, and the citizens had, for the moſt part, returned to their dwellings.

21ſt. The following important declaration was unanimouſly ſubſcribed to, at a very numerous meeting of the merchants, bankers, traders, and other inhabitants, of the metropolis, held at the manſion-houſe on this day, the lord mayor in the chair:

1. "That the principle of finance reſorted to in the late ſeſſion of parliament, namely, that of raiſing, within the year, a conſiderable portion of the ſum neceſſary for the public ſervice, had contributed, in an eminent degree, to the improvement of public credit, and the advantage of the community.

2. "That the meeting was nevertheleſs of opinion, that the criterion then aſſumed, as the baſis of that extraordinary ſupply, had been found unequal in its operation, inaſmuch as it had failed to call forth a due ratio of contribution from many deſcriptions of perſons.

3. "That, impreſſed with full confidence that the reſources of theſe kingdoms were adequate to the maintenance of the national honour and independance, the meeting thought it proper to declare their readineſs to give their utmoſt ſupport to ſuch meaſures as the legiſlature might deem beſt calculated to call forth thoſe reſources in a more equal and effectual manner, truſting, that its wiſdom would deviſe ſuch expedients for that purpoſe, as, combined with our late glorious victories, might afford the means of farther ſpirited reſiſtance to the power and pretenſions of the enemy; and ſecure, not only the bleſſings we now enjoy, but alſo that ultimate object of all our exertions —a ſafe and honourable peace."

26th. This morning Mr. Pitt ſent a letter to the bank, ſtating, that he would be ready next week to treat for a loan. This notice was, as uſual, communicated from the bank to the ſtock exchange.

This day the new church of St. Martin Outwich was conſecrated by the biſhop of London, before a crowded and reſpectable congregation. After divine ſervice, the Rev. John Roſe, the rector, in a very pathetic and forcible diſcourſe appropriate to the occaſion, took a review of the declining ſtate of religion in a neighbouring country, and the frequent attempts of falſe philoſophy in this, to triumph over revelation; and concluded with the moſt impreſſive exhortation to his pariſhioners, to give a conſtant attendance in the place which the Lord had that day made holy. This church, newly erected on the ſite of the old one, is

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a very beautiful ſtructure, where, to uſe the language of Mr. Roſe, an elegant ſimplicity harmonizes the mind, without attracting the fancy.

28th. Yeſterday morning, Dennis Nugent, for a rape; —— Troit, for a forgery; and a woman, for coining, were executed, purſuant to their ſentence, in the Old Bailey. They behaved with a degree of decency becoming their unfortunate ſituation.—Nugent denied his guilt to the laſt moment, calling aloud to the ſpectators to bear witneſs of his aſſeverations, even after the cap was drawn over his eyes.

Yeſterday being the day appointed for a general thankſgiving for the ſucceſſes obtained by his majeſty's arms at ſea, and in particular for the late victory of admiral lord Nelſon, over the French fleet, it was duly obſerved throughout the metropolis. The ſhops were, for the moſt part, ſhut up; and the whole of the volunteer corps of London and Weſtminſter attended divine ſervice, at their reſpective pariſh churches.

The flags on St. Martin's church and Weſtminſter abbey were diſplayed, and the bells rang in the morning, and at noon, on the occaſion.

Their majeſties, and the princeſſes Auguſta, Elizabeth, and Sophia, at twelve o'clock, went to chapel royal, St. James's, where they heard a ſermon, preached by the Rev. Dr. Fiſher, canon of Windſor.

Capt. Brown, of the Kite ſloop of war, was ſhot with a piſtol, on Wedneſday laſt, about eleven o'clock in the evening, at Sheerneſs, by an inhabitant of that place, at whoſe houſe he had knocked for admiſſion, (having occaſionally ſlept there when on ſhore); the man, after he had opened the door, refuſed him admittance, and while captain B. and an officer, who was in company with him, were parleying with him, the villain fired a piſtol at captain B. the contents of which entered his left ſide, juſt below the ribs, but did not paſs through his body. He expired in a few minutes. The murderer was taken in about two hours after, while attempting to croſs the ferry.

American papers to the 4th of November arrived yeſterday. The yellow fever ſtill continued its ravages, though ſymptoms of abatement had begun to appear. The following are the reports of the laſt few days of October, and 1ſt of November, at Philadelphia:

October 27th, for the laſt twenty-four hours, ending that day at noon, 23 had died.

October 29	-	47
30	-	17
31	-	15
Nov. 1	-	20

On the 2d of November there were no reports.

By accounts from New York, it appears, that the burials in that city, on October 25, amounted to 7; on the 26th, to 13; and on the 29th, to 9. From this we have the ſatisfaction of knowing, that the virulence of the diſorder was nearly at an end.

Mr. Matthew Lyon, a member of the American congreſs, has been tried and found guilty of ſeditious practices, at Vermont. The ſentence pronounced againſt him was, That he be impriſoned four months, pay coſts, and a fine of one thouſand dollars, and ſtand committed until

until the judgement ſhall be complied with.—The indictment contained three counts; the firſt of which charged Mr. Lyon with writing a letter to Mr. Spooner, printer of the Windſor paper, publiſhed on the 31ſt of July laſt, containing artful and indirect accuſations of the preſident of the United States, importing corruption in his appointment of men to office, diſplacing and rejecting men of age, experience, wiſdom, and independency of ſentiment, and preferring "men of meanneſs and ignorance;" and inſinuating, that he is devoted to a fondneſs for "ridiculous pomp, idle parade, and ſelfiſh avarice." The ſecond and third counts were, for uttering, publiſhing, and printing of certain parts of a letter, ſaid to be from an American diplomatic character, in France, commonly called the Barlow Letter, abuſing, in the moſt virulent manner, the preſident and ſenate of the United States; and particularly for their conduct towards France.

The king has been graciouſly pleaſed to give and grant unto the right honourable Horatio baron Nelſon of the Nile, and of Burnham Thorpe, in the county of Norfolk, rear-admiral of the blue ſquadron of his majeſty's fleet, and K. B. In conſideration of the great zeal, courage, and perſeverance, manifeſted by him upon divers occaſions, and particularly of his able and gallant conduct in the glorious and deciſive victory obtained over the French fleet near the mouth of the Nile, on the 1ſt day of Auguſt laſt, his royal licence and authority, that he and his iſſue may bear the following honourable augmentations to his armorial enſigns; viz. *A chief undulated argent, thereon waves of the ſea, from which a palm tree, iſſuant, between a diſabled ſhip on the dexter, and a ruinous battery on the ſiniſter, all proper*; and, for his creſt, *on a naval crown Or, the chelengk, or plume of triumph*, preſented to him by the grand ſignior, as a mark of his high eſteem, and of his ſenſe of the gallant conduct of the ſaid Horatio baron Nelſon, in the ſaid glorious and deciſive victory; with the motto, "*Palmam qui meruit ferat*;" and to his ſupporters, being a ſailor on the dexter, and a lion on the ſiniſter, the honourable augmentations following; viz. *In the hand of the ſailor, a palm-branch, and another in the paw of the lion, both proper, with the addition of a tri-coloured flag and ſtaff in the mouth of the latter*; which augmentations to the ſupporters to be borne by the ſaid Horatio baron Nelſon, and by thoſe to whom the ſaid dignity ſhall deſcend in virtue of his majeſty's letters patent of creation; and that the ſame may be firſt duly exemplified according to the laws of arms, and recorded in the herald's office. And alſo to order, that his majeſty's ſaid conceſſion, and eſpecial mark of his royal favour, be regiſtered in his college of arms.

18th. DIED. Theobald Wolfe Tone, at Dublin. He was the ſon of Peter Tone and Margaret Lamport, and was born about the year 1764. His father, who for ſome time followed the buſineſs of a coach-maker in Dublin, was the ſon of an old and confidential ſervant in the family of the preſent lord Kilwarden; and from the celebrated lawyer, Theobald Wolfe, the young man derived his name at baptiſm. During his infancy, his father's circumſtances enabled him to obtain for his ſon a good

a good education. When about to enter Dublin college he was prevented, by having been concerned in a duel between two of his ſchool-fellows, which terminated fatally for one of them, a boy of fourteen years of age. After an interval, however, of eight years, he ſucceeded in obtaining an admiſſion into the college, where he diſtinguiſhed himſelf in a literary meeting, called "The Hiſtorical Society." While in the college, he married a daughter of Mr. Witherington, then an eminent woollen-draper, without fortune, and againſt her father's conſent. His company was coveted by every ſtudent of taſte in the univerſity; and, ſo attractive was his converſation, that many young men of the firſt rank and fortune ſolicited his acquaintance, and, in return, became his moſt uſeful patrons. During the intervals of buſineſs in college, Tone and his wife reſided at the houſe of his father, in the county of Kildare. The ingenious owner of Millicent (Richard Griffith, eſq.) took notice of his young neighbour, and attached his company by continual patronage and hoſpitality. He did not, however, lean entirely on his benefactor, but conſiderably aſſiſted himſelf by literary labours for the London bookſellers. Theſe productions were chiefly of the light ephemeral kind, and are now forgotten: one piece alone is recollected, which contains ſome pleaſant raillery on the wild and childiſh vagaries of romance-writers; it is called, "The wonderful Hiſtory of Prince Fanfaradin." In Trinity term, 1789, he was called to the bar. Whether it was that he had miſtaken his own talents, had neglected his ſtudies, or yielded to that diſappointment, we cannot ſay; but he found himſelf embarked in a profeſſion in which his want of fortune, and, perhaps, want of patience, ſeemed to exclude all hope of advancement. After travelling two or three circuits, and attending half a dozen terms in the hall, without any hope of better proſpects, he followed what appears to have been his natural taſte, and became a political writer. The French revolution, which broke out in 1789, ſoon attracted the ardent mind of young Tone, and he became a zealous preacher of the new doctrines. Events in France gave riſe to proceedings in Ireland which are well known. The great queſtions of catholic emancipation and parliamentary reform raiſed up two powerful parties. Tone formed the project of uniting them, by ſhewing, that by that means they might both obtain their objects. This was the foundation of the united Iriſhmen. But on the trial of Jackſon ſome circumſtances tranſpired which made it prudent for Tone to abſcond. His friends feared he might be implicated in treaſon, and he had the earlieſt notice to quit the country. What happened to him afterwards was ſtated as follows, on his trial:—This Iriſh adventurer, who had tried various means of living, after having ſubſiſted by ſhifting for many years, at length reſorted to the hacknied trade of a reforming patriot; but, being as unſucceſsful in that as in his other pretences, he joined the enemies of his country, and was caught in the act of returning, with the French invading-ſquadron, in which he bore a commiſſion. Having in vain attempted to conceal his perſon under the aſſumed name of Smith,

Smith, he at laſt confeſſed that he had a command among the invading plunderers. He was brought to Dublin, and tried by a court-martial. He behaved with great firmneſs and intrepidity: at his trial, he allowed the truth of the charges brought againſt him; he appeared to glory in the cauſe in which he had embarked, which he called "the ſame in which Waſhington had ſucceeded, and in which Koſciuſko had failed." Holding a commiſſion in the French ſervice, he prayed the court to ſentence him to be ſhot, enforcing his requeſt by the conduct of the French towards thoſe natives of France who were ſent by the Engliſh to aid the rebellion in La Vandée, and were taken in arms. This requeſt was denied him, and he was ordered to be executed. In the night preceding the day appointed for his execution, he, however, found means to cut his throat. The next morning Mr. Curran applied to the court of king's-bench for a habeas-corpus, to bring up the body of Mr. Tone, upon this ground, "that courts-martial had no juriſdiction upon ſubjects, not in the military ſervice of his majeſty, during the ſitting of the court of king's-bench." The chief-juſtice ordered a writ to be made out immediately; but Mr. Tone was not in a condition to be moved. The military, in whoſe cuſtody the priſoner was, obeyed the order of the court of king's-bench, and ſuſpended the execution. His body was, on the twentieth, delivered to his friends, to be buried. It appeared, on the coroner's inqueſt, that, as ſoon as he was made acquainted with his ſentence, on the evening of Sunday, the eleventh inſtant, he ſunk into a deſpondence which ſhook all the apparent fortitude he had diſplayed on his trial. The ſentence was, "that he ſhould be hanged by the neck till he was dead; and that his head ſhould be cut off, and ſtuck up in ſome conſpicuous part of the city." In the intervals of reflection, and the few opportunities he had of ſpeaking, he complained bitterly of what had been done, and appeared to repent ſincerely of the attempt on his own life.

DECEMBER.

2d. This day an eagle was ſhot by a labourer, in a garden at Horſham. The royal bird was on the wing, beſet by upwards of a hundred rooks, whoſe noiſe attracted the notice of the man who ſhot him whilſt at a conſiderable diſtance, and gave time for his procuring a loaded gun. The wings of this eagle meaſure, when extended from point to point, ſeven feet three inches. He is yet alive, having been only ſlightly wounded in one of his pinions.

Mancheſter Gazette.—A coach-driver, late on the twenty-ſixth of laſt month, (near the hour of twelve) drove his vehicle into our river, near the Old Bridge, for the purpoſe of waſhing; when the current being ſtrong, the horſes were ſoon driven into the centre of the ſtream, forced under one of the arches, and, in that ſtate, (too ſhocking almoſt to conceive) they ſwam, with the man on the box, through Blackfriers-bridge, fighting and ſtruggling for their lives, till one in the morning. The poor fellow, in his endeavours,

deavours, had entangled his legs in the reins; but from them he extricated himſelf with a knife; when, fortunately coming nearly in contact with a dyer's flat, he, by an aſtoniſhing effort, jumped from the box upon the ſame, where he lay ſeveral minutes in a ſtate of inſenſibility. The horſes, after ſwimming about the river ſome time, followed their maſter to the flat, and attempted to raiſe their fore-feet upon it: the poor man, with the little ſtrength he had left, held up the head of one of the creatures, till, with a convulſive groan, it expired in his arms. From the active aſſiſtance of ſeveral perſons, attracted by the cries of the coachman, they had ſo far ſucceeded in reſcuing the other horſe as to extricate him from the reins, and had got him nearly half up Mrs. Duxbury's ſteps, when, owing to the tempeſtuouſneſs of the night, he ſlipped from their holds, and again plunged into the river; after which nothing more was ſeen of him. Happy would it have been had the calamity ended here: curioſity (early on the morning following) called crowds of people together to ſee the bodies of the horſes floating; among others, a group of nine or ten women and children very incautiouſly got together on a dyer's ſtage, hanging over the river near the New Bridge; when, ſhocking to relate, the bottom of the ſtage gave way, and they were all in an inſtant precipitated into the river. Three were recovered before life was gone; the ſtrength of the current rendered every endeavour to ſave the others ineffectual, and they were all ſwept away. On how ſlender a thread does human life hang! The inſecurity of theſe ſtages, from the number of years they have been erected, renders it a matter of aſtoniſhment that even an individual will truſt his perſon thereon. The following are the names of the unfortunate ſufferers: Miſs Martha Rhodes, Miſs Anna Reed, Miſs Jane Holiday; Ellen Neild, Sarah Petty, (Mrs. Duxbury's ſervants) and Richard Boardman. A woman and her child are alſo ſaid to have periſhed. A boy, who was ſaved, was fetched out by a dyer's dog. The ſagacious animal returned for a woman, but, it was too late.

Philadelphia, Nov. 4.

The contagion, which has, for the laſt three months, raged ſo violently in this city, has as heretofore yielded at length to a ſucceſſion of froſt which has prevailed during the laſt week, and the committee of health has invited the inhabitants to return to their homes, under an aſſurance of perfect ſafety, under proper precautions as to cleanſing and airing their houſes, bedding, and clothing. The coldneſs of the ſeaſon has worked the ſame happy change in New York, Boſton, New London, and Wilmington, where the ſame ſpecies of diſeaſe raged at the ſame time, and proved infinitely more malignant than the former diſeaſes with which thoſe places have been viſited.

Bombay, July 1.

At a very numerous and reſpectable meeting of the European and native inhabitants, held at the town-hall, it was reſolved to open books for the receipt of voluntary contributions for the ſupport of the mother country at the preſent important criſis. The following liberal donations, by the members of government, formed the commencement of the ſubſcriptions:—

	Rupees.
The hon. Jonathan Duncan, governor	25,000
Lieut. general James Stuart, commander-in-chief	20,000
James Rivett, esq. third in council	12,000
William Page, esq. fourth in council	12,000

It is expected that the patriotism displayed on this occasion, by the government, will be followed by similar exertions throughout every branch of the service under this presidency, in proportion to their respective stations and fortunes. Other letters from Bombay state, that the contributions, on the first day, amounted to 20,000*l.* and that they had since exceeded 50,000*l.* The generous aid afforded to the national resources by the little island of Bombay will, no doubt, be greatly exceeded in amount at Calcutta and Madras, where the inhabitants are more opulent, and equally liberal in their ideas.

Dublin, Dec. 5.

This day, one of the castle secretaries called upon the several state-prisoners, and informed them, that they might now go to any part of the European continent, not at war with us, except the undernamed persons, who were informed that circumstances had occurred which prevented the lord-lieutenant from suffering them to leave prison for the present.—At the same time intimating to all persons included in the emigration-bill, (the excepted persons excluded) that if they did not depart in the course of a month, they must remain in prison at their own expence, as government, after that, would not grant them any allowance.

The following is a list of the persons who will not be permitted to depart:

Arthur O'Connor, Thomas A. Emmett, John Sweetman, Henry Jackson, Doctor M'Nevin, John Chambers, Samuel Nielson, Thomas Russell, Matthew Dowling, John Sweeny, Hugh Wilson, Miles Dignam, Joseph Cuthbert, John Cormick, Dean Swift.

Hamburgh, Nov. 27.

The vessel, in which Tandy and his companions had been on the coast of Ireland, was driven by a storm to the coast of Norway, from whence, apprehensive that in navigating the North Sea they should fall in with some English cruizer, they resolved to proceed to France by land. Intelligence of their object and their route was received at Hamburgh shortly after they had arrived there (on the 22d November). They were traced to the inn bearing the sign of the arms of America; sir James Crawford, the British minister, immediately waited on the chief magistrate, to request a warrant to arrest those persons, as subjects of Ireland in rebellion against their sovereign, but could not obtain it: not discouraged, however, he three times again applied, and at length obtained an order to the police to the required effect. On the 24th, soon after four in the morning, sir James led the officers of police, attended by a guard, to the American arms, which he completely invested, waiting till the doors were open, between five and six, when he entered with his escort, which instantly occupied every passage. The master of the house was then called, who, on being asked for the strangers by their travelling names, shewed their several apartments. Early

as it was, Napper Tandy was found writing. The officer who entered his room demanded his paſſport, which he, with much confidence, ſaid he would produce, and, going to his trunk, took out a piſtol, which preſenting at the officer, he ſaid, "this is my paſſport!" The officer, however, being a man of uncommon bodily ſtrength, ſeized and wreſted the piſtol from him; at which time, the guard, called by the ſcuffle, entered the room, and ſecured Mr. Tandy, who, together with his aſſociates, were ſhortly after put in irons, and by order of ſir J. Crawford, confined in ſeparate guard-houſes. No ſooner had this event tranſpired in the morning, than citizen Marragon, the miniſter of the French republic, ſent a note to the ſenate, claiming Napper Tandy and his colleagues as French citizens, and threatening to quit Hamburgh, if they were not releaſed. Sir James Crawford, on the other hand, oppoſed the demand in terms equally ſtrong. In this perplexity, the ſenate held an extraordinary deliberation, at five o'clock on Saturday evening, which laſted till midnight. Yeſterday another meeting was held, but the reſult is kept profoundly ſecret. This, however, is certain, that the ſenate, againſt the will and repreſentations of ſir James Crawford, has ordered two of the priſoners to be unironed. What their fate will be cannot yet be aſcertained. Napper Tandy is in a bad ſtate of health. The French chargé d'affaires, citizen le Maitre, apprehenſive for the fate of the priſoners, offered a conſiderable ſum of money to an officer of the Hamburgh regulars, who had the guard, to permit their eſcape; but he indignantly refuſed, and proclaimed the attempt to diſhonour him. Sir James Crawford and citizen Marragon immediately diſpatched to their reſpective courts the particulars of this important event.

7th. The diſpute between the ſenate of Hamburgh and the Britiſh reſident in that city is not yet terminated, as the Engliſh cabinet have ſent over inſtructions to their agents to inſiſt on detaining Napper Tandy, Blackwell, and the other Iriſhmen in the military ſervice of France, lately arreſted at that place. Blackwell is ſaid to be an officer of very high repute, and has ſerved in ſeveral campaigns on the Rhine.

8th A ſingular diſcovery was this day made in the barrack-yard, at Horncliff, Kent: ſome of the Middleſex militia, being employed to clean a well, one of them, let down in a bucket, called out to be drawn up, and informed his companions there was a dead man at the bottom. Upon drawing up the corpſe with a rope, it proved to be the body of George Sullivan, who was ſuppoſed to have deſerted on the Monday night preceding. He was a fine young fellow, about twenty-two years of age, and much eſteemed by the regiment. Some bread and cheeſe he had been to provide was found in the well with him.

10th. The Coloſſus, of 74 guns, capt. G. Murray, was, this day, loſt at Scilly. This ſhip was coming home with the convoy from Liſbon, and, owing to adverſe winds, had put into Scilly. She drove from her anchors, and went aſhore upon the rocks where ſhe was totally loſt. The crew, with the exception of one man, or, according to another account, of three lives, were all ſaved. Several of the convoy are

alſo

alſo ſaid to have ſuffered in the ſame gale.

17th. A court-martial, *pro formâ*, was held on captain Thompſon, of the Leander, for the capture of that ſhip; when he was moſt honourably acquitted.

25th. At noon, a fire broke out on the premiſes of Charles Adams, eſq. at Whip's-croſs, Walthamſtow, which intirely deſtroyed the out-houſes, conſiſting of a double coach-houſe, a ſix-ſtall ſtable, cow-houſe, &c. and it was with great difficulty the flames were prevented from catching the houſe.

26th. Yeſterday evening, between ſeven and eight o'clock, a dreadful fire broke out at the manſion-houſe of the earl of Eſſex, in Curzon-ſtreet, May-fair, which conſumed the whole of the premiſes. The flames raged with ſuch fury that ſcarce any of the furniture could be ſaved. It began while the family were at dinner. A large party being invited to cards in the evening, the drawing-room was lighted up for the purpoſe, and, while the company were regaling, the alarm was given that the room was on fire: his lordſhip and the gentlemen who were with him, attended by the ſervants, ran up, in hopes of extinguiſhing the flames; but it was too late, and the noble earl, in a ſtate of frantic horror, was obliged to be forced out of the houſe by his ſon, lord Malden. The diſtracted ſituation of her ladyſhip, and that of lady Malden, cannot be deſcribed. The accident is ſuppoſed to have happened from a candle falling out of one of the girandoles on a ſofa, and communicating to the window-curtains. It being feared the adjoining houſe, belonging to earl Macartney, would ſhare the ſame fate, the furniture was removed to the earl of Cheſterfield's. The earl and counteſs of Eſſex, with their ſon and daughter, lord and lady Malden, took refuge in the houſe of Mr. Dent, in the ſame ſtreet, from whence they went to the honourable Mr. Stanhope's, and ſlept laſt night at the earl of Cheſterfield's. The St. George's corps, and a party of the guards, endeavoured to keep off the crowd, but could not prevent depredations: one man was taken with ſeveral ſilver ſpoons and three napkins, marked with the initials of the earl of Eſſex.

Fahrenheit's thermometer, in the open air, with a northern aſpect, was, on Chriſtmas-day, in the afternoon, at 23; at nine at night, 22; Wedneſday afternoon, 18; nine at night 17½; at nine this morning, 17, which is fifteen degrees below the freezing point; at eleven 18.

The Thames is nearly covered with ſheets of ice, driving with the tide, ſo that the river is impaſſable for craft.

27th. Yeſterday morning, about four o'clock, a fire broke out at a cottage, in Heyteſbury, Wilts, which was in a ſhort time reduced to aſhes, together with two other thatched cottages adjoining; and three women and a girl, who were there employed in ſpinning, &c. for the pariſh, unfortunately periſhed in the flames, before any aſſiſtance could be given them. The accident is ſaid to have been occaſioned through the careleſſneſs of a man who inhabited one of the cottages: he had drank pretty freely in the afternoon of Tueſday, and, returning home late at night, he imprudently ſet fire to a large bundle of ſtraw,

in his chimney-corner, which communicated rapidly to the rafter and thatch, and, in a few minutes the whole was in a blaze; he, however, escaped, himself, without injury. The disfigured remains of the four persons, who thus unhappily lost their lives, were dug from the ruins in the course of yesterday; and, this morning, inquests were taken on the bodies, by Mr. Clare, of Devizes (coroner), when the juries returned verdicts of accidental death.

The following is a return of the Duties on Malt, from October 1797 to June 1798:—

	£	s.	d.
Hatch and co.	117,316	11	8
Bush and co.	94,058	6	8
Cook and co.	91,687	0	0
Smith and co.	88,183	18	0
Hodgson and co.	76,390	15	0
Gosse and co.	74,989	15	0
Metcalfe and co.	70,942	13	6
Liptrap and co.	53,544	14	2
Johnson and co.	50,630	10	10
Booth	38,622	5	0
	£756,366	10	8

The military staff establishment of Great Britain, and her dependencies, has increased, through the necessity of the times, to the following numerous body of general and field officers, *viz.*

Field-marshals	6
Generals	289
Colonels	325
Lieutenant-colonels	648
Majors	595
Total	1863

The following is the present number of officers in the British navy, according to their respective ranks, *viz.*

Admirals	102
Post-captains	520
Commanders	359
Lieutenants	2008
Total	2989

The following is a statement of the amount of porter brewed by the twelve principal brewers, in this metropolis, the last and present year:

1797.	*Barrels.*
Whitbread	192,747
Thrale	141,592
Gyfford	119,822
Trueman	117,179
Calvert, Felix	101,763
Meux	95,376
Goodwyn	92,758
Calvert, John	70,095
Clowes	58,685
Elliott	55,819
Harford	54,197
Cox	46,130
1798.	
Whitbread	184,506
Meux	180,446
Thrale	131,519
Gyfford	123,040
Calvert, Felix	111,791
Trueman	109,227
Goodwyn	84,176
Calvert, John	72,433
Clowes	58,489
Elliott	51,542
Biley	45,863
Phillips	43,163

The following is an accurate statement of the quantity brewed by the first twelve houses in the London table-beer brewery for the last two years, ending on the 5th of July, each year:

Kirkman

1797.

	Barrels.
Kirkman and co.	26,533
Sandford and co.	18,857
Charington and co.	16,043
Nieman and co.	13,799
Cape Benjamin	13,000
Edmonds and co.	12,475
Bond, Edward	10,569
Park and co.	8,739
Satchell, Richard	7,396
Hall and co.	6,938
Allen, John	6,863
Cawell, John	6,700

1798.

Kirkman and co.	30,029
Sandford and co.	20,217
Charington and co.	14,482
Edmonds and co.	13,543
Nieman and co.	13,294
Cape, Benjamin	12,193
Bond, Edward	10,372
Satchell, Richard	9,686
Park and co.	9,633
Leveſque, John	8,335
Cawell, John	7,575
Holbroak, James	6,957

DIED. At his ſeat at Downing, in Flintſhire, in his ſeventy-third year, Thomas Pennant, eſq. the celebrated touriſt and zoologiſt.

BIRTHS *in the Year* 1798:

Jan. 2d. The counteſs of Dalkeith, a ſon.

5th. Lady Charlotte Strutt, a daughter.

6th. The lady of P. I. Thelluſſon, eſq. twin ſons.

21ſt. Mrs. Banting, of Little Rifington, Glouceſterſhire, a daughter, her thirty-ſecond child.

28th. Lady Charlotte Greville, a ſon.

—. Right honourable lady Emily M'Leod, a daughter.

—. Her Imperial majeſty of Ruſſia, a prince.

Feb. 25th. Right honourable lady Petre, a daughter.

March 1. The empreſs of Germany, an archducheſs.

—. Lady of ſir John Davie, bart. two ſons.

3d. Lady of ſir William Eliot, bart. a ſon.

19th. Lady Calthorpe, a daughter.

26th. Lady Rodney, a ſon.

27th. Counteſs of Derby, a ſtillborn child.

—. Lady Spencer, a ſon.

April 10th. Lady Charlotte Campbell, a ſon.

20th. Marchioneſs of Titchfield, a daughter.

—. Lady of ſir Thomas Henry Liddell, bart. a daughter.

23d. Counteſs of Albemarle, a daughter.

24th. Lady Say and Sele, a ſon.

26th. Her royal highneſs the ducheſs of Wirtemberg, a daughter.

29th. The lady of ſir Samuel Fludyer, bart. a daughter.

May 13th. Counteſs of Aylesford, a ſon.

25th. Lady of ſir John Stirling, bart. a ſon.

27th. Honourable Mrs. Childers, a ſon.

31ſt. Counteſs of Euſton, a ſon.

—. Lady Charlotte Nares, a daughter.

—. Lady Harriet Gill, a daughter.

June 27th. Hon. Mrs. Carleton, a daughter

28th. Lady Eliz. Talbot, a ſon.

July 2d. Lady of ſir Charles Watſon, a daughter.

10th. Lady

10th. Lady of the honourable Newtown Fellows, a daughter.

13th Her majeſty the queen of Pruſſia, a princeſs.

19th. Lady of ſir Francis Ford, bart. a daughter.

28th. Counteſs Dowager of Mansfield, wife of the honourable F. Greville, a daughter.

31ſt. Lady vicounteſs Fielding, a ſon.

—. The lady of ſir N. B. Greſley, bart. a daughter.

Aug. 10th. Mrs. Sommerfield, of the queen's palace, two ſons and a daughter.

Sept. 5th. Lady Charlotte Lenox, a daughter.

8th. Vicounteſs Chetwynd, two daughters.

13th. Lady Grey, a daughter.

17th. Lady Charles Ainſley, a ſon.

18th. The wife of John Primroſe, eſq. of Barton, two ſons and a daughter.

29th. Counteſs of Banbury, a daughter.

Oct. 5th. Lady Louiſa Brome, a daughter.

12th. Lady of the hon. and rev. A. H. Carthcart, a daughter.

12th. Princeſs of Brazil, a prince.

—. Lady of ſir Thomas Whichcote, bart. a ſon

19th. Lady Harriet Sullivan, a ſon.

24th. Honourable Mrs. Barnard, a ſtill-born child.

25th. Lady Portcheſter, a daughter.

31ſt. Mrs. Blower, of Down-ſtreet, three ſons.

—. Lady of the biſhop of St. David's, a ſon.

Nov. 5th. Counteſs of Guildford, a daughter.

9th. Vicounteſs Dungannon, a ſon.

14th. Lady Anne Vernon, wife of the biſhop of Carliſle, a ſon.

15th. Madame Deſparre, Welbeck-ſtreet, two daughters, and a ſon.

21ſt. Lady of the honourable the ſpeaker of the houſe of commons, a ſon.

23d. Lady Hugh Seymour, a daughter.

Dec. 7th. Lady Louiſa Hartley, a daughter.

—. Lady Catherine Graham, a daughter.

8th. Lady le Deſpenſer, a daughter.

10th. Marchioneſs of Blandford, a daughter.

12th. The counteſs of Errol, a daughter.

—. Lady of the honourable Mr. Petre, a daughter.

26th. Lady of ſir Frederick Morton Eden, a daughter.

29th. Lady Harvey, a daughter.

MARRIAGES *for* 1798.

Jan. 4th. Lieutenant-colonel R. Ferguſon, to Miſs Monroe, daughter of lieutenant-general ſir H. Monroe.

5th. W. Philips Inge, eſq. of Thorpe, to lady Elizabeth Stewart, ſecond daughter of lord Galloway.

15th. Paſcoe Grinſell, eſq. of Taplow, to the honourable Georgina St. Leger, ſiſter to viſcount Doneraile.

—. Sir Francis L. Wood, bart. of Bowling-hall, York, to Miſs Buck.

20th. Lord Sheffield, to lady Anne North, daughter of the late earl of Guildford.

Feb. 1ſt. John Payne, eſq. of Wells, to the honourable Mrs. Hyde.

12th. Mr. Holman, of Covent-garden theatre, to Miſs Hamilton, daughter

daughter of the honourable and rev. Frederick Hamilton, and granddaughter of lord Archibald Hamilton.

20th. Lord Hervey, to the hon. Miſs Upton, daughter of the dowager lady Templetown.

—. Rev. F. North, ſon to the biſhop of Wincheſter, to Miſs Eſther Harriſon.

—. Pryſe Loveden, eſq. of Woodſtock, to the honourable Mrs. Agar, ſiſter of lord viſcount Aſhbrooke.

26th. Winchcombe Henry Hartley, eſq. to the right honourable lady Louiſa Lumley.

March 24th. Sir John Trollope, bart. to Miſs Thorold.

28th. Joſeph Sidney Yorke, eſq. M. P. brother to the earl of Hardwicke, to Miſs Rattray.

—. Sir Richard Steele, bart. to Miſs Frances D'Alton, daughter of the late general count D'Alton.

April 9th. James Arbucle, eſq. of Donaghadee, to lady Sophia Jocelyn, ſiſter to the earl of Roden.

17th. The hon. George Villiers, brother to the earl of Clarendon, to the hon. Miſs Parker, daughter of the late lord Boringdon.

30th. Captain Roſs, of the 41ſt regiment, to the hon. Miſs Browne, daughter of the late lord Kilmaine.

May 18th. Earl of Yarmouth, to Miſs Fagniani.

30th. Honourable W. Gore, ſecond ſon of the earl of Arran, to Miſs Caroline Hales, youngeſt daughter of the late ſir Thomas Pym Hales, bart.

—. The honourable Frederick Weſt, brother to the earl of Delawar, to Miſs Maria Middleton.

June 18th. Sir Henry Every, bart. to Miſs P. Moſeley, daughter of ſir John Moſeley, bart.

—. Sir Samuel Brooke, bart. of Seaton, to Miſs Coſtleboe, of Angleſea.

July 10th. Right honourable W. Wyndham, ſecretary at war, to Miſs Cecilia Forreſt, daughter of the late admiral Forreſt.

12th. Honourable Henry Windſor, brother to the earl of Plymouth, to Miſs Copſon.

Aug. 2d. Charles Ellis, eſq. M.P. to the honourable Miſs Hervey, daughter of the late lord Hervey.

—. Hon. col. John Vaughan, M. P. ſon of the earl of Liſburne, to the hon. Lucy Courtenay, daughter of the late lord Courtenay.

7th. The honourable col. John Hope, brother to the earl of Hopetoun, and M. P. to Miſs Eliza Hope, daughter of the hon. Charles Hope.

16th. Captain ſir Edmund Nagle, to Mrs. Blackman.

20th. Honourable Philip Puſey, brother to the late earl of Radnor, to lady Lucy Cave, daughter of the earl of Harborough, and relict of the late ſir Thomas Cave, bart.

21ſt. Richard Norman, eſq. of Leatherhead, to lady Eliz. Manners, eldeſt ſiſter of the duke of Rutland.

25th. Honourable E. Tournour, brother of the earl of Wintertown, to Miſs Heſter Hayward.

29th. Hon. Edward Hawke, eldeſt ſon of lord Hawke, to Miſs Frances Anne Hervey.

—. Mr. Hardinge, to lady —— Gore, daughter of the earl of Roſs.

—. Lord Leſlie, to Miſs Campbell, daughter of the late colonel Campbell.

Sept. 5th. Rev. Henry Maxwell, to lady Anne Butler, daughter of the earl of Carrick.

Oct. 6th. Sir Edward Baynes, bart. to Miſs Lambert.

24th. Sir Charles Ventris Field, knight-banneret, to Mrs. Lill.

Nov. 9th. Earl Home, to lady Eliz. Montague, third daughter of the duke of Buccleugh.

10th. Lord W. Seymour, brother to the marquis of Hertford, to Miſs M. Clitheroe.

Dec. 14th. The honourable Thomas Ralph Maude, to the hon. Frances Anne Agar, daughter of the archbiſhop of Caſhel.

29th. J. Woodcock, eſq. to Miſs A. Hotham, daughter of the honourable ſir Beaumont Hotham, baron of the exchequer.

PROMOTIONS *in the Year* 1798.

Jan. 4th. Right hon. ſir Ralph Abercrombie, K. B. of the privy council of Ireland.

5th. Right rev. Dr. John Porter, biſhop of Killala, biſhop of Clogher, vice Foſter, deceaſed.

6th. Brevet capt. Richard Hovendon, major in the army.

8th. Lieutenant-generals ſir Thomas Shirley, bart. Patrick Tonyn, Gabriel Chriſtie, John Reid, ſir William Green, bart. George Scott, Charles O'Hara, Loftus Antony Tottenham, William Rowley, Peter Bathurſt, hon. William Gordon, Robert Preſcott, hon. William Harcourt, Henry earl of Carhampton, William Dalrymple, William Picton, ſir Hector Munro, K. B. hon. William Hervey, J. Fletcher Campbell, Francis Laſcelles, ſir William Meadows, K. B.—generals in the army.

Major-generals William Sheriff William Ormſield, Samuel Hulſe, Albemarle Bertie, Charles Valancey, John Thomas earl of Clanricarde, ſir James Steuart, bart. Thomas Carleton, James Marſh, Cavendiſh Liſter, Charles Leigh, James Ogilvie, ſir Robert Laurie, bart. William Martin, John Archer, William Edmeſton, Forbes Macbean, David Home, Hugh Debbiegg, Richard Dawſon, Montgomery Agnew, James Stewart, Alexander earl of Balcarres, hon. Charles Steuart, Cornelius Cuyler, Charles earl of Harrington, hon. Richard Fitzpatrick, Neſbitt Balfour, Edmund Stevens, Thomas Trigge, Francis earl of Moira, Peter Craig—to be lieutenant-generals in the army.

Colonels Philip Martin, of the royal artillery; William Borthwick, of the royal artillery; Eyre Coote, aide-de-camp to the king; Jeffery Amherſt, of the 10th foot; Harry Burrard, aide-de-camp to the king; Charles Lennox, aide-de-camp to the king; James Adolphus Harris, of the 60th foot; Arthur Ormſby, of the 6th dragoon guards; Henry Reade, of the 1ſt life-guards; William John Arabin, of the 2d life-guards; George Don, aide-de-camp to the king; John Francis Craddock, of the late 127th foot; Colebrook Neſbitt, aide-de-camp to the king; lord Charles Fitzroy, aide-de-camp to the king; Napier Chriſtie Burton, of the 3d foot guards; Richard Rich Wilford, of the York huſſars; Edward Morriſon, of the Coldſtream guards; ſir Charles Aſgill, bart. of the 1ſt foot guards; hon. Charles Monſon, aide-de-camp to the king; Thomas Garth, aide-de-camp to the king; Vaughan Lloyd, of the royal artillery; ſir James St. Clair Erſkine, bart.; William Brady, of the royal artillery in Ireland; Lucius Barber, of the royal artillery in Ireland—to be major-generals in the army.

Lieutenant-colonel James Webber, an independent officer; Chas. William

William Eſte, of the 64th foot; Samuel Twentyman, on half-pay of the 90th foot; George Rochfort, of the invalid artillery; Joſeph F.W. Deſbarres, of the 60th foot; ſir Charles Marſh, an independent officer; Francis Groſe, of the new South-Wales corps; William Scott, on half pay of the 80th foot; Archibald Campbell, of the 8th foot; Francis Fuller, of the 59th foot; Arthur Carter, of the 14th light dragoons; James Affleck, of the 16th light dragoons; George Vaughan Hart, of the 75th foot; John Robinſon, of the late horſe grenadier guards; George Brodie, of the 52d foot; hon. Thomas Maitland, of the 62d foot; Patrick Hely, of the 11th foot; Daniel Robertſon, of the 60th foot; John Blake, of the 24th foot; Archibald M'Aliſter, of the 35th foot; Richard Bright, of the marines; Alexander Macdonald, of the marines; William Ramſay, of the 80th foot; Guſtavus Belford, of the royal regiment of horſe guards; John William Auguſtus Romer, of the 60th foot; James Campbell, an independent officer; Edward Madden, of the 15th foot; John Skerrett, of a late Weſt-India regiment; Hildebrand Oakes, of the 26th foot; C. Campbell, of the 6th foot; George Prevoſt, of the 60th foot; Stair Park Dalrymple, of the 71ſt foot; John Ormſby Vandeleur, of the 5th dragoon guards; John Carnegie, of the 11th light dragoons; William Waller, of the 3d dragoons; ſir Thomas Chapman, of the 6th dragoon guards; Mervyn Archdall, of the 11th light dragoons; John Haydock Boardman, of the 2d dragoons; Edward Dawſon, of the 8th foot; John Cope Sherbroke, of the 33d foot; James Hall, of the 8th light dragoons; William Payne, of the 3d dragoon guards—to be colonels in the army.

Lieutenant-colonels hon. Edward Bligh, on the half-pay of the late 107th foot; William lord Craven, of the 3d foot; Hugh Campbell, of the 3d foot guards; lord William Bentinck, of the 24th light dragoons; Edmund Viſcount Dungarvon, of the Coldſtream foot guards—to be aides-de-camp to the king.

Lieutenant-colonel Lambert Theophilus Walpole, of the late 107th foot, deputy adjutant-general to the forces in Ireland, to be colonel in the army.

Lieutenant-colonels Coote Manningham, of the 41ſt foot; Henry George Grey, of the 17th light dragoons; hon. Edward Paget, of the 28th foot; Arthur Whetham, of the 1ſt foot guards—to be aides-de-camp to the king.

Majors, from Ninian Imrie, of the 1ſt foot, to William Sherlock, of the 5th dragoon guards—to be lieutenant-colonels in the army.

Captains, from Robert Balfour, of the 2d dragoons, to James Eyre Caulfield, of the 55th foot—to be majors in the army.

12th. Brevet colonel John Whitelocke, brigadier-general in Guernſey only.

—. Lieutenant-colonel Alexander Hope, lieutenant-governor of Edinburgh caſtle, vice lord Eglintoune, reſigned.

19th. Rev. Joſeph Stock, D.D. biſhop of Killala, vice Porter.

—. Colonel Charles Handfield, commiſſary-general of ſtores, &c. to the forces in Ireland.

—. Lord Braybrooke, lord lieutenant of the county of Eſſex.

23d. Brevet

23d. Brevet colonel John Murray, brigadier-general in Nova-Scotia only.

—. Lieutenant-colonel Henry viſcount Gage, colonel.

Majors Charles Douglas Smith, on the half-pay of Tarleton's light dragoons; Charles Wall, on the half-pay of the independents; Francis Seymour, of the 87th foot; Thomas Fitzgerald, of the 29th foot; Richard Hovendon, of the 21ſt light dragoons—to be lieutenant-colonels in the army.

Captain William Troughton, commandant of the late 129th foot; Patrick Ewing, and Henry Johnſtone, of the Scotch brigade; P. I. Fellowes, of the 47th foot—to be majors in the army.

Brevet lieut.-col. Walter Cliffe of the royal fuſileers, to be adjutant-general to the forces in the Eaſt-Indies, vice Achmuty, who reſigns; brevet major Hugh Mackay Gordon, of the 16th foot, to be quarter-maſter-general to the ſaid forces, with the rank of lieutenant-colonel in the army, vice Hall, who reſigns; major William Hutchinſon, of the independents, to be major of brigade to the forces in South Britain, vice M'Murdo, who reſigns; capt. Henry Percy Pulleine, of the 2d dragoons, to be major of brigade to the ſaid forces, vice Ruddock, who reſigns; Archibald Gloſter, eſq. to be deputy-judge advocate to the forces ſerving in the Leeward Iſlands; Thomas Williams, jun. gent. to be commiſſary of ſtores and proviſions to the forces at Annapolis Royal, vice Williams, deceaſed.

John Ewart, M.D. to be phyſician to the forces, and inſpector-general of hoſpitals in the iſland of Ceylon.

27th. Appointment of John Roſs, eſq. to be his Sicilian majeſty's vice-conſul at Gibraltar, approved by his majeſty.

30th. Thomas Williams, gent. to be barrack-maſter at Annapolis.

Feb. 6th. Appointment of John Elmſlie, eſq. to be vice-conſul to his Swediſh majeſty at Gibraltar, approved by his majeſty.

—. Brevet the honourable colonel Thomas Maitland, of the 62d foot, to be brigadier-general in the Weſt-Indies only.

—. Lieut.-colonel Henry Richmond Gale, of the late 20th light dragoons; Robert Tipping, of the late 80th foot; George Ward, of the late horſe grenadier guards, to be colonels in the army.

—. Major Horace Churchill, of the late horſe grenadier guards, to be lieutenant-colonel in the army.

—. Captain Samuel Venables Hinde, of the 25th foot, to be major in the army.

8th. Sir Valentine Browne, bart. created baron of Caſtle Roſſe and viſcount of Kenmare, county of Kerry, with remainder to his heirs male.

9th. James Talbot, eſq. appointed ſecretary of legation at the court of St. Peterſburg.

14th. John, earl of Weſtmoreland, appointed keeper of the privy ſeal, vice earl of Chatham, reſigned.

—. William Wentworth, earl Fitzwilliam, appointed lord-lieutenant of the weſt riding of the county of York, and of the city of York, and county of the ſame, vice duke of Norfolk, reſigned.

—. John Colpoys, eſq. vice-admiral of the blue, created a knight of the Bath, vice ſir William Gordon, deceaſed.

—. Charles Paulet, eſq. (commonly called earl of Wiltſhire), to be

be lord-lieutenant and cuſtos-rotulorum of the county of Southampton, vice commiſſioners (the marquis of Wincheſter, his father, ſir W. Heathcote, bart. W. Chute, eſq.)

—. Dame Roſe Ffrench, widow of the late ſir Charles Ffrench, bart. created baroneſs Ffrench, of Caſtle Ffrench, county of Galway; with remainder of the title of baron Ffrench, of Caſtle Ffrench aforeſaid, to her heirs male by the ſaid ſir Charles Ffrench, bart.

—. Right hon. John Foſter, to be governor of the county of Louth, vice earl of Clanbraſſil, deceaſed.

17th. Philip earl of Cheſterfield, to be maſter of the horſe to his majeſty, vice earl of Weſtmoreland.

—. George earl of Leiceſter, and William lord Auckland, to be his majeſty's poſtmaſters-general; the latter vice lord Cheſterfield.

—. Lieutenant.-col. Aytoune, and lieut.-col. J. Spens, colonels.

Appointments in the Eaſt-India Company's ſervice.

—. Colonels John Pectre, Thomas Brownrigg, John M'Gowan, Dugald Campbell, Thomas Trent, Thomas Prendergraſt, Robert Nicholſon, Alexander Hardy, Richard Tolſon, Stafford William Sam. Waddington, Vere Warner Huſſey, to be major-generals.

Lieutenant-colonels George Ruſſell, ſir Ewen Baillie, John Macdonald, William Palmer, Edward Clarke, William Vanas, Roger Edward Roberts, Robert Mackenzie, James Dunn, James Dickſon, John Bateman, Patrick Hay, Chas. Henry White, George Mence, Chriſtopher Green, David Woodburn, James Stevenſon, John Conrad Sartorius, Francis Gowdie, Henry Malcolm, Edward Montague—to be colonels.

Majors Charles Scott, Robert Baillie, Richard Scott, Samuel Dyer, Edmund Lambert, John Ratray, James Meredith Vibart, Samuel Black, Samuel Watſon, John Collins, Henry Vincent, William Denby, Robert Ogle, Robert Rayne, James Pearſon, Thomas Welſh, Andrew William Hearſay, Jabez Mackenzie, John Boujonnar, Thomas Higgins, James Pringle, William Mackintoſh, Henry Hyndman, Patrick Douglas, John Fenwick, Thomas Edwards, Robert Frith, Hugh Stafford, Richard Grenber, John Powell, ſir John Murray, bart. James Morrice, Peregrine Powell, James Noke, Patrick Macdougal, John Hilliard, Robert Philips, Ludowick Grant, Robert Hamilton, Robert Bruce, Hamey Charles Palmer, William Scott, Robert Blair, William Kirkpatrick, Richard Macau, John Mackintyre, John Gardner, Henry De Caſtro, William Burn, Thomas Hawkſhaw, Samuel Cox, Daniel Conyngham, Peter Murray, John Garſtin, Charles Carliſle, Archibald Brown, William Flint, George Fotheringham, William Rattray, George Wahab, George Waight, Thomas Leighton, James Oliver, Francis Torrens, Carey Lalande, Cromwell Maſſey, Walter Anderſon, David Campbell, Alexander Macpherſon, James Dalrymple, John Richardſon, Alexander Read, Donald Macneal, Thomas Hallcote, Thomas Parr, James Campbell, Joſeph Little, William Kinſey, T. Bowſer, Barry Cloſe, James Oram, John Haliburton, Charles Smart, Lewis Grant, John Gillanders, John Hutchinſon, John Guthrie, Samuel Bradſhaw, George Wood, Hercules Skinner, William Clayton,

Clayton, George Ure, Jonathan Wood, John Haynes, Thomas Kearnan, ſir John Kennaway, bart. Joſeph Burnett—to be lieutenant-colonels.

Captains John Bell, Henry Parker Lawrence, William Baſſet Iſaacke, Thomas Fyffe, James Arthur Tanner, John Burrowes, John Capon, Charles Wittel—to be majors.

March 6th. William Lowndes, Barne Barne, Edward Meadows, Horace Hayes, and George Trenchard Goodenough, eſqrs.—to be his majeſty's commiſſioners for managing the affairs of taxes.

7th. Lieutenant-colonel Robert Crawford, of the 60th foot—to be deputy-quarter-maſter-general to the forces in Ireland, vice Handfield.

10th. Brevet col. George Prevoſt, of the 60th foot—to be brigadier-general in the Weſt Indies only.—Major——M'Creagh, of the South American rangers, to be major in the army.

Thomas Keate, eſq. inſpector of regimental hoſpitals—to be ſurgeon general to the forces, vice Gunning, deceaſed; John Ruſh, eſq.—to be inſpector of regimental hoſpitals, vice Keate.

14th. Thomas Strange, eſquire, knighted.

19th. The earl of Ormond, and viſcount Dillon, knights of St. Patrick.

24th. Lieutenant-colonel earl of Crawford, colonel.

Brooke Watſon, eſq. from half-pay, as late commiſſary-general on the continent, commiſſiary-general of all ſtores, &c. to the forces at home, vice Biſſet, who retires on half-pay.

Major George Smith, brigade-major-general.

General William Dalrymple, lieut.-governor of Chelſea hoſpital.

Captain Charles Boycott, major of brigade.

Brevet major Robert Biſſet, aſſiſtant quarter-maſter-general to the troops under the command of ſir William Howe.

April 3d. Brevet colonel William earl Fitzwilliam, of the 1ſt regiment of the weſt riding Yorkſhire militia, col. in the army, and to take rank as ſuch ſo long as the ſaid militia ſhall remain embodied for actual ſervice.

Staff. Major George Vigoraux, of the late Corſican corps, major of brigade to the forces in South Britain.

4th. Field-marſhal his royal highneſs Frederick duke of York, commander in chief of all his majeſty's land forces in the kingdom of Great Britain.

7th. Sir John Morſhead, of Trenant-park, county of Cornwall, bart. lord warden of the Stannaries, and chief ſteward of the duchy of Cornwall and Devon, vice viſcount Lewiſham.

17th. Staff. Capt. Nicholas Ramſay, of the 2d foot, major of brigade to the forces.—Lieutenant-colonel K. A. Howard, of the Coldſtream guards, major of brigade to the foot guards.

20th. John Hay, eſq. a baronet.

21ſt. Staff. Lieut.-colonel Alex. Smollett, of the 1ſt regiment of foot guards, major of brigade to the foot guards.—Lieut.——Le Breton, of the Jerſey militia, major of brigade to the ſaid militia.

25th. George Edward Henry Arthur, earl Powis, lord-lieutenant of the county of Salop, vice lord Clive.

28th. Staff. Lieut.-col. Charles Stevenſon, of the 5th foot, brigade-major-general to the troops under the command of field-marſhal his royal

royal highneſs the duke of Glouceſter.

May 5th. Right hon. John William Anderſon, of Mill-hill, Hendon, Middleſex, eſq. lord mayor of the city of London, a baronet.

8th. Brevet lieutenant-colonel Gordon Drummond, of the 8th foot, colonel in the army.

Staff. Lieut.-col. George Frederick Koehler, of the royal artillery, aſſiſtant quarter-maſter-general to the forces ſerving under the command of major-general lord Mulgrave.—Major Robert Roſs, and capt. George Laye, of the late 2d battalion of the 9th foot, majors of brigade to the forces in South Britain.

Garriſon. Jacob Cuyler, eſq. deputy commiſſary of ſtores and proviſions to the forces in the iſland of Dominica, vice Finlayſon, who has been abſent from his duty ſeveral years.

9th. William Beechy, eſq. knighted.

11th. Sir John Anſtruther, knight, chief-juſtice of the ſupreme court of judicature at Fort William in Bengal, a baronet.

22d. Honourable Arthur Paget, his majeſty's envoy extraordinary to the Elector Palatine, and miniſter to the Diet of Ratiſbon.

23d. Robert, viſcount Belgrave, lord-lieutenant of the county of Flint.

June 5th. Staff. Lieutenant-gen. ſir Ralph Abercromby, K. B. commander of his majeſty's forces in North Britain, vice lord Adam Gordon, reſigned.

9th. Staff. Lieut.-colonel Brent Spencer, aide-de-camp to the king, vice Campbell, deceaſed.

13th. Charles, marquis Cornwallis, lieutenant-general and general-governor of Ireland, vice the earl Camden.

16th. His grace the duke of Rutland, colonel of the Leiceſterſhire militia, vice Pochin, deceaſed.

23d. John Williams, eſq. of Bedyl-wyddan by St. Aſaph, and John Callander, eſq. of Weſtertown, county Stirling, and of Crichton and Preſton-hall, and Elphinſtone, in the counties of Eaſt and Mid-Lothian, baronets.

23d. Colonels Andrew Cowell, of the Coldſtream guards; James Ferrier, of the engineers in Ireland; Joſeph Duſſeax, on the half-pay of the 86th foot; Colin Mackenzie, of the 15th foot; Mackay Hugh Baillie, of the Reay fencibles; John Joinour Ellis, of the 23d foot; Archibald Robertſon; Bryan Blundell, of the 45th foot; John Dickſon, on half-pay; Charles Jackman, of the marines; Miles Scaveley, of the royal regiment of horſe guards; hon. John Knox, of the 36th foot; John Money, on half-pay of the 91ſt foot; Thomas Murray, on half-pay of the late 84th foot; James Edward Urquhart, of the loyal Eſſex fencibles; George Churchill, of the 15th light dragoons; Eyre Power Trench, of the late 102d foot; George Beckwith, of the 37th foot; William Gooday Strutt, of the 54th foot; Thomas Roberts, on half-pay of the 111th foot; hon. George James Ludlow, of the 1ſt foot guards; John Moore, of the 51ſt foot; Richard earl of Cavan, of the Coldſtream guards; David Baird of the 71ſt foot; hon. Henry Aſtley Bennett, of the 1ſt foot-guards; hon. Frederick St. John, of the late 117th foot; ſir Charles Roſs, bart. of the late 116th foot; John Whitelocke, of

the 6th West India regiment; Hay M'Dowall, of the 78th foot; lord Charles Henry Somerset, on half-pay of the 103d foot; John Despard, of the royal fuzileers; William Anne Villettes, of the 1st dragoons guards; William Wemyss; major-generals in the army.

Brevet. Col. Robert Kingscote, of the North Gloucestershire militia, and colonel B. R. De Capell Brooke, of the Northamptonshire militia, colonels in the army, and to take rank as such as long as those militias shall remain embodied for actual service.—Captain Charles Newton, of the late 134th foot, major in the army.

Staff. Captain St. John Fancourt, of the 56th foot, major of brigade to the forces.

Hospital-staff. Sir Alex. Douglas, bart. M. D. physician to the forces in North Britain.

29th. Brevet. Frederick, baron Hompesch, colonel in the army on the Irish establishment.

30th. Staff. Col. John Doyle, of the 87th foot, brigadier-general at Gibraltar only.—Philip Rogers Bearcroft, esq. late deputy-commissary of accounts at St. Domingo, commissary of accounts in the Leeward Islands, vice Dornford, deceased.—William M'Myne, esq. late of the 58th foot, paymaster at Duncannon-fort.

July 3d. Right honourable Arthur Wolfe, chief-justice of his majesty's court of king's bench, in Ireland, vice the earl of Clonmel, deceased; also created a baron of that kingdom, by the style and title of baron Kilwarden, of Newlands, county of Dublin, with remainder to his heirs male.

7th. Staff. Col. Robert Anstruther, baggage-master and inspector of the roads in North Britain, vice sir Charles Preston, who resigns.

Hospital-staff. Dr. William Shapter, M. D. to be inspector of hospitals.

14th. Brevet. Major-general Henry Bowyer, lieutenant-general in the Leeward islands only.

Staff. Lieutenant-colonel Richard Stuart, of the 51st foot, adjutant-general to the forces serving in Portugal, vice Hadden, who resigns.—Captain Lindsay Crawford Campbell, of the 20th foot, deputy-adjutant-general to the said forces, with the rank of major in the army, vice Stuart.

16th. John Toler, esq. attorney-general of Ireland, vice Wolfe; and John Stewart, esq. solicitor-general, vice Toler.

18th. James Bontein, esq. knighted.

21st. Brevet. Lieut.-col. Charles Hastings, of the 61st foot, colonel in the army.—Col. Charles Hastings, of the 61st foot, major-general in the army.

To be colonels in the army, and to take rank as such so long as their respective regiments of militia shall remain embodied for actual service: colonel John Henry, duke of Rutland, of the Leicestershire militia; colonel John Campbell, of the 1st (or Argyleshire) militia; colonel Douglas, duke of Hamilton, of the 3d (or Lanarkshire) militia; colonel Charles, earl of Dalkeith, of the 4th (or Dumfriesshire) militia; colonel James, duke of Montrose, of the 5th (or Fifeshire) militia; colonel George, earl of Aboyne, of the 6th (or Aberdeenshire) militia; colonel George, earl of Glasgow, of the 7th (or Ayrshire) militia; colonel Archibald, lord Douglas, of the 8th (or Forfar) militia; colonel John, duke of Atholl,

of

of the 9th (or Perthſhire) militia; colonel Henry, duke of Buccleugh, of the 10th (or Edinburgh) militia.

Staff. Thomas Durell, eſq. deputy-commiſſary-general on the continent; Chriſtopher Bourcard, eſq. aſſiſtant-commiſſary-general on the continent.

To be deputy-commiſſaries-general: Joſeph Bullock, William Henry Robinſon, and Henry Lannoy Hunter, eſqrs.

To be aſſiſtant-commiſſary, Charles Wright, eſq.

Hoſpital-ſtaff. Dr. —— Grieves, M. D. from half-pay, to be inſpector of hoſpitals in North Britain.

28th. Sir James Crauford, bart. his majeſty's miniſter-plenipotentiary to the circle of Lower Saxony, and reſident with the Hans Towns.

Auguſt 2d. John Toler, eſq. and the hon. Richard Anneſley, ſworn of his majeſty's privy-council of Ireland.

4th. Staff. James Putnam, eſq. deputy-barrack-maſter-general of Nova Scotia, and its dependencies.

6th. Sir Robert Calder, knight, captain in the royal navy, and of Southwick, Hants, a baronet.

18th. Brevet. To be colonels in the army, and to take rank as ſuch ſo long only as their reſpective regiments of militia ſhall remain embodied for actual ſervice: colonel Joſeph Holden Strutt, of the ſupplementary battalion of Eſſex militia; colonel lord Harewood, of a ſupplementary battalion of Eſſex militia; colonel lord Harewood, of a ſupplementary regiment of Yorkſhire Weſt-Riding militia; colonel Walter Fawkes, of ditto; colonel ſir George Cooke, bart. of ditto.

Staff. James Bowie, gent. aſſiſtant-commiſſary of ſtores and proviſions in the Leeward Iſlands.

25th. Staff. Col. Francis Fuller, of the 59th foot, brigadier-general in the iſland of Newfoundland.—Captain Charles Doyle, of the 87th foot, major of brigade.—Captain Norman M'Leod, of the late 95th foot, major of brigade to the forces in South Britain, vice Wood, promoted.

Sept. 1ſt. Brevet. Captain Claus Pell, of the 17th foot, major in the army.

11th. Staff. Capt. James Gambier, of the 1ſt regiment of life-guards, major of brigade.

14th. Robert Mann, eſq. rear-admiral of the red, one of the lords commiſſioners of the admiralty, vice lord Hugh Seymour, reſigned.

16th. Staff. To be brigadier-generals in the Leeward Iſlands only, colonel Charles Green, of the 30th foot, and colonel Thomas Brady, of the royal artillery.—To be brigadier-general in Portugal only, colonel Baldwin Leighton, of the 46th foot.

18th. Brevet. Captain Edward Webber, of the late 90th foot, major in the army.—To be colonels in the army, and to take rank as ſuch ſo long only as their reſpective regiments ſhall remain embodied for actual ſervice, colonel Robert Crowe, of the 2d North York militia, and lieutenant-colonel-commandant James Lowther, of the Weſtmoreland militia.

25th. Brevet. To be colonels in the army, and to take rank as ſuch ſo long only as their reſpective regiments ſhall remain embodied for actual ſervice, colonel Thomas Glyn, of the North Middleſex militia, and colonel John Morriſon, of the South Middleſex militia.

Staff. William Whitmore, gent. aſſiſtant-commiſſary of ſtores and proviſions to the forces in the Leeward Iſlands.

28th. William Shaw, lord Cathcart, ſworn of his majeſty's moſt honourable privy-council.

Oct. 6th. Sir Horatio Nelſon, K. B. rear-admiral of the blue, created baron Nelſon, of the Nile, and of Burnham Thorpe, county of Norfolk.

15th. John Marſh, eſq. to be a commiſſioner of the royal navy, vice Hunt.

22d. Brevet. To be colonels in the army, and to take rank as ſuch ſo long only as their reſpective regiments of militia ſhall remain embodied for actual ſervice; colonel Edward, lord Stanley, of the 1ſt regiment of the Royal Lancaſhire ſupplementary militia; colonel ſir Henry Philip Hoghton, bart. of the 2d regiment of the ſaid militia; colonel Le Gendre Pierſe Starkie, of the 3d regiment of the ſaid militia; and colonel Peter Patten, of the 4th regiment of the ſaid militia.

Staff. Captain George Peter, of the 59th foot, major of brigade to the forces in the iſland of Newfoundland.

23d. Brevet. Captain Thomas Inglis, on the half-pay of the late 126th foot, major in the army.

24th. Charles, earl of Harrington, ſworn of his majeſty's moſt honourable privy-council.

27th. Sir William Scott, knight, his majeſty's advocate-general, judge of the high court of admiralty, vice ſir James Marriott, reſigned.

27th. Brevet. Colonel Lewis, lord Sondes, of the 3d regiment of Kent militia, colonel in the army, and to take rank as ſuch ſo long only as the ſaid regiment of militia ſhall remain embodied for actual ſervice.

Garriſons. Lieutenant-general ſir Ralph Abercromby, K. B. governor of Fort George and Fort Auguſtus, in North Britain, vice Hodgſon, deceaſed.—General ſir William Meadows, K. B. lieut.-governor of the Iſle of Wight, vice Abercromby.

31ſt. Sir Wm. Scott, knt. ſworn of his majeſty's moſt honourable privy-council.

—. Dr. John Nicholl, his majeſty's advocate-general, vice ſir William Scott, knighted.

Nov. 3d. Staff. To be majors of brigade to the forces in South Britain: captain-lieutenant Frederick Hardyman, of the royal fuſileers; and hon. captain William Moleſworth, of the 46th foot, vice Gordon, who reſigns.

6th. Charles Lock, eſq. appointed his majeſty's conſul-general at Naples; and Lewis Druſina, eſq. conſul at Memel.

13th. Brevet. Lieutenant-colonel George Frederick Koehler, of the royal artillery, brigadier-general in the dominions of the grand ſignior only.

Staff. Colonel Edward Hewgill, of the Coldſtream guards, deputy-barrack-maſter-general to his majeſty's forces, vice Tayler, who retires.

13th. Joſeph Hunt, eſq. a commiſſioner for conducting the tranſport-ſervice, and for the care and cuſtody of priſoners of war.

—. Benjamin Moodie, eſq. his majeſty's conſul to the States of North and South Carolina and Georgia.

17th. Brevet. To be majors in the dominions of the grand ſignior only: captain Charles Holloway, of the royal engineers; captain Robert Hope, of the royal artillery; captain-lieutenant Thomas Dodd, of the royal artillery; captain-lieutenant Robert Fead, of the royal artillery; and captain-lieutenant Richard Fletcher, of the royal engineers.—To be captains in the dominions

dominions of the grand ſignior only: lieutenant Thomas Lacey, of the royal engineers; and lieutenant William M. Leake, of the royal artillery.

27th. Brevet Colonel Kynaſton Powel, of the 2d Shropſhire regiment of militia, to be colonel in the army, and to take rank as ſuch ſo long only as the ſaid regiment of militia ſhall remain embodied for actual ſervice. Captain ſir James Buntem, of the 3d Weſt-India regiment, to be major in the army.

Staff. Lieutenant-general Richard Grenville, to be commandant of the garriſon of Plymouth, in the abſence of the governor.—Lieutenant-colonel Albert Gledſtanes, of the 57th foot, to be quarter-maſter-general to the forces in the Leeward Iſlands, vice Cameron, deceaſed.—William Harris, gentleman, to be aſſiſtant-commiſſary of ſtores, proviſions, and forage, to the forces ſerving in Portugal.—Paymaſters of recruiting diſtricts: William Diſney, eſq. vice Benſley, who reſigns; and James William Lukin, eſq. vice Laton, who reſigns.

Dec. 4th. Brevet. Capt. Thomas Oldfield, of the marines, to be major in the army.

Staff, Captain John Belcomb, of the 1ſt dragoon-guards, to be major of brigade to the forces.

5th. Appointment of Harry Grant, eſq to be conſul from the United States of America, at the port of Leith, approved by his majeſty.

—. Right hon. Thomas Grenville, ſworn of his majeſty's moſt hon. privy-council.

8th. Captain Richard Neate, of the 57th foot, to be major in the army.

12th. Edward Berry, eſq. captain in the royal navy, knighted.

15th. Rev. Samuel Ryder Weſton, B. D. recommended by the king to be elected a canon-reſidentiary of St. Paul's, vice Jeffreys, deceaſed.—Rev. Charles Morris, M. A. appointed a prebendary of Canterbury, vice Weſton, reſigned.

19th. Robert, viſcount Caſtlereagh, ſworn of his majeſty's moſt hon. privy-council.

20th. Right Rev. Thomas Lewis O'Beirne, biſhop of Oſſory, promoted to the ſee of Meath, vice Maxwell, deceaſed.

29th. Brevet Captain William Gifford, of the 26th foot, to be major in the army.—To be colonels in the army, and to take rank as ſuch ſo long only as their reſpective regiments of militia ſhall remain embodied for actual ſervice; hon. colonel Thomas Onſlow, of the 2d regiment of Surrey militia; and colonel John Crewe, of the 2d regiment of Cheſhire militia.

DEATHS *in* 1798.

Jan. 6th. Sir John Sinclair, bart. of Longformiens.

8th. Sir Ralph Milbanke.

9th. John, lord Liſle, of the kingdom of Ireland.

12th. Dowager lady Beauchamp Proctor.

15th. Hon. Mrs. Harley, lady of the right hon. Thomas Harley, father of the city of London.

16th. General ſir John Dalling, K. B.

21ſt. Lady Elizabeth Bellenden, relict of John Kerr, lord Bellenden.

—. Sir David Williams, bart. of Goldingtons, Hertfordſhire.

26th. Sir William Gordon, K. B.

29th. Lady Chambers, relict of sir William Chambers.

31st. Rear-admiral William Truscott, esq.

Feb. 3d. The countess of Stair.

6th. James Hamilton, earl of Clanbrassil.

7th. Lady Clinton, relict of Robert George William Trefusis, lord Clinton.

12th. Stanislaus Augustus Poniatowski, late king of Poland, and grand-duke of Lithuania.

—. Joseph Dormer, earl of Dorchester, viscount and baron Milton.

22th. Sir William Molesworth, bart. of Pencarrow, Cornwall.

24th. Dame Jane Riddell, widow of the late sir John Riddell, bart.

March 9th. Her serene highness the duchess dowager of Wirtemberg.

14th. Lady Tynte, widow of sir Charles Kemys Tynte, of Halswell, Somerset.

16th. Henry, lord Calthorpe.

22d. Countess dowager of Banbury.

April 2d. Louisa lady Willoughby de Broke, daughter of Francis, earl of Guildford.

—. Sir Anthony Fitzherbert, bart. of Tissington, Derby.

—. Lady Maxwell, wife of sir W. Maxwell, bart. of Monteath.

9th. Henry Noel, sixth earl of Gainsborough, viscount Campden.

—. Sir George Allanson Winn, bart. lord Headly, in Ireland, and M. P. for Rippon.

10th. Arthur, lord viscount Harberton.

17th. Lady Robert Bertie, relict of lord Robert Bertie, uncle of the duke of Ancaster.

19th. Dame Elizabeth Dashwood, widow of sir James Dashwood, bart.

29th. Sir Robert Palk, bart. and M. P.

—. Sir Philip Houghton Clarke, bart.

May 4th. Hon. Augustus Windsor, son of the earl of Plymouth.

16th. Lady Sophia Amynta Lambert, youngest daughter of Richard, earl of Cavan.

19th. William, fifth lord Byron.

22d. Lady Emma Maria Wallop, youngest sister of the earl of Portsmouth.

—. Lady Rachel Drummond, daughter of the late earl of Perth.

—. Right hon. John Scott, earl of Clonmell, baron Earlsfort, chief justice of the king's bench, Ireland.

28th. Sir John Riggs Miller, bart.

June 4th. Lord Edw. Fitzgerald, brother to the duke of Leinster.

—. Executed at Carlow, Ireland, for rebellion, sir Edward Crosbie, bart.

5th. Luke Gardiner, lord Mountjoy.

10th. Laura, lady Southampton.

—. Sir Charles H. Talbot, bart.

14th. The earl of Errol.

16th. Sir Joseph Mawbey, bart.

18th. John, viscount O'Neill.

19th. William Jennens, esq. Acton-place, Suffolk, reckoned the most opulent subject in Great Britain.

21st. Sir James Saunderson, bart. and alderman of London.

23d. The duchess of Leinster.

24th. The archduchess Maria Christiana, of Austria.

26th. Lady Barbara Pleydell Bouverie, daughter of the earl of Radnor.

27th. Hon. Mrs. Charlotte Digby, relict of the late dean of Durham.

—. Lady Dorothy Hotham, relict of sir Charles Hotham Thompson, bart.

July

July 10th. Hon. James Bruce, ſon of the late earl of Elgin.

19th. Hon. John Turnour, ſon of the earl of Winterton.

27th. Right hon. lady Mary Hore, daughter of the counteſs of Wicklow, and wife of the rev. Thomas Hore.

Auguſt. 3d. Viſcounteſs Downe, daughter of the late general Scott.

9th. Lady James, relict of ſir William James, bart.

15th. Lady Charlotte Diſbrowe, daughter of the earl of Buckinghamſhire, and wife of Edward Diſbrowe, eſq.

18th. Hon. Richard Walpole, brother to lord Walpole.

19th. Lady Wilmot, relict of the late ſir Robert Wilmot, bart.

20th. Lady Mary Douglas, daughter of the earl of Selkirk.

27th. Right hon. lady Mary Eyre, daughter of the counteſs of Newburgh, peereſs in her own right.

29th. Sir Thomas Spencer Wilſon, bart.

Sept. 6th. Sir Jonathan Philips, knight.

7th. Sir Peter Soame, bart.

30th. Molineux Shouldham, lord Shouldham, and admiral of the white.

—. Hon. and right rev. Dr. Maxwell, biſhop of Meath, brother to the earl of Farnham.

—. Lady Francis Bulkley, eldeſt daughter of the earl of Peterborough, and wife of the rev S. Bulkley.

—. Sir Charles Farnaby Radcliffe, bart. of Kepington, Kent, and M. P.

Oct. 5th. Edmund Boyle, earl of Cork and Orrery.

6th. Sir John Parker Moſeley, bart. Staffordſhire.

21ſt. Sir Adam Williamſon, K. B. late governor of Jamaica.

22d. William, lord Bagot.

30th. Sir Thomas Byard, knt. captain of the Foudroyant.

—. Lady Stanley, relict of ſir Thomas Stanley, bart.

Nov. 5th. John Zephaniah Holwell, eſq. formerly governor of Bengal.

17th. Sir Richard Reynell, bart. of the kingdom of Ireland.

29th. Lady Mary Carnegie, daughter of the earl of Northeſk.

30th. Earl of Portarlington.

—. Maria, counteſs dowager of Carhampton.

Dec. 2d. Hon. William King, brother of lord King.

—. Lady Anderſon, wife of ſir Edmund Anderſon, bart.

8th. Sir Edward Dering, bart. of Surrenden-Dering.

16th. Thomas Pennant, eſq. the eminent naturaliſt and antiquary.

27th. Anne, counteſs of Airly.

SHERIFFS *appointed by his Majeſty in Council, for the Year* 1798.

Berkſhire, Richard Palmer, of Hurſt, eſq.

Bedfordſhire, John Fox, of Dean, eſq.

Bucks, John Penn, of Stoke-Park, eſq.

Cumberland, Sir Richard Hodgſon, of Carliſle, knt.

Cheſhire, Robert Hibbert, of Bertles, eſq.

Cambridge and Huntingdonſhire, John Tharpe, of Chippenham, eſq.

Devonſhire, Arthur Tremaine, of Sydenham, eſq.

Dorſetſhire, Edward Berkely Portman, of Brianſtone, eſq.

Derbyſhire, John Leaper Newton, of Derby, eſq.

Eſſex, John Perry, of Moor Hall, eſq.

Glouceſterſhire, Thomas Vernon Dolphin, of Eyford, eſq.

Hertfordſhire, Felix Calvert, of Hunſdon-Houſe, eſq.

Herefordſhire, John Stedman, of Boſbury, eſq.

Kent, John Plumtree, of Fredville, eſq.

Leiceſterſhire, Renne Payne, of Dunton-Baſſett, eſq.

Lincolnſhire, Burton Shaw, of Weſt Willoughby, eſq.

Monmouthſhire, Joſhua Morgan, of Llanwenarth, eſq.

Northumberland, Adam Aſkew, of Ellington, eſq.

Northamptonſhire, Tho. Reeve Thornton, of Brock-Hall, eſq.

Norfolk, George Stone, of Bedenham, eſq.

Nottinghamſhire, Nathaniel Stubbins, of Helme Pierrepoint, eſq.

Oxfordſhire, John Atkins Wright, of Oxford, eſq.

Rutlandſhire, William Sharrard, of Langham, eſq.

Shropſhire, Andrew Corbet, of Strawberry-park, eſq.

Somerſetſhire, Samuel Rodbard, of Ever-Creech, eſq.

Staffordſhire, Richard Dyot, of Freeford, eſq.

Suffolk, John Sheppard, of Campſey-Aſh, eſq.

County of Southampton, Richard Meyler, of Crawley, eſq.

Surry, James Trotter, of Epſom, eſq.

Suſſex, Richard Thomas Streatfield, of Uckfield, eſq.

Warwickſhire, Robert Harvey Mallery, of Woodcot, eſq.

Worceſterſhire, John Addinbrooke Addinbrooke, of Woolaſton-hall, eſq.

Wiltſhire, John Bennett, of Pithouſe, eſq.

Yorkſhire, Sir Thomas Pilkington, of Cheviotte, bart.

SOUTH WALES.

Caermarthen, John Morgan, of the Furnace, Caermarthen, eſq.

Pembroke, John Taſker, of Upton-caſtle, eſq.

Cardigan, Pryce Loveden, of Gogerthen, eſq.

Glamorgan, Samuel Richardſon, of Henſol, eſq.

Brecon, John Lloyd, of Dinois, eſq.

Radnor, John Benn Walſh, of Kevenllece, eſq.

NORTH WALES.

Caernarvon, ſir Thomas Moſtyn, of Glodbeath, bart.

Angleſea, William Evans, of Glen Claw, eſq.

Merioneth, Rob. Watkin Wynne, of Cwinmeer, eſq.

Montgomery, Ralph Leake, of Criggion, eſq.

Denbighſhire, John Jones, of Penyprin, eſq.

Flintſhire, John Jones, of St. Aſaph, eſq.

SHERIFF *appointed by his Royal Highneſs the Prince of Wales, in Council, for the Year* 1798.

Cornwall, James Buller, of Shillingham, eſq.

APPEN-

APPENDIX to the CHRONICLE.

London Gazettee, May 22.

Admiralty-office.

Diſpatch from Captain R. H. Popham, of his Majeſty's Ship Expedition, to Evan Nepean, Eſq. Secretary of the Admiralty.

His Majeſty's Ship Expedition, Oſtend-roads, May 20.

Sir,

I Beg you will do me the honour to inform my lords commiſſioners of the admiralty, that, in purſuance of their orders of the eighth inſtant, I proceeded to ſea the fourteenth, with the ſhips and veſſels named in the margin,* having on board the troops under the command of major-general Coote, for the purpoſe of blowing up the baſon gates and ſluices of the Bruges-canal, and deſtroying the internal navigation between Holland, Flanders, and France. On the eighteenth, P. M. I ſpoke the Fairy, when captain Horton told me he had taken a cutter from Fluſhing to Oſtend, and he underſtood, from the people on board, that the tranſport ſchuyts, fitting at Fluſhing, were to go round immediately by the canals to Dunkirk and Oſtend; and although it was impoſſible that any inſormation could give additional ſpirit to the troops forming this enterprize, or increaſe the energy and exertions of the officers and ſeamen under my command, yet it convinced major-general Coote, and myſelf, that it was of the greateſt importance not to loſe any time, but to attempt, even under an increaſed degree of riſk, an object of ſuch magnitude as the one in queſtion; and as the weather appeared more favourable than it had been, I made the ſignal for captain Bazely, in the Harpy, to go a-head, with the veſſels appointed to lie as beacons N. W. of the town of Oſtend, and for captain Bradby, in the Ariadne, to keep between the Expedition and Harpy, that we might approach as near the coaſt as poſſible, without the chance of being diſcovered from the ſhore.

At one, A. M. we anchored; and ſo n afterwards the wind ſhifted to w ſt, and threatened ſo much to bl w, that the general and myſelf w re deliberating whether it would

* To anchor to the eaſtward. Hecla bomb, J. Oughton. Harpy, H. Bazely. Ariadne, J. Bradby. Expedition, H. Popham. Minerva, J. M'Kellar. Savage, N. Thompſon. Blazer, D. Burgeſs. Lion, S. Bevel. Circe, R. Winthrop. Veſtal, C. White. Hebe, W. Birchall. Druid, C. Apthorpe. Terrier, T. Lowen. Veſuve, W. Elliott. Furnace, M. W. Suckling.—To keep to the weſtward, for the purpoſe of making a feint to land there. Champion, H Raper. Dart, R. Raggett. Wolvereene, L. M. Mortlock. Craſh, B. M. Praid. Boxer, J. Gilbert. Acute, J. Scaven.

not

not be better to go to ſea and wait a more favourable opportunity, when a boat from the Vigilant brought a veſſel alongſide, which ſhe had cut out from under the light-houſe battery; and the information obtained from the perſons who were on board her, under ſeparate examinations, ſo convinced us of the ſmall force at Oſtend, Newport, and Bruges, that major-general Coote begged he might be landed to accompliſh the great object of deſtroying the canals, even if the ſurf ſhould prevent his retreat being ſo ſucceſsful as he could wiſh. I of courſe acceded to his ſpirited propoſitions, and ordered the troops to be landed, as faſt as poſſible, without waiting for the regular order of debarkation. Many of the troops were on ſhore before we were diſcovered, and it was not till a quarter paſt four that the batteries opened on the ſhips, which was inſtantly returned in a moſt ſpirited manner by captain Mortlock of the Wolvereene, lieutenant Edmonds of the Aſp, and lieutenant Norman of the Biter. The Hecla and Tartarus bombs very ſoon opened their mortars, and threw their ſhells with great quickneſs and preciſion. The town was on fire ſeveral times, and much damage was done to the ſhips in the baſon. By five o'clock all the troops ordered to land, except thoſe from the Minerva, were on ſhore, with their artillery, miners, wooden petards, tools, and gunpowder; and before ſix o'clock I heard from general Coote, that he had no doubt of blowing up the works. I now became very anxious for the ſituation of the major-general, from the ſtate of the weather; and I ordered all the gun-boats that had anchored to the eaſtward of the town, to get as near the ſhore as poſſible, to cover and aſſiſt the troops in their embarkation. The batteries of the town continued their fire on the Wolvereene, Aſp, and Biter; and as the Wolvereene had received much damage, and the Aſp had been lying near four hours within three hundred yards of the battery, I made their ſignal to move, and ſoon after directed the Dart, Harpy, and Kite, to take their ſtations, that the enemy might be prevented from turning their guns againſt our troops; but it being low water, they could not get ſo near as their commanders wiſhed. At half paſt nine the Minerva came in, and as I thought an additional number of troops would only add to the anxiety of the general, from the little probability of being able to embark them, I ſent captain Mackellar on ſhore to report his arrival with four light companies of the guards. In his abſence, colonel Ward filled two flat boats with his officers and men, and was proceeding, with every zeal, to join the battalion of guards, without conſidering the danger he was expoſed to in croſſing the ſurf, when captain Bradby fortunately ſaw him, and adviſed him to return immediately to his ſhip. At twenty minutes paſt ten I had the pleaſure of ſeeing the exploſion take place; and ſoon after the troops aſſembled on the Sand Hills near the ſhore; but the ſea ran ſo high, that it was impoſſible to embark a ſingle man; therefore I could only make every arrangement againſt the wind moderated; and this morning at daylight I went on ſhore in the Kite, for the purpoſe of giving every aſſiſtance, but I had the mortification

tion to ſee our army ſurrounded by the enemy's troops; and, as I had no doubt the general had capitulated, ordered all the ſhips to anchor farther out, and ſent in a flag of truce by colonel Boone, of the guards, and captain Brown, of the Kite, with a letter to the commandant, a copy of which I encloſe for their lordſhips information. At ten this morning, the general's aide-de-camp, captain Williamſon, came on board; and, though it was very painful to hear general Coote was wounded, after all his exertions, yet it was very ſatisfactory to learn, that, under many diſadvantageous circumſtances, and after performing a ſervice of ſuch conſequence to our country, the loſs, in killed and wounded, was only between fifty and ſixty, officers and privates; and that the general capitulated, in conſequence of being ſurrounded by ſeveral thouſands of the national troops.

I encloſe, for their lordſhips information, a copy of ſuch minutes as were left me by captain Williamſon, from which their lordſhips will ſee the ſluice-gates and works are completely deſtroyed, and ſeveral veſſels, intended for tranſports, burnt.

I this morning learnt that the canal was quite dry, and that the works, deſtroyed yeſterday, had taken the ſtates of Bruges five years to finiſh.

I hope their lordſhips will be ſatisfied that the enemy was ſurprized, and every thing they wiſhed was accompliſhed, although the loſs of the troops far exceeded any calculation, except under the particular circumſtances of the wind's coming to the northward and blowing very hard. If the weather had continued fine, the troops would have been embarked by twelve, at which time the return of killed and wounded did not exceed four rank and file.

I cannot help again noticing the particular good conduct of captain Mortlock, lieutenant Edmonds, and lieutenant Norman, and beg to recommend them to their lordſhips protection.

General Coote ſent to inform me that he was highly pleaſed with the uncommon exertions of captains Winthrop and Bradby, and lieutenant Bradby, who had acted on ſhore as his aide-de-camp: he alſo noticed the aſſiſtance he had derived from captain Mackellar, after his landing.

I take the liberty of ſending this diſpatch by captain Winthrop, of the Circe, who commanded the ſeamen landed from the different ſhips; and, as he had the particular charge of getting the powder and mines up, for the deſtruction of the works, in which he ſo ably ſucceeded, he will be enabled to inform their lordſhips of every circumſtance. Captain Mackellar, with the officers and men on ſhore, were included in the capitulation; but I have not yet been able to collect an exact return of the number of ſeamen taken.

I tranſmit you a liſt of killed and wounded on board his majeſty's ſhips; and I have the honour to be, ſir,

Your moſt obedient
Humble ſervant,
Home Popham.

His Majeſty's Ship Expedition, Oſtend-roads, May 20.

Sir,

I have juſt heard, with concern, that the Britiſh troops and ſeamen, under the command of major-general Coote, and captain Mackellar, of the royal navy, have capitulated to the troops of the republic, and I truſt

truſt they will be treated with that attention which is due to officers and men executing the orders of their ſovereign.

It has been the invariable rule of the Britiſh government, to make the ſituation of priſoners as comfortable as poſſible; and I am ſure, ſir, in this inſtance, you will do the ſame to the troops, &c. who have fallen into your hands.

It will not be againſt any rule, to exchange the priſoners immediately, but, on the contrary, add to your fame, by marking it with humanity and liberality: and, I give you my word, the ſame number of troops, or other priſoners, ſhall be inſtantly ſent from England to France, with ſuch officers as you ſhall name, or as ſhall be named by the national convention, provided no public reaſon attaches againſt the relcaſe of any particular perſon.

I have ſent the officers what things they left on board the ſhip, and I am confident you will order them to be delivered as ſoon as poſſible.

I beg you will allow the officers and men to write letters to England by this flag, as a ſatisfaction to their families, it being impoſſible for me to know who have fallen or received wounds, which I hope will be very inconſiderable, from the accounts I have received from the ſhore.

I beg your anſwer to this letter, without loſs of time; and, confiding in your liberality towards the troops under capitulation to you, I have the honour to be, ſir,

Your moſt obedient
Humble ſervant,
Home Popham.

To the officer commanding the troops of the national convention, at Oſtend.

Extract from the Minutes left on board the Expedition by Captain Williamſon, Aide-de-camp to General Coote, dated 10 A. M. May 20, Oſtend-roads.

Sluice-gates deſtroyed in the moſt complete manner. Boats burned, and every thing done, and the troops ready to embark by twelve o'clock. When we found it impoſſible to embark, took the ſtrongeſt poſition on the ſand-hills, and about four in the morning were attacked by a column of 600 men to our left, an immenſe column in front, with cannon, and a very large column on the right.

The general and troops would all have been off, with the loſs of not more than three or four men, if the wind had not come to the northward, ſoon after we landed, and made ſo high a ſea. We have not been able to aſcertain the exact number of men killed and wounded, but it is ſuppoſed they amount to about fifty or ſixty.

The officers killed and wounded, are: major-general Coote, wounded; colonel Hely, 11th regiment, killed; colonel Campbell, wounded; captain Walker, of the royal artillery, wounded.

A Liſt of killed and wounded in his Majeſty's Ships and Veſſels under the Command of Home Popham, Eſq. 19th May, Oſtend-roads.

Seamen, &c. of the Wolvereene, 1 killed, 10 wounded; 23d regiment, on board the Wolvereene, 1 killed, 5 wounded; Aſp, 1 ſeaman killed, lieutenant Edmonds wounded.

Home Popham.

Parliament-ſtreet, May 22.

A diſpatch, of which the following is a copy, has been this day received

ceived by the right honourable Henry Dundas, one of his majesty's principal secretaries of state, from lieutenant-colonel Warde, of the 1st regiment of guards, dated on board the Expedition frigate, 8 o'clock, P. M. May 20.

Sir,

In consequence of the Minerva frigate (on board which were the four light infantry companies of the 1st regiment of foot guards) having unfortunately lost her station, in the squadron under the command of captain Popham, of the royal navy, during the night of the 18th instant, the command of the remainder of the troops, from that accident, has devolved upon me; and I have the honour to transmit to you the most correct account that I have been enabled to collect.

Early on the morning of the 19th inst. the following troops, under the command of major-general Coote, viz. two companies, light infantry, Coldstream guards—two ditto, ditto, 3d guards—11th regiment of foot—23d and 49th, flank companies, with six pieces of ordnance—disembarked, and effected their landing, at three o'clock in the morning, to the eastward of Ostend, and completed the object of the expedition, by burning a number of boats destined for the invasion of England, and by so completely destroying the locks and bason-gates of the Bruges canal, that it was this morning without a drop of water; and, as I understand all the transports fitting out at Flushing were intended to be brought to Ostend and Dunkirk by the inland navigation, to avoid our cruisers, that arrangement will be defeated, and it will be a long time before the works can be repaired, as they were five years finishing, and were esteemed the most complete works of the kind in Europe. The troops had retreated, and were ready to re-embark by twelve o'clock the same morning, with the loss of only one rank and file killed, and one seaman wounded, but found it impossible, from the wind having increased, and the surf running so high, as intirely to prevent their regaining the boats; upon which they took up a position on the sand-hills, above the Reach, where they lay the whole of that day and night upon their arms. The enemy, taking advantage of the length of time and the night, collected in very great force, and, soon after day-break this morning, attacked them on every side, when, after a most noble and gallant defence, I am grieved to add, they were under the necessity of capitulating to a very great superiority of numbers.

I herewith enclose a list of the killed and wounded, and I have every reason to believe it correct.

Lieutenant-colonel Hely, 11th foot, killed; major-general Coote, wounded; colonel Campbell, 3d guards, wounded; major Donkin, 44th foot, wounded; capt. Walker, royal artillery, wounded; and near sixty rank and file killed and wounded.

I have the honour to be, &c.

Henry Warde,

Capt. and lieut.-col. 1st guards.

London Gazette Extraordinary, June 26, 1798.

Whitehall, June 26.

Copy of a Dispatch from his Excellency, the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, to

to his Grace, the Duke of Portland, His Majeſty's principal Secretary of State for the Home Department.

Dublin-Caſtle, June 24.

My lord,

I have the honour to tranſmit to your grace a diſpatch received by lord viſcount Caſtlereagh, this day, from lieutenant-general Lake, dated Wexford, the 22d inſtant, together with a letter from brigadier-general Moore, containing an account of his important ſucceſſes.

I alſo encloſe a copy of the propoſals made by the rebels in the town of Wexford, to lieutenant-general Lake, and his anſwer.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) Cornwallis.

His grace, the duke of Portland, &c. &c. &c.

Wexford, June 22.

My lord,

Yeſterday afternoon I had the honour to diſpatch a letter to your lordſhip, from Enniſcorthy, with the tranſactions of the day, for his excellency the lord-lieutenant's information; and the encloſed copy of a letter from brigadier-general Moore to major-general Johnſon, will account for my having entered this place without oppoſition. General Moore, with his uſual enterprize and activity, puſhed on to this town, and entered it ſo opportunely, as to prevent it from being laid in aſhes, and the maſſacre of the remaining priſoners, which the rebels declared their reſolution of carrying into effect the next day; and there can be little doubt it would have taken place, for the day before they murdered above ſeventy priſoners, and threw their bodies over the bridge.

Incloſed is a copy of my anſwer to the propoſal of the inhabitants of this town, tranſmitted in my letter of yeſterday to your lordſhip. The evacuation of the town by the rebels renders it unneceſſary. I have the pleaſure to acquaint your lordſhip, that the ſubſcriber of the inſolent propoſals, Mr. Keughe, and one of their principal leaders, Mr. Roach, with a few others, are in my hands, without negociation. The rebels are reported to be in ſome force within five miles of this place; it is ſuppoſed for the purpoſe of ſubmiſſion, to which the event of yeſterday may ſtrengthen their inclination. I have reaſon to think that there are a number ſo diſpoſed, and that I ſhall be able to ſecure ſome more of their leaders; but, ſhould I be diſappointed in my expectations, and find they collect in any force, I ſhall loſe no time in attacking them.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) G. Lake.

P. S. From inquiry, the numbers killed yeſterday were very great indeed.

Lord viſcount Caſtlereagh.

Camp above Wexford, June 22.

Dear general,

Agreeable to your order I took poſt, on the evening of the 19th, near Fook's Mills, in the park of Mr. Sutton. Next day, I ſent a ſtrong detachment, under lieutenant-colonel Wilkinſon, to patrole towards Tintern and Clonmines, with a view to ſcour the country, and communicate with the troops you directed me to join from Duncannon. The lieutenant-colonel found the country deſerted, and got no tidings of the troops. I waited for them untill three o'clock in

in the afternoon, when, despairing of their arrival, I began my march to Taghmon. We had not marched above half a mile when a considerable body of the rebels was perceived marching towards us. I sent my advanced guard, consisting of the two rifle companies of the sixtieth regiment, to skirmish with them, whilst a howitzer and a six-pounder were advanced to a cross road above Goff's Bridge, and some companies of light infantry formed on each side of them, under lieutenant-colonel Wilkinson. The rebels attempted to attack these, but were instantly repulsed and driven beyond the bridge. A large body were perceived, at the same time, moving towards my left. Major Aylmer, and afterwards major Daniel, with five companies of light infantry and a six-pounder, were detached against them. The sixtieth regiment, finding no farther opposition in front, had, of themselves, inclined to their left to engage the body which was attempting to turn us. The action here was, for a short time, pretty sharp. The rebels were in great numbers, and armed with both muskets and pikes; they were, however, forced to give way, and driven, though they repeatedly attempted to form, behind the ditches. They at last dispersed, flying towards Enniscorthy and Wexford.

Their killed could not be ascertained, as they lay scattered in the fields over a considerable extent, but they seemed to be numerous. I enclose a list* of ours. The troops behaved with great spirit; the artillery and Hompesch's cavalry were active, and seemed only to regret that the country did not admit of their rendering more effectual service. Major Daniel is the only officer whose wound is bad; it is through the knee, but not dangerous.

The business, which began between three and four, was not over till near eight. It was then too late to proceed to Taghmon. I took post for the night on the ground where the action had commenced. As the rebels gave way, I was informed of the approach of the second and twenty-ninth regiments, under lord Dalhousie. In the morning of the 21st, we were proceeding to Taghmon, where I was met by an officer of the North Cork from Wexford with the enclosed letters. I gave, of course, no answer to the proposal made by the inhabitants of Wexford, but I thought it my duty immediately to proceed here, and to take post above the town; by which means I have perhaps saved the town itself from fire, as well as the lives of many loyal subjects who were prisoners in the hands of the rebels. The rebels fled, upon my approach, over the bridge of Wexford, and towards the barony of Forth. I shall wait here your farther orders. Lord Kingsborough has informed me of different engagements he had entered into with respect to the inhabitants. I have declined entering upon the subject, but have referred his lordship to you or general Lake.

I received your pencilled note during the action of the 20th: it was impossible for me then to detach the troops you asked for, but I hear you have perfectly succeeded,

* This list was omitted.

at

at Enniſcorthy, with thoſe you had. Mr. Roche, who commands the rebels, is encamped, I hear, about five miles off. He has ſent to lord Kingſborough to ſurrender upon terms. Your preſence ſpeedily is upon every account extremely neceſſary.

I am, &c.

John Moore.

Major-general Johnſon.

P. S. It is difficult to judge of the numbers of rebels, they appear in ſuch crowds and ſo little order. Information ſtates thoſe we beat to have been between five and ſix thouſand.

Propoſals of the Rebels.

June 21.

That capt. M'Manus ſhall proceed from Wexford towards Oulart, accompanied by Mr. E. Hay, appointed by the inhabitants of all religious perſuaſions, to inform the officer commanding the king's troops that they are ready to deliver up the town of Wexford without oppoſition, lay down their arms, and return to their allegiance, provided that their perſons and properties are guaranteed by the commanding officer; and that they will uſe every influence in their power to induce the people of the country at large to return to their allegiance alſo. Theſe terms, we hope, captain M'Manus will be able to procure.

Signed, by order of the inhabitants of the town of Wexford,

Matthew Keughe.

Anſwer.

Enniſcorthy, June 22.

Lieutenant-general Lake cannot attend to any terms offered by rebels in arms againſt their ſovereign. While they continue ſo, he muſt uſe the force entruſted to him with the utmoſt energy for their deſtruction.

To the deluded multitude he promiſes pardon, on their delivering into his hands their leaders, ſurrendering their arms, and returning with ſincerity to their allegiance.

(Signed) G. Lake.

To the inhabitants of Wexford.

London Gazette, June 30, 1798.

Whitehall.

Copy of a Diſpatch from the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, to the Duke of Portland.

Dublin-Caſtle, June 25.

My lord,

I have the honour of incloſing to your grace the copy of a letter received this day by lord Caſtlereagh, from major-general ſir Charles Aſgill, and a return of the killed, wounded, and miſſing, in the attack on Vinegar-hill and the town of Enniſcorthy.

I have the honour to be, &c.

Cornwallis.

His grace the duke of Portland.

Kilkenny, June 24, *9 o'clock, P. M.*

My lord,

I have the honour to inform you, that early in the morning of the 23d inſt. I received information that the rebels, amounting to ſeveral thouſands, had eſcaped from the county of Wexford, and formed a camp at Killymount, and were proceding to Gore's Bridge. I inſtantly aſſembled all the force I could collect, and marched towards them. I did not arrive in time to prevent their defeating a detachment at that place, and taking 24 men of the Wexford militia priſoners. They marched off

off rapidly towards Leighlin. The troops from thence, consisting of a small party of the 9th dragoons, commanded by lieutenant Higgins, lieutenant-colonel Rochfort's, and captain Cornwall's yeomanry, killed 60 of them. Night coming on, I could not pursue them any farther. By the position they took up near Sharkill, I conceived their intentions were to form a junction with the colliers at Castlecomer. As soon as the troops were able to move, I marched with 900 men to attack them, and was sorry to find they had burnt the whole town, and forced the soldiers, who were in it, to retire before my arrival. Having cleared the town with the guns, I attacked them on all sides,: about 400 were killed, the remainder fled. They were commanded by a priest called Murphy, and their numbers were said to amount to 5000. Our loss was inconsiderable. My force consisted of the Wexford and Wicklow militia, under the command of lord Loftus and the hon. colonel Howard. The dragoons were commanded by major Donaldson of the 9th dragoons, and major Barnard, of the Romney fencibles, with several yeomanry corps from this county and Carlow, who, as well as the other troops, are entitled to my warmest praise for their bravery and alertness, on this and every occasion.

I have the honour to be, &c.

C. Asgill, Maj.-gen.

London Gazette, July 3, 1798.

Whitehall.

Copies of Dispatches from the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, to the Duke of Portland:

Kilkenny, June 26.

My lord,

Fearing the consequences that must result from allowing the rebels who fled from Wexford to remain any length of time in this country, I preferred attacking them with a small number of men to waiting till a reinforcement arrived. My force amounted to eleven hundred men. The rebels consisted of about five thousand. I attacked them this morning, at six o'clock, in their position at Kilconnel-hill, near Gore's Bridge, and soon defeated them. Their chief, called Murphy, a priest, and upwards of one thousand men, were killed. Ten pieces of cannon and two swivels, the colours, and quantities of ammunition, arms, cattle, &c. were taken; and I have the pleasure to add, that some soldiers who were made prisoners the day before, and who were doomed to suffer death, were fortunately released by our troops.

Our loss consisted of seven men killed and wounded.—The remainder of the rebels were pursued into the county of Wexford, where they dispersed in different directions.

I feel particularly obliged to major Mathews, of the Downshire militia, who, at a short notice, and with great alacrity, marched with 400 men of his regiment, and captain Poole's and captain Gore's yeomanry corps, from Maryboro', to co-operate with me. Lord Loftus, and colonel Ram, of the Wexford militia; lieutenant-colonel Howard, and lieutenant-colonel Radcliffe, of the Wicklow; major Donaldson, of the 9th dragoons, who commanded the cavalry, as well as all the officers and privates, are entitled to my thanks for their spirited exer-

tions. Nor can I withhold the praiſes ſo juſtly due to all the yeomanry corps employed on this occaſion.

I alſo beg leave to mention my aid-de-camp, captain Ogle, and lieutenant Higgins, of the 9th dragoons, who has acted as my brigade-major.

I have the honour to be, &c.

Cha. Aſgill, major-general.

Lord viſcount Caſtlereagh, &c.

My lord, *Dublin, June* 25.

I have the honour to acquaint your grace, that this day advices were received from lieutenant Gardner, of the Antrim militia, dated from Baltinglaſs, the 26th inſtant, which ſtate, that early on the morning of the 25th, a very large body of rebels attacked his poſt at Hacketſtown. They were in number many thouſands. Lieutenant Gardner's force conſiſted of 50 Upper Talbotſtown, and 24 Shebagh cavalry, 50 of the Antrim regiment, 46 Hacketſtown, and 30 Coolattin yeoman infantry. He at firſt took an advantageous ſituation in front of the town; but after a few ſhots without effect, the rebels filed off in every direction to ſurround him. He then retreated into the town to defend the barracks. A conteſt took place in the midſt of flames, for near nine hours, for the rebels ſet fire to the town. They were at laſt repulſed with conſiderable loſs: many dead were found in the ſtreets and ditches, and 30 cart-loads of killed and wounded were carried off in their retreat.

Lieutenant Gardner ſpeaks in the higheſt terms of the gallantry of his whole detachment. He particularly praiſes lieutenant Rowan, of the Antrim, captain Hume, of the Upper Talbotſtown cavalry, captain and lieutenant Charnley, of the Coolattin, lieutenants Saul and Thomas of the Hacketſtown cavalry, and lieutenants Bradbelt and Taylor, of the Shebagh cavalry; and he ſtrongly mentions the good conduct of ſerjeant Nixon, of the Antrim regiment.

He ſeverely laments the loſs of a good officer, captain Hardy, of the Hacketſtown yeoman infantry, who fell early in the action. His other loſs conſiſts of 10 privates killed, and one ſerjeant, and 19 privates wounded.

I encloſe to your grace a farther account of the action near Gore's Bridge, and a return of the killed and wounded, which has been received from major-general ſir Charles Aſgill. I have the honour to be, &c.

Cornwallis.

His grace the duke of Portland, &c.

Kilkenny, June 27.

My lord,

I have the honour to ſend you encloſed a return of the killed and wounded in the action with the rebels at Kilconnel-hill, on the 26th of June, and a return of the ordnance, ammunition, &c. &c. taken on that day. I have the pleaſure to aſſure you, that every thing they poſſeſſed has fallen into our hands; and, from ſubſequent accounts, the loſs they ſuſtained was much greater than I had the honour of ſtating to you in my former diſpatch. I have no doubt but this victory will reſtore the counties of Kilkenny and Carlow to peace and tranquillity.

I have the honour to be,

Cha. Aſgill, major-general.

Right hon. viſcount Caſtlereagh.

Return of Ordnance, Colours, and Ammunition taken.

One colours, five four-pounders, five one-pounders, four ſwivels, a few

few guns, and a number of pikes, which were deſtroyed as ſoon as taken. A number of ſhot of diſferent ſizes, with a quantity of lead and moulds.

Return of Stores taken:

Black cattle . . .	170
Sheep	100
Horſes	700
Total .	970

Alſo a vaſt quantity of bedding, blanketting, and wearing-apparel.

J. Lewis Higgins,
Lieut. 9th dragoons,
Acting brigade-major.

London Gazette, July 21, 1798.

Parliament-ſtreet,

Copies of Diſpatches, received by the Right Honourable Henry Dundas, one of his Majeſty's principal Secretaries of State, from Major-generals Coote and Burrard.

Oſtend, June 21.

Sir,

Not having had it in my power to ſend my diſpatches by my aid-de-camp, captain Williamſon, I take the opportunity by Mr. Jobernes, the ſtaff-ſurgeon, who was ordered to Oſtend by his royal highneſs the commander-in-chief.

I have the honour to be, &c.

Eyre Coote, maj.-gen.

Rt. hon. Henry Dundas, &c.

On a Ridge of Sand-hills, three Miles to the Eaſt of Oſtend, May 19.

Sir,

I have the moſt ſincere ſatisfaction to acquaint you of the complete and brilliant ſucceſs attending the expedition entruſted, by his majeſty, to the care of captain Popham, of the royal navy, and myſelf. The ſquadron reached Oſtend about one o'clock this morning.

The able and judicious arrangements of captain Popham, and great exertions of himſelf, the officers and ſeamen under his command, enabled us to diſembark the troops at the place from which I have the honour of dating this diſpatch; and, from captain Popham's local knowledge, I gained ſuch information as very much removed the difficulties we had to encounter on ſhore, and contributed greatly to the ſucceſs of the enterprize.

General ſir Charles Grey ſent you, ſir, an outline of the diſpoſition of the troops, and of the plans, previous to our ſailing from Margate; theſe were carried into execution, with a little alteration, which I was obliged to make, in conſequence of the whole of the troops not having landed.

Soon after we diſembarked, I detached major-general Burrard, with four companies of light infantry of the guards, the 23d and 49th grenadiers, and two ſix-pounders, to take poſſeſſion of the different poſts and paſſes that it was neceſſary to occupy, to enable us to carry our plan into execution. In effecting this, he met with ſtrong oppoſition from a conſiderable body of ſharp-ſhooters, who were gallantly repulſed with ſome loſs, and, by a rapid march, cut off from the town of Oſtend.

During the time lieutenant Brownrigg, of the engineers, was employed in bringing up the powder and other materials to effect the deſtruction of the ſluices of the Bruges-canal, the troops were poſted as

follows: the grenadiers of the 11th and 23d regiments, with cannon, &c. at the lower ferry, to prevent the enemy croſſing from Oſtend. A detachment of colonel Campbell's company of guards, under the command of captain Duff, and the grenadiers of the 49th regiment, under the command of captain lord Aylmer, at the upper ferry, for the ſame purpoſe; the remainder of colonel Campbell's, with three other companies of the guards, under the command of colonel Calcraft, at the ſluices and country around, to cover the operation.

The 11th regiment on the ſouth-eaſt front, to ſecure a ſafe retreat for the troops, if preſſed.

The light-infantry companies of the 11th and 23d regiments, under major Donkin, to cover the village of Bredin, and extend to the Blankenburg-road, near the ſea, as well as to co-operate with the 11th regiment.

The greater part of the 23d regiment remained on-board the ſhips of war, ſtationed to the weſtward of the town, as well to divert the enemy's attention to that point as to land and ſpike the cannon, ſhould an opportunity offer.

By the time the troops were properly poſted, the neceſſary materials were brought up to the ſluices, by the indefatigable exertions and extraordinary good conduct of captains Winthrop, Bradby, and M'Kellar, and lieutenant Bradby, of the royal navy, whoſe ſervices on ſhore cannot be too highly praiſed. Lieutenant Brownrigg, of the royal engineers, in about four hours, made all his arrangements, and completely deſtroyed the ſluices, his mines having, in every particular, the deſired effect, and the object of the expedition thereby attained; and which, I have the ſatisfaction to add, was accompliſhed with the trifling loſs of only five men killed and wounded. Several veſſels, of conſiderable burden were alſo deſtroyed in the canal near the ſluices. No danger, even for an inſtant, abated the ardour of the ſeamen and ſoldiers. To their unanimity, his majeſty and the country are indebted for our ſucceſs. No language of mine can do juſtice to the forces employed upon this occaſion; and, as it is impoſſible to name each individual, I beg leave to ſtate the great exertions of a few. To that excellent officer, major-general Burrard, I ſhall feel everlaſting obligation; to his counſel, exertions, and ability, I am, in a great meaſure, to attribute the ſucceſs of the enterprize. His majeſty's guards, conſpicuous upon all occaſions, on this ſervice have added to their former laurels. To colonel Calcraft, who commanded them; colonels Cunningham and Campbell, of the ſame corps; major Skinner, of the 23d regiment, commanding the grenadiers; major Donkin, of the 44th regiment, commanding the light infantry; and captain Walker, commanding the royal artillery; I feel myſelf much indebted for their good conduct in the various ſervices in which I employed them. In lieutenant Brownrigg, of the royal engineers, I found infinite ability and reſource. His zeal and attention were eminently conſpicuous; and, in my opinion, this gentleman bids fair to be of great future ſervice to his country. I ſhould not do juſtice to the zeal and ſpirit of lieutenant Gilham, of the Suſſex militia, if I did not ſtate to you, that, anxious to be employed in the

ſervice of his country, and to learn his profeſſion, he applied to his commanding-officer, at Dover, the night before we ſailed, for permiſſion to join our force. He left Dover in a violent gale of wind, and came on-board the morning we got under weigh. I attached him to colonel Campbell's company of the battalion of guards, where he acquitted himſelf much to his honour. Captain Viſſcher, ſir Charles Grey's aid-de-camp; captain Williamſon, my aid-de-camp; and major of brigade, Thorley; I ſent to attend the guards, light infantry, and grenadiers, in their different poſitions, as well to give their aſſiſtance to the reſpective commanding-officers as to appriſe me of any circumſtance that might occur, ſo as to require my immediate information, they being thoroughly acquainted with the nature of the expedition. They conducted themſelves to my moſt perfect ſatisfaction, as did lieutenant Cliſton, of the royal artillery, who attended me; captain Cumberland, of the 83d regiment; and cornet Nixon, of the 7th, light dragoons, who acted as aid-de-camp to major-general Burrard.

In my letter of the 13th inſtant, I had the honour to inform you of my having accepted the ſervices of Mr. Jarvis, a ſurgeon of Margate. His great attention was unremitting, and his conduct, upon this occaſion, is highly praiſeworthy. To colonel Twiſs I ſhall ever feel great obligation, for the able aſſiſtance he gave me, at Dover, in preparing the neceſſary inſtruments for deſtroying the ſluice-gates, as well as for the inſtructions he was ſo kind to give lieutenant Brownrigg for this ſervice. As a feint to cover the operation of bringing up the materials, and of deſtroying the ſluices, captain Popham, and myſelf ſent a ſummons to the commandant of Oſtend, to ſurrender the town, and its dependencies, to his majeſty's forces, under our command, which had the deſired effect. I have the honour to encloſe you a copy of the ſummons, with the commandant's anſwer. By an unavoidable accident, the four light companies of the 1ſt guards, under command of lieutenant-colonels Warde and Boone, were not landed in the morning: I think it, however, but juſtice to declare, that every thing that brave men could then attempt was done, at the imminent riſk of their lives, to accompliſh it; and I am conſcious the zeal and courage they manifeſted, to partake in the dangers of their brother ſoldiers, would have made them ample ſharers in any honour to be acquired, or danger to be encountered, on ſhore, had they been able to reach it. I have ſent a diſpatch to ſir Charles Grey, by his aid-de-camp, captain Viſſcher; and captain Williamſon, my aid-de-camp, will have the honour to deliver you this. Both theſe gentlemen are well qualified to give you any farther information, and I beg leave to recommend them to your notice and protection.

I have the honour to be, &c.

Eyre Coote, maj.-gen.

Rt. hon. Henry Dundas, &c.

Copy of the Summons ſent for the Town of Oſtend to ſurrender. Dated Eaſt of the Harbour of Oſtend, May 19.

Sir,

We, the officers commanding the ſea and land forces of his majeſty, the king of Great Britain, think it

neceſſary to appriſe you, that we ſhall be obliged to bombard and cannonade the town of Oſtend, unleſs you, as commandant, ſhall immediately ſurrender the ſame, with its dependencies, troops, and military ſtores, belonging to the republic, to the arms of our ſovereign. We leave to you to take into your ſerious conſideration the very formidable force now lying before the town and port of Oſtend, as you cannot but be reſponſible for the conſequences of a vain and fruitleſs reſiſtance. We are willing to grant half an hour for your full conſideration of the above terms, and are convinced that your humanity and good ſenſe will point out the neceſſary ſteps to be taken to accede to our propoſals, as, in default thereof, we ſhall be under the neceſſity of immediately commencing hoſtilities.

We have the honour to be, &c.

Eyre Coote, maj.-gen.

Home Popham, capt. R. N.

To his excellency the commandant of Oſtend.

Tranſlation of the Commandant of Oſtend's Anſwer to the Summons.

Liberty — Equality.

Garriſon of Oſtend, 30th Floreal, 6th Year of the Republic.

Muſcar, Commandant of the Garriſon of Oſtend, to the Commander-in-chief of the Troops of his Britannic Majeſty.

General,

The council of war was ſitting when I received the honour of your letter; we have unanimouſly reſolved not to ſurrender this place until we ſhall have been buried under its ruins.

(Signed) Muſcar,

Commandant of the garriſon.

Oſtend, May 20.

Sir,

Major-general Coote, in his diſpatch of yeſterday, had the honour to inform you of the brilliant ſucceſs of the enterprize of which he had the command, as far as related to the deſtruction of the gates and ſluices of the canal of Bruges. The general having been ſeverely wounded this morning, I have the painful taſk of detailing our unavoidable ſurrender ſoon after. On our return yeſterday to the beach, at 11 o'clock, A. M. where we had diſembarked, we found, that, from an increaſe of wind and ſurf, our communication with the fleet was nearly cut off, and that it was impoſſible to re-embark the troops. The general, well aware of the riſk we ran in ſtaying in an enemy's country, naturally exaſperated againſt us for the damage we had recently done them, attempted to get off ſome companies; but the boat ſoon filled with water, and it was, with extreme difficulty the lives of the men were ſaved. It then became neceſſary to examine carefully the ground we were likely to fight upon; and ſuch a choice was made as might have enſured us ſucceſs, had any thing like an equal force preſented itſelf. Major-general Coote took every precaution the evening and the night afforded, to make our poſt, among the ſand-hills upon the ſhore, as tenable as poſſible, by directing lieutenant Brownrigg, of the royal engineers, to make ſmall entrenchments where it was neceſſary, and, by planting the few field-pieces and the howitzer we had on the moſt favourable ſpots, to annoy the enemy in their approach to attack us. In momentary expectation of them, we impatiently looked for a favour-

able

able opportunity to get into our boats, but unfortunately it never preſented itſelf. About four o'clock this morning (the wind and ſurf having increaſed during the night), we perceived plainly two ſtrong columns of the enemy advancing on our front, and ſoon after we found ſeveral other columns upon our flanks.

The action began by a cannonade from their horſe-artillery, which was anſwered from our field-pieces and howitzer with great animation. Our artillery was ſerved admirably; and had not the enemy ſoon after turned our flanks, which, from their very great numbers, could not be prevented, they would have paid dear indeed for any advantage their ſuperiority of numbers gave them. The force they employed, we have ſince found, was aſſembled from Ghent, Bruges, and Dunkirk; and general Coote and myſelf were very ſoon convinced that our caſe was deſperate: and that we had no choice left but to defend our poſt, ſuch as it was, for the honour of his majeſty's arms, as long as we were able. We maintained this very ſevere and unequal conflict for nearly two hours, in which, extreme hot fire was interchanged; particularly on our left flank, which, as well as our right, was now completely turned. Wiſhing, however, to make one ſtrong effort, major-general Coote ordered major Donkin, of the 44th regiment, on the left, with a company of light infantry, to endeavour to turn that flank of the enemy which had made moſt impreſſion upon us, and colonel Campbell, with his own light company of the guards, to effect the ſame purpoſe, by a concealed and rapid march round the ſand-hills. The uncommon exertions of theſe two invaluable officers, when the ſignal was made for them to advance, are above all praiſe; their companies in the attempt were much cut down, and col. Campbell and major Donkin, with one ſubaltern (captain Duff), were wounded. About this time, major-general Coote perceived that part of the 11th regiment, towards our left, had given way, and was likely to diſtreſs the other parts of the front neareſt to it. At the moment he was endeavouring to rally them, and had put himſelf at their head, to regain the loſt and advantageous ground from which they had retreated, at that moſt critical period, when moſt conſpicuous for gallantry and conduct, he received a very ſevere wound in his thigh; and, being unable to go on, he ſent for me from the right, where I was ſtationed.

We both found that our front was broken, and our flanks completely turned, the enemy pouring in upon us on all ſides, and ſeveral valuable officers and many of our beſt men killed and wounded. It was evident we could not hold out for ten minutes longer; and therefore we thought it more our duty to preſerve the lives of the brave men we commanded, than to ſacrifice them to what, we conceived, was a miſtaken point of honour. Had we acted differently, it is probable that, in leſs time than what I have juſt mentioned, their fate would have been decided by the bayonet. Major-general Coote, by whoſe bed I am writing, has enjoined me to repeat the praiſes (and I am witneſs he has juſtly beſtowed them) on the officers and men which he had the honour to mention in his diſpatch of yeſterday. And we hope, that, although we have not been

finally ſucceſsful in re-embarking, our conduct and exertions, in having effected the object of the enterpriſe, will be deemed honourable by his majeſty and our country; and we rely upon his gracious acceptance of our endeavours and zeal in the attempt to extricate the troops entruſted to our charge from difficulties both unavoidable and inſurmountable.

Major-general Coote and myſelf would willingly beſtow praiſe where it is due; but, among many competitors, it is difficult to ſelect without appearing to overlook others well deſerving. We have, ſir, however, the honour of mentioning to you, colonel Campbell, of the 3d guards light infantry, and major Donkin, of the 44th, whoſe conduct, if any thing could have protracted our fate, had been equal to the difficulty of effecting it. Captain Walker, commanding the royal artillery, captains Wilſon and Godfrey, and lieutenants Simpſon, Hughes, and Holcroft, all of the ſame diſtinguiſhed corps, after having done every thing which men could do, ſpiked their guns, and threw them over the banks, at the moment the enemy were poſſeſſing themſelves of them. The latter gentleman, lieutenant Holcroft, when all his men were wounded except one, remained at his gun doing duty with it to the beſt of his ability. Captain Gibbs, of the 11th, and captain Halkett, of the 23d light infantry, eminently diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their cool, intrepid conduct during the whole time. All the gentlemen of the ſtaff conducted themſelves much to the ſatisfaction of major-general Coote and myſelf. To captain Cumberland, of the 83d, and cornet Nixon, of the 7th light dragoons, who flatteringly offered to accompany me, and who acted as my aid-de-camp, I am much indebted; their attention and activity I found of moſt material ſervice. Mr. Lowen, volunteer, attached to the 23d light infantry, was twice wounded, and was particularly conſpicuous, and remarked as a promiſing ſoldier. We think it but juſtice to the enemy to ſay, that our wounded are treated with humanity; many of them are in the hoſpital of this town, and are well attended by their ſurgeons. Our numbers on ſhore were about 1000 men, of which we are afraid there are from 100 to 150 killed and wounded. The enemy, by all accounts, have loſt about the ſame number; but it is impoſſible to give any juſt return of the number we have loſt till we hear from Bruges, where the priſoners were ſent.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) Harry Burrard,
major-general.

Right hon. H. Dundas, &c.

P. S. A return of the killed and wounded is now more regularly tranſmitted by major-general Coote.

(Signed) Eyre Coote,
major-general.

Oſtend, June 17.

Return of Officers, Non-commiſſioned Officers, Rank and File, and Seamen, killed, wounded, and miſſing, on the Sand Hills, near Oſtend, 20th May.

Total, 1 lieutenant-colonel, 1 ſerjeant, 31 rank and file, 11 ſeamen, killed; 1 colonel, 1 major, 2 captains, 1 lieutenant, 3 ſerjeants, 59 rank and file, 3 ſeamen, wounded; 2 drummers, 45 rank and file, miſſing.

Names

Names and Rank of Officers killed and wounded.

Major-general Coote badly wounded; colonel Campbell, 3d guards, badly wounded (ſince dead); colonel Hely, 11th regiment of foot, killed; major Donkin, commanding battalion of light infantry, wounded ſlightly; captain Walker, commanding royal artillery, wounded (ſince dead); captain Duff, 3d guards, ſlightly wounded; volunteer Lowen, attached to the 23d light infantry, wounded ſeverely.—Royal navy, Mr. Wiſdom, Mr. Belding, maſter's mates of his majeſty's ſhip, Circe, killed.

From the beſt accounts.

M. Thorley,
major of brigade.

Oſtend, July 10,

Return of Officers, Non-commiſſioned, and Rank and File, under the command of Major-general Coote, ſurrendered Priſoners of War on the Sand Hills, near Oſtend, May 20.

Total, 1 lieutenant-colonel, 3 majors, 14 captains, 30 lieutenants, 1 ſecond lieutenant, 4 enſigns, 1 adjutant, 1 quarter-maſter, 3 ſurgeons, 77 ſerjeants, 33 drummers, 966 rank and file.

From the beſt accounts.

M. Thorley,
major of brigade.

Oſtend, May 27.

Sir,

It is with inexpreſſible concern that I am to acquaint you, that colonel Campbell, of the 3d guards, died this morning, of the wounds he received in the action of the 20th inſtant. The loſs of this invaluable officer to the ſervice is irreparable, and by his country ever to be lamented. Major-general Burrard, with all the officers (three or four excepted, that were left with me) and ſoldiers, are removed to Liſle, where I expect to be ſent as ſoon as I am ſufficiently recovered of my wounds.

I have the honour to be, &c.

Eyre Coote, M. G.

Right hon. Henry Dundas, &c.

The following are the official Notes reſpecting the Arrival, &c. of the French Troops in Ireland.

Whitehall, Auguſt 27.

My lord,

I think it right to inform your lordſhip, that by official accounts received this morning from the lord-lieutenant of Ireland, it appears, that three French frigates, unaccompanied by any tranſports, appeared in the bay of Killala, on the evening of the 22d inſtant, and landed about ſeven hundred men, who immediately took poſſeſſion of the town of Killala, and made a ſmall party of the prince of Wales's fencible regiment, conſiſting of an officer and twenty men, and ſome yeomen, priſoners: a large force was collected from different quarters, and every neceſſary preparation making for attacking the enemy.

I have the honour to be, my lord, your lordſhip's moſt obedient humble ſervant,

(Signed) Portland.

To the right hon. the lord mayor.

(A true copy, for Lloyd's)

(Signed) Anderſon, mayor.

Dublin-caſtle, Auguſt 29, 1798.

Sir,

In the abſence of my lord-lieutenant, I beg leave to acquaint you, for

for the information of his grace the duke of Portland, that early on the 27th inſtant, the French attacked lieutenant-general Lake, in a poſition he had taken at Caſtlebar, before his forces were collected, and compelled him to retire. The lieutenant-general reports, that his loſs of men is not conſiderable, but that he was obliged to leave behind him ſix pieces of cannon. It appears, by a letter I have received this day from my lord-lieutenant, that the French have advanced upon Tuam. His excellency was aſſembling forces at Athlone. I have the honour to be, &c. &c.

Caſtlereagh.

William Wickham, eſq.
&c. &c. &c.

Whitehall, Auguſt 30, 1798.

My lord,

I have the ſatisfaction to inform your lordſhip, that diſpatches have been received at Dublin-caſtle, from major-general Hutchinſon, dated Caſtlebar, the 25th inſtant, which ſtate, that the French troops who diſembarked at Killala, had not attempted to march into the country, nor had they been joined by any number of the inhabitants; and that the major-general was proceeding to act againſt the enemy with the king's troops, who were receiving every aſſiſtance from the people of the country.

Before the arrival of the major-general's diſpatches, the lord-lieutenant had left Dublin, and proceeded to take the command of the army.

I have the honour to be, my lord, your lordſhip's moſt obedient humble ſervant,

(Signed) Portland.

To the right hon. the lord mayor.

London Gazette Extraordinary, September 14, 1798.

Whitehall, September 14.

Copy of a Diſpatch from the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, to his Grace the Duke of Portland.

Camp, near St. John's Town, Sept. 8.

My lord,

When I wrote to your grace on the 5th, I had every reaſon to believe, from the enemy's movement to Drumahain, that it was their intention to march to the north; and it was natural to ſuppoſe, that they might hope that a French force would get into ſome of the bays in that part of the country; without a ſuccour of which kind every point of direction for their march ſeemed equally deſperate.

I received, however, very early in the morning of the 7th, accounts from lieutenant-general Lake, that they had turned to their right to Drumkeirn, and that he had reaſon to believe that it was their intention to go to Boyle, or Carrick on Shannon; in conſequence of which I haſtened the march of the troops, under my immediate command, in order to arrive before the enemy at Carrick, and directed major-general Moore, who was at Tubercurry, to be prepared, in the event of the enemy's movement to Boyle.

On my arrival at Carrick, I found that the enemy had paſſed the Shannon, at Balintra, where they attempted to deſtroy the bridge; but lieutenant-general Lake followed them ſo cloſely, that they were not able to effect it.

Under theſe circumſtances, I felt pretty confident that one more march would bring this diſagreeable warfare

warfare to a concluſion; and having obtained ſatisfactory information, that the enemy had halted for the night at Cloone, I moved with the troops at Carrick, at ten o'clock on the night of the 7th, to Mohill, and directed lieutenant-general Lake to proceed at the ſame time to Cloone, which is about three miles from Mohill; by which movement I ſhould be able either to join with lieutenant-general Lake in the attack of the enemy, if they ſhould remain at Cloone, or to intercept their retreat, if they ſhould (as it was moſt probable) retire on the approach of our army.

On my arrival at Mohill, ſoon after daybreak, I found that the enemy had begun to move towards Granard; I therefore proceeded with all poſſible expedition to this place, through which I was aſſured, on account of a broken bridge, that the enemy muſt paſs in their way to Granard, and directed lieutenant-general Lake to attack the enemy's rear, and impede their march as much as poſſible, without bringing the whole of his corps into action. Lieutenant-general Lake performed this ſervice with his uſual attention and ability; and the encloſed letter, which I have juſt received from him, will explain the circumſtances which produced the immediate ſurrender of the enemy's army.

The copy of my orders, which I encloſe, will ſhew how much reaſon I have to be ſatisfied with the exertions of the troops; and I requeſt that your grace will be pleaſed to inform his majeſty, that I have received the greateſt aſſiſtance from the general and ſtaff officers who have ſerved with the army.

I have the honour to be, &c.

Cornwallis.

P. S. I am ſorry to find that the wounds of lieutenant Stephens, of the carabineers, are more dangerous than they had been reported.

His grace the duke of Portland, &c

Letter from Lieutenant-General Lake, to Captain Taylor, private Secretary to his Excellency the Lord-Lieutenant, dated Camp, near Ballinamuck, September 8.

Sir,

I have the honour to acquaint you, for the information of his excellency the lord-lieutenant, that finding, upon my arrival at Ballaghy, that the French army had paſſed that place from Caſtlebar, I immediately followed them, to watch their motions. Lieutenant-colonel Crawfurd, who commanded my advanced corps, compoſed of detachments of Hompeſch's and the firſt fencible cavalry, by great vigilance and activity, hung ſo cloſe upon their rear, that they could not eſcape from me, although they drove the country, and carried with them all the horſes.

After four days and nights moſt ſevere marching, my column, conſiſting of the carabineers, detachments of the 23d light dragoons, the firſt fencible light dragoons, and the Roxburgh fencible dragoons, under the command of colonel ſir Thomas Chapman, lieutenant-colonel Maxwell, earl of Roden, and captain Kerr, the third battalion of light infantry, the Armagh, and part of the Kerry militia, the Reay, Northampton, and prince of Wales's fencible regiment of infantry, under the command of lieutenant-colonel Innes, of the 64th regiment, lord viſcount Goſford, earl of Glandore,

Glandore, major Roſs, lieutenant-colonel Bulkeley, and lieutenant-colonel Macartney, arrived at Cloone about ſeven o'clock this morning, where, having received directions to follow the enemy on the ſame line, whilſt his excellency moved by the lower road, to intercept them, I advanced, having previouſly detached the Monaghan light company, mounted behind dragoons, to haraſs their rear.

Lieutenant-colonel Crawfurd, on coming up with the French rear guard, ſummoned them to ſurrender; but as they did not attend to his ſummons, he attacked them, upon which upwards of 200 French infantry threw down their arms: under the idea that the reſt of the corps would do the ſame thing, captain Packenham, lieutenant-general of ordnance, and major-general Craddock, rode up to them. The enemy, however, inſtantly commenced a fire of cannon and muſketry, which wounded general Craddock; upon which I ordered up the third battalion of light infantry, under the command of lieutenant-colonel Innes, and commenced the attack upon the enemy's poſition. The action laſted upwards of half an hour, when the remainder of the column making its appearance, the French ſurrendered at diſcretion. The rebels, who fled in all directions, ſuffered ſeverly.

The conduct of the cavalry was highly conſpicuous. The third light battalion, and part of the Armagh militia (the only infantry that were engaged), behaved moſt gallantly, and deſerve my warmeſt praiſe. Lieutenant-colonel Innes's ſpirit and judgement contributed much to our ſucceſs.

To brigadier-general Taylor I have to return my moſt ſincere thanks, for his great exertions and aſſiſtance, particularly on this day; alſo to lord Roden, ſir Thomas Chapman, major Kerr, and captain Ferguſon, whoſe example contributed much to animate the troops. I ought not to omit mentioning lieutenant-colonel Maxwell, major Packenham, and captain Kerr, whoſe conduct was equally meritorious; and I feel infinitely thankful to all the commanding officers of corps, who, during ſo fatiguing a march, encouraged their men to bear it with unremitting perſeverance.

To captain Packenham, lieutenant-colonel Clinton (who came to me with orders from lord Cornwallis), and major-general Craddock (who joined me in the morning), I am highly indebted for their ſpirited ſupport; the latter, though early wounded, would not retire from the field during the action.

I acknowledge, with gratitude, the zeal and activity diſplayed, on all occaſions, by lieutenant-colonel Meade, major Hardy (aſſiſtant-quarter-maſter-general), captains Taylor and Euſtace, of the engineers, captain Nicholſon, and my other aides-de-camp.

I cannot conclude my letter without expreſſing how much our ſucceſs is to be attributed to the ſpirit and activity of lieutenant-colonel Crawfurd; and I beg leave to recommend him as a moſt deſerving officer.

I have the honour to be, &c.

G. LAKE.

General

General Orders.

Head-quarters, near St. John's Town, September 9.

Lord Cornwallis cannot too much applaud the zeal and ſpirit which have been manifeſted by the army from the commencement of the operations againſt the invading enemy, until the ſurrender of the French forces.

The perſeverance with which the ſoldiers ſupported the extraordinary marches, which were neceſſary to ſtop the progreſs of the very active enemy, does them the greateſt credit; and lord Cornwallis heartily congratulates them on the happy iſſue of their meritorious exertions.

The corps of yeomanry, in the whole country through which the army has paſſed, have rendered the greateſt ſervices, and are peculiarly entitled to the acknowledgements of the lord-lieutenant, from their not having tarniſhed that courage and loyalty which they diſplayed in the cauſe of their king and country, by any acts of wanton cruelty towards their deluded fellow-ſubjects.

Return of the killed, wounded, and miſſing, of the King's Forces at the Battle of Ballinamuck, Sept. 8.

Officers, 1 wounded; privates, 3 killed, 12 wounded, 3 miſſing; horſes, 11 killed, 1 wounded, 8 miſſing.

Ordnance, Arms, and Ammunition taken.

3 light French 4-pounders; 5 ditto ammunition-waggons, nearly full of made-up ammunition; 1 ditto tumbril, 700 ſtand of arms, with belts and pouches, and a great number of pikes.

Officer wounded, lieutenant Stephens, of the carabineers.

Return of the French Army taken Priſoners, at the Battle of Ballinamuck, September 8.

General and other officers -	96
Non-commiſſioned officers and ſoldiers - -	746
Horſes, about - -	100

N. B. Ninety-ſix rebels taken, three of them called general officers, by the names of Roach, Blake, and Teeling.

*** The enemy, in their retreat before the troops under my command, were compelled to abandon nine pieces of cannon, which they had taken in the former actions with his majeſty's forces.

G. Lake, lieut.-gen.

Names of the principal Officers of the French Force, taken at the Battle of Ballinamuck, September 8.

Humbert—general en chef.
Sarazin—general de diviſion.
Fontaine—general de brigade.
Laſerure—chef de brigade attaché à l'etat major.
Duſour—ditto.
Aulty—chef de battalion.
Demanche—ditto.
Touſſaint—ditto.
Babin—ditto.
Silbermon—ditto.
Menou—commiſſaire ordonnateur.
Brillier—commiſſaire de guerre.
Thibault—payeur,
Puton—aid-de-camp.
Framair—ditto.
Moreau—capitaine waguemeſtre-general.
Ardouin—chef de brigade.
Serve—chef de battalion.
Hais—ditto.
Mauchaud—ditto.
Brand, Maſſonnet, } officiers de ſanté.

Recapitulation.

Recapitulation.

Sous officiers	- -	96
Grenadiers	- -	78
Fuſiliers	- -	440
Carabiniers	- -	33
Chaſſeurs	- -	60
Cannoniers	- -	41
	Total	748
	Officiers	96
		844

Certifié par le chef de brigade,
P. Ardouin

London Gazette Extraordinary, October 2, 1798.

Admiralty-Office.

The honourable captain Capel, of his majeſty's ſloop Mutine, arrived this morning with diſpatches from rear-admiral ſir Horatio Nelſon, K. B. to Evan Nepean, eſq. ſecretary of the Admiralty, of which the following are copies.

Vanguard, Mouth of the Nile, Auguſt 7.

Sir,

Herewith I have the honour to tranſmit you a copy of my letter to the earl of St. Vincent, together with a line of battle of the Engliſh and French ſquadrons, alſo a liſt of killed and wounded. I have the pleaſure to inform you, that eight of our ſhips have already top-gallant yards acroſs, and ready for any ſervice; the others, with the prizes, will ſoon be ready for ſea. In an event of this importance, I have thought it right to ſend captain Capel, with a copy of my letter (to the commander-in-chief), over land, which I hope their lordſhips will approve; and beg leave to refer them to captain Capel, who is a moſt excellent officer, and fully able to give every information; and I beg leave to recommend him to their lordſhips notice.

I have the honour to be, &c.
Horatio Nelſon.

Evan Nepean, eſq.

P. S. The iſland I have taken poſſeſſion of, and brought off the two thirteen-inch mortars, all the braſs guns, and deſtroyed the iron ones.

Vanguard, off the Mouth of the Nile, Auguſt 3.

My lord,

Almighty God has bleſſed his majeſty's arms in the late battle, by a great victory over the fleet of the enemy, whom I attacked at ſunſet on the 1ſt of Auguſt, off the Mouth of the Nile. The enemy were moored in a ſtrong line of battle, for defending the entrance of the bay (of ſhoals), flanked by numerous gunboats, four frigates, and a battery of guns and mortars, on an iſland in their van; but nothing could withſtand the ſquadron your lordſhip did me the honour to place under my command. Their high ſtate of diſcipline is well known to you; and with the judgement of the captains, together with their valour and that of the officers and men of every deſcription, it was abſolutely irreſiſtible.

Could any thing from my pen add to the characters of the captains, I would write it with pleaſure; but that is impoſſible.

I have to regret the loſs of captain Weſtcott, of the Majeſtic, who was killed early in the action; but the ſhip was continued to be ſo well fought by her firſt lieutenant, Mr. Cuthbert, that I have given him an order to command her till your lordſhip's pleaſure is known.

The

The ſhips of the enemy, all but their two rear ſhips, are nearly diſmaſted; and thoſe two, with two frigates, I am ſorry to ſay, made their eſcape: nor was it, I aſſure you, in my power to prevent them. Captain Hood moſt handſomely endeavoured to do it; but I had no ſhip in a condition to ſupport the Zealous, and I was obliged to call her in.

The ſupport and aſſiſtance I have received from captain Berry cannot be ſufficiently expreſſed. I was wounded in the head, and obliged to be carried off the deck, but the ſervice ſuffered no loſs by that event. Captain Berry was fully equal to the important ſervice then going on, and to him I muſt beg leave to refer you, for every information relative to this victory. He will preſent you with the flag of the ſecond in command, that of the commander-in-chief being burnt in the L'Orient.

Herewith I tranſmit you liſts of the killed and wounded, and the lines of battle of ourſelves and the French.

I have the honour to be, &c.

Horatio Nelſon.

Admiral the earl of St. Vincent.

Line of Battle.

1, Culloden, T. Troubridge, captain, 74 guns, 590 men; 2, Theſeus, R. W. Miller, captain, 74 guns, 590 men; 3, Alexander, Alexander J. Ball, captain, 74 guns, 590 men; 4, Vanguard, rear-admiral ſir Horatio Nelſon, K. B. Edward Berry, captain, 74 guns, 595 men; 5, Minotaur, Thomas Louis, captain, 74 guns, 640 men; 6, Leander, T. B. Thompſon, captain, 50 guns, 343 men; 7, Swiftſure, B. Hallowell, captain, 74 guns, 590 men; 8, Audacious, Davidge Gould, captain, 74 guns, 590 men; 9, Defence, John Peyton, captain, 74 guns, 590 men; 10, Zealous, Samuel Hood, captain, 74 guns, 590 men; 11, Orion, ſir James Saumarez, captain, 74 guns, 590 men; 12, Goliath, Thomas Foley, captain, 74 guns, 590 men; 13, Majeſtic, George B. Weſtcott, captain, 74 guns, 590 men; 14, Bellerophon, Henry D. E. Darby, captain, 74 guns, 590 men; La Mutine brig.

Horatio Nelſon.

Vanguard, off the Mouth of the Nile, Auguſt 3.

French Line of Battle.

1, Le Guerrier, 74 guns, 700 men, taken; 2, Le Conquerant, 74 guns, 700 men, taken; 3, Le Spartiate, 74 guns, 700 men, taken; 4, L'Aquilon, 74 guns, 700 men, taken; 5, Le Souverain Peuple, 74 guns, 700 men, taken; 6, Le Franklin, Blanquet, 1ſt contre amiral, 80 guns, 800 men, taken; 7, L'Orient, Brueys, admiral and commander-in-chief, 120 guns, 1010 men, burnt; 8, Le Tonant, 80 guns, 800 men, taken; 9, L'Heureux, 74 guns, 700 men, taken; 10, Le Timoleon, 74 guns, 700 men, burnt; 11, Le Mercure, 74 guns, 700 men, taken; 12, Le Guillaume Tell, Villeneuve, 2d contre amiral, 80 guns, 800 men, eſcaped; 13, Le Genereux, 74 guns, 700 men, eſcaped,

Frigates.

14, La Diane, 48 guns, 300 men, eſcaped; 15, La Juſtice, 44 guns, 300 men, eſcaped; 16, L'Artemiſe, 36 guns, 250 men, burnt; 17, La Serieuſe, 36 guns, 250 men, diſmaſted and ſunk.

Horatio Nelſon.

Vanguard, off the Mouth of the Nile, Auguſt 3.

Names

Names of the Officers killed.

Vanguard, captain Taddy, marines; Mr. Thomas Seymonr, Mr. John G. Taylor, midſhipmen—Alexander, Mr. John Collins, lieutenant—Orion, Mr. Baird, captain's clerk—Goliath, Mr. William Davies, maſter's mate; Mr. Andrew Brown, midſhipman — Majeſtic, George B. Weſtcott, captain; Mr. Zebedee Ford, midſhipman; Mr. Andrew Gilmore, boatſwain—Bellerophon, Mr. R. Savage Daniel, Mr. Ph. W. Launder, Mr. George Joliffe, lieutenants; Mr. Thomas Elliſon, maſter's mate — Minotaur, lieutenant J. S. Kirchner, maſter; Mr. Peter Walters, maſter's mate.

Horatio Nelſon.

London Gazette Extraordinary, October 21, 1798.

Admiralty-Office.

Lieutenant Waterhouſe arrived here late laſt night, with the duplicate of a diſpatch from ſir John Borlaſe Warren, bart. and K. B. captain of his majeſty's ſhip Canada, to vice-admiral Kingſmill, of which the following is a copy.

Canada, Lough Swilly, Ireland, 16th October.

Sir,

In purſuance of the orders and inſtructions I received by the Kangaroo, I proceeded with the ſhips, named in the margin,* off Achill Head; and, on the 10th inſt. I was joined by his majeſty's ſhips Melampus and Doris, the latter of which I directed to look out for the enemy, off Tory Iſland and the Roſſes. In the evening of the ſame day, the Amelia appeared in the offing, when captain Herbert informed me he had parted with the Ethalion, Anſon, and Sylph, who, with great attention, had continued to obſerve the French ſquadron, ſince their ſailing on the 17th ult. In the morning of the 11th, however, theſe two ſhips alſo fell in with us, and, at noon, the enemy were diſcovered in the N.W. quarter, conſiſting of one ſhip of eighty guns, eight frigates, a ſchooner, and a brig. I immediately made the ſignal for a general chace, and to form in ſucceſſion, as each ſhip arrived up with the enemy, who, from their great diſtance to windward, and a hollow ſea, it was impoſſible to come up with, before the 12th.

The chace was continued, in very bad and boiſterous weather, all day of the 11th, and the following night, when, at half paſt five, A. M. they were ſeen at a little diſtance, to windward, the line-of-battle-ſhip having loſt her main-topmaſt.

The enemy bore down, and formed their line, in cloſe order, upon the ſtarboard tack; and, from the length of the chaſe, and our ſhips being ſpread, it was impoſſible to cloſe with them before ſeven A. M. when I made the Robuſt's ſignal to lead, which was obeyed with much alacrity, and the reſt of the ſhips to form, in ſucceſſion, in the rear of the van.

The action commenced at twenty minutes paſt ſeven o'clock, A. M. the Roſſes bearing S. S. W. five leagues, and at eleven, the Hoche, after a gallant defence, ſtruck; and the frigates made ſail from us. The ſignal to purſue the enemy was

* Canada, Robuſt, Foudroyant, and Magnanime.

made

made immediately, and, in five hours afterwards, three of the frigates hauled down their colours alſo; but they, as well as the Hoche, were obſtinately defended, all of them being heavy frigates, and, as well as the ſhip of the line, intirely new, full of troops and ſtores, with every neceſſary for the eſtabliſhment of their views and plans in Ireland.

I am happy to ſay, that the efforts and conduct of every officer and man in the ſquadron ſeemed to have been actuated by the ſame ſpirit, zeal, and unanimity, in their king and country's cauſe; and I feel myſelf under great obligations to them, as well as to the officers and men of this ſhip, for their exertions upon this occaſion, which will, I hope, recommend them to their lordſhips favour.

I left captain Thornborough, after the action, with the Magnanime, Ethalion, and Amelia, with the prizes; and am ſorry to find he is not arrived, but truſt they will ſoon make their appearance. I have the honour to remain, ſir,

Your moſt obedient
Humble ſervant,
John B. Warren.

P. S. The ſhips, with us in the action, were, the Canada, Robuſt, Foudroyant, Magnanime, Ethalion, Malampus, and Amelia.

The Anſon joined us in the latter part of the action, having loſt her mizen-maſt in chaſe the day before.

I have ſent my firſt lieutenant, Turguand, to take the command of the Hoche.

By a letter from lord viſcount Caſtlereagh, to Mr. Wickham, under-ſecretary of ſtate for the home department, dated Dublin-caſtle, the 18th inſtant, it appears that the Melampus had arrived off Lough Swilly, with another French frigate in tow, in purſuit of which ſhe had been ſent.

The following is the copy of an official bulletin publiſhed in Dublin:

Dublin-Caſtle, October 18.

Extract of a Letter received this Morning from ſir John Borlaſe Warren, to Lord Viſcount Caſtlereagh, dated from his Majeſty's Ship the Canada, in Lough Swilly, the 16th inſt.

My lord,

I take the liberty of communicating to you, for the information of his excellency the lord-lieutenant, that I fell in with the enemy's ſquadron, on the 12th inſt. the Roſſes bearing S. S. W. five leagues; and, after an action which continued moſt of the day, four of their ſhips ſtruck their colours.

I believe a brig, with Napper Tandy on board, was in company, as ſhe left the French at the commencement of the buſineſs. The enemy's ſhips had numbers of troops on board, arms, ſtores, and ammunition; and large quantities of papers were torn and thrown overboard, after they had ſtruck.

I am of opinion that few of the frigates, which eſcaped, will arrive in France, as they had received much damage in their maſts and rigging; and, from the violent gales that followed the next day, they muſt be in a crippled ſtate, and may, in all probability, be picked up by ſome of the ſquadrons on the coaſt of France, or by admiral Kingſmill's cruizers. They had thrown every thing overboard, boats, ſpars, arm-cheſts, &c.

I left the prizes with the Robuſt, Magnanime, Ethalion, and Amelia. The Hoche, of eighty-four guns, was one of the ſhips taken.

I am, &c.

J. B. Warren.

It appears, by a letter from major-general the earl of Cavan, of a later date, that the Ethalion had arrived off Lough Swilly, with another frigate in tow, which ſhe had been ſent in purſuit of; ſo that the number of prizes amount to ſeven.

London Gazette, Nov. 20, 1798.

Admiralty-Office.

Copy of a Letter from Commodore Sir John Borlaſe Warren, K. B. &c. to Evan Nepean, Eſq. dated on-board the Canada, Plymouth-Dock, 18*th November.*

Sir,

I have been waiting with great anxiety the arrival of the Robuſt and La Hoche at this port, to enable me to make a return of the killed and wounded in the different ſhips under my orders upon the 12th October laſt; but, as I underſtand, thoſe ſhips may be ſtill farther detained by repairs at Lough Swilly, I ſend the incloſed, which it was impoſſible for me to obtain before the preſent moment, as the whole ſquadron was ſeparated in chaſe of the flying enemy, and have ſucceſſively arrived at this port; it was impracticable, therefore, to communicate the particulars to their lordſhips ſooner, or to ſtate the very gallant conduct of captains Thornborough and De Courcy, in the Robuſt and Magnanime, who, from their poſition in the van on that day, were enabled to cloſe with the enemy early in the action, and were zealouſly and bravely ſeconded by every other ſhip of the ſquadron, as well as by the intrepidity diſplayed by the Anſon in the evening, in obeying my ſignal to harras the enemy, and in beating off their frigates. For farther particulars I refer their lordſhips to the letters they may have received from captains Counteſs and Moore, of the Ethalion and Melampus.

I am happy in reflecting that ſo many advantages to his majeſty's arms have been purchaſed with ſo inconſiderable a loſs in the ſhips of the ſquadron.

I have the honour to remain, ſir,

Your moſt obedient

humble ſervant,

J. B. Warren.

Here follows a Return of the killed and wounded on board the Squadron of His Majeſty's Ships under the Orders of Sir John Borlaſe Warren, Bart. K. B. in the Action with a Squadron of French Ships, on the 12*th October.*

Canada, 1 ſeaman wounded (ſince dead); Foudroyant, 9 ſeamen wounded; Robuſt, (no return) but I underſtand the firſt lieutenant, Mr. M'Colby, loſt his arm, and one marine officer was killed; Magnanime, 7 ſeamen wounded; Ethalion, 1 ſeaman killed, 4 ſeamen wounded; Melampus, 1 ſeaman wounded; Amelia, no return; Anſon, 2 ſeamen killed; 2 petty officers, 8 ſeamen, 3 marines, wounded; total, 3 ſeamen killed; 2 petty officers, 30 ſeamen, 3 marines, wounded.

(Signed) John B. Warren.

A Liſt of a Squadron of the French Republic in the Engagement of the 12*th*

12th of October, on the Coaſt of Ireland, with a Squadron of His Majeſty's Ships, under the Orders of Captain Sir John Borlaſe Warren, Bart. K. B.

La Hoche, 84 guns, (no return) commodore Bompard, Monſieur Hardi, commander-in-chief of the army, Monſieur Simon, adjutant-general—taken by ſir John Borlaſe Warren's ſquadron; La Coquille, 40 guns, 580 men, captain Deperon—taken by ditto; L'Ambuſcade, 36 guns, 559 men, captain Clement La Konſieur—taken by ditto; La Reſolue, 36 guns, 510 men, captain Berjeat—taken by ditto; La Bellone, 40 guns, 240 ſeamen, 340 troops, captain Jacob—taken by ditto; L'Immortalité, 40 guns, 580 men, captain Le Grand; general of brigade, Monſieur Menage—taken by the Fiſhguard; La Romaine, 40 guns, captain Berquiere—eſcaped; La Loire, 44 guns (no return), captain Second—taken by the Anſon; La Semillante, 36 guns, captain La Coſtune—eſcaped; La Biche, 8 guns (ſchooner)—eſcaped.

Killed and wounded on board the French Ships.

La Coquille, 18 killed, 31 wounded; L'Ambuſcade, 15 killed, 26 wounded; La Reſolue, 15 killed, 16 wounded; La Bellone, 20 killed, 45 wounded; total, 68 killed, 118 wounded.

John B. Warren.

Evan Nepean, eſq. &c.

London Gazette Extraordinary, Dec. 24, 1798.

Downing-ſtreet, Dec. 23.

Captain Gifford, firſt aid-de-camp to general the hon. Charles Stuart, arrived this afternoon at the office of the right hon. Henry Dundas, one of his majeſty's principal ſecretaries of ſtate, with a diſpatch from the general, of which the following is a copy;

Ciudadella, Nov. 18.

Sir,

I have the honour to acquaint you, that his majeſty's forces are in poſſeſſion of the iſland of Minorca, without having ſuſtained the loſs of a ſingle man.

As neither commodore Duckworth or myſelf could procure any uſeful information relative to the object of the expedition at Gibraltar, it was judged adviſable to diſpatch the Peterell ſloop of war to cruize off the harbour of Mahon for intelligence; where, after remaining a few days, ſhe joined the fleet near the Colombrites, without having made any eſſential diſcovery. So circumſtanced, it was agreed to attempt a deſcent in the bay of Addaya; and the wind proving favourable on the ſeventh inſtant, a feint was made by the line-of-battle ſhips at Fornelles, and boats were aſſembled for that purpoſe, under the direction of captain Bowen, captain Polden, and captain Preſſland. Previous to the landing of the troops, a ſmall battery, at the entrance of the bay, was evacuated, the magazine blown up, the guns ſpiked, and ſhortly after the firſt diviſion, conſiſting of eight hundred men, was on ſhore. A conſiderable exploſion to the weſtward indicated that the Spaniards had alſo abandoned the works at Fornelles. Nearly at the ſame moment two thouſand of the enemy's troops approached in ſeveral different directions, and threatened to ſurround this inconſiderable force, but were repulſed with ſome

loſs on the left, while the guns of the Argo checked a ſimilar attempt on the right flank; and the poſt was maintained until the debarkation of the different diviſions afforded the means of eſtabliſhing a poſition, from whence the enemy's troops would have been attacked with conſiderable advantage, had they not retired in the beginning of the night.

The ſtrength of the ground, the paſſes, and the badneſs of the roads in Minorca, are ſcarcely to be equalled in the moſt mountainous parts of Europe; and what increaſed the difficulty of advancing upon this occaſion was the dearth of intelligence; for although near one hundred deſerters had come in from the Swiſs regiments, and affirmed, that the remaining force, upon the iſland, exceeded four thouſand men, no particular account of the enemy's movements was obtained. Under this uncertainty it was for a few minutes doubtful what meaſures to purſue, but as quickly determined to proceed, by a forced march, to Mercadal, and thereby ſeparate the enemy's force, by poſſeſſing that eſſential paſs; in the firſt inſtance, and from thence advancing upon his principal communications to either extremity of the iſland, juſtly depending upon commodore Duckworth's zeal and exertions to forward, from Addaya and Fornelles, ſuch ſupplies of proviſions and ordnance ſtores as might favour ſubſequent operations.

To effect this object, colonel Graham was ſent with ſix hundred men, and, by great exertion, arrived at Mercadal, a very few hours after the main force of the enemy had marched towards Ciudadella, making ſeveral officers and ſoldiers priſoners, ſeizing various ſmall magazines, and eſtabliſhing his corps in front of the village.

The perſevering labour of two hundred and fifty ſeamen, under the direction of lieutenant Buchannan, during the night, having greatly aſſiſted the artillery, in forwarding the battalion guns, the army arrived at Mercadal on the ninth, where, learning that Mahon was nearly evacuated, a diſpoſition was inſtantly made to operate with the whole force in that direction, and colonel Paget was detached under this movement with three hundred men, to take poſſeſſion of the town; upon his arrival, he ſummoned Fort Charles to ſurrender, and made the lieutenant-governor of the iſland, a colonel of artillery, and one hundred and ſixty men, priſoners of war, removed the boom obſtructing the entrance of the harbour, and gave free paſſage to the Cormorant and Aurora frigates, which were previouſly ſent by commodore Duckworth to make a diverſion off that port. But theſe were not the only advantages immediately reſulting from this movement; it favoured deſertion, intercepted all ſtragglers, and enabled the departments of the army to procure beaſts of burden for the farther progreſs of his majeſty's arms.

Having aſcertained that the enemy's troops were throwing up works, and intrenching themſelves in front of Ciudadella, it was reſolved to force their poſition on the night of the thirteenth inſtant; and, preparatory to this attempt, colonel Paget, with two hundred men, was withdrawn from Mahon;

colonel

colonel Moncrief ſent forward with a detachment to Ferarias; three light twelve pounders, and five and a half inch howitzers, and ninety marines landed from the fleet; when, in conſequence of its having been communicated to commodore Duckworth, that four ſhips, ſuppoſed of the line, were ſeen between Majorca and Minorca, ſteering towards the laſt-mentioned iſland; he decided to purſue them, requeſted that the ſeamen and marines might re-embark, and ſignified his determination of proceeding, with all the armed tranſports, to ſea; but weighing the ſerious conſequences which would reſult to the army from the ſmalleſt delay on the one hand, and the advantages to be reaſonably expected from a ſpirited attack on the other, it was thought adviſable to retain them with the army; and, on the twelfth inſtant, the whole force marched to Alpiuz, and from thence proceeded, on the thirteenth, to Jupet, colonel Moncrief's detachment moving in a parallel line on the Ferarias road to Mala Garaba. Theſe precautions, and the appearance of two columns approaching the town, induced the enemy to retire from their half-conſtructed defences within the walls of Ciudadella; and in the evening of the ſame day, a ſmall detachment, under captain Muter, was ſent to take poſſeſſion of the Torré den Quart, whereby the army was enabled to advance on the fourteenth, apparently in three columns, upon Kane's, the Ferarias, and Fornelles roads, to the inveſtment of the town at daybreak, occupying ground covered by the poſition the enemy had relinquiſhed: thus ſtationed, in want of heavy artillery, and every article neceſſary for a ſiege, it was judged expedient to ſummon the governor of Minorca to ſurrender; and the preliminary articles were immediately conſidered; but doubts ariſing on the part of the enemy, whether the inveſting force was ſuperior in number to the garriſon, two batteries of three twelve pounders, and three five and a half inch howitzers, were erected in the courſe of the following night, within eight hundred yards of the place, and at daybreak, the main body of the troops formed in order of battle, conſiderably to the right of Kane's road, leaving the picquets to communicate between them and colonel Moncrief's poſt. This line, partly real and partly imaginary, extended four miles in front of the enemy's batteries, from whence two eighteen pound ſhot were immediately fired at the troops; but a timely parley, and the diſtant appearance of the ſquadron, occaſioned a ceſſation of hoſtilities, and renewed a negociation, which, through the addreſs of major-general ſir James St. Clair Erſkine, terminated in the annexed capitulation.

Four weeks ſalt proviſions for the garriſon, beſides the encloſed liſt of ordnance ſtores, were found in the town of Ciudadella.

The aſſiſtance received from commodore Duckworth, in forwarding the light artillery and proviſions, greatly facilitated the rapid movements of the army; and I am happy in the opportunity of declaring my obligations to lord Mark Kerr and captain Caulfield for the ſupplies they ſent from Mahon, and their exertions to land two mortars, which, in the event of farther reſiſtance, might have proved of the moſt

moſt importance in ſecuring the army, or compelling the enemy to ſurrender.

The ſupport I have experienced from major-general ſir James St. Clair Erſkine, brigadiers-general Stuart and Oakes, the exertions of lieutenant-colonel Steward, my adjutant-general, the zeal, ſpirit, and perſeverance of both the officers and men of the different regiments under my command, have eminently contributed to the ſucceſs of the expedition, and authorize me to repreſent their ſervices as highly deſerving his majeſty's moſt gracious approbation.

Captain Gifford, my firſt aid-de-camp, who is perfectly acquainted with every circumſtance concerning the capitulation of Ciudadella, and the reduction of the iſland of Minorca, will have the honour to deliver this diſpatch.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) Charles Stuart.

Right hon. Henry Dundas.

Terms of Capitulation demanded for the Surrender of the Fortreſs of Ciudadella to the Arms of his Britannic Majeſty.

I. The garriſon ſhall not be conſidered as priſoners of war, but ſhall march out free, with their arms, drums beating, colours flying, with twelve rounds of cartridge per man.

Anſwer.—The town and fortreſs of Ciudadella, and the fort of St. Nicholas, together with all artillery, ammunition, ſtores, proviſions, or effects, the property of his moſt Catholic majeſty, ſhall be ſurrendered to his Britannic majeſty's arms; and the gate of Mahon, and the fort of St. Nicholas, ſhall be delivered up to the Britiſh army tomorrow at noon.

II. They ſhall be preceded by four braſs four pounders, and two two-inch howitzers, with lighted matches, and twelve rounds for each.

Anſwer. The garriſon ſhall march out as propoſed in the firſt and ſecond articles, but the guns muſt be left with the artillery.

III. The ſaid garriſon ſhall be ſent, with all due convenience, to Spain, at the expence of his Britannic majeſty, to one of the neareſt ports of the peninſula, except the firſt battalion of the Swiſs regiment of Yan, and the detachment of the dragoons of Numancia, with their horſes and furniture, who ſhall be ſent to Majorca, as belonging to corps which garriſon that iſland.

Anſwer.—The garriſon ſhall be conveyed to the neareſt port of his moſt Catholic majeſty.

IV. The officers in this iſland and fortreſs ſhall keep their arms, horſes, and equipage, with the funds of their regiments, and ſhall be permitted to go to Mahon, for the purpoſe of bringing away their families, and removing or diſpoſing of their property there.

Anſwer.—Admitted, they paying their juſt debts; and the officers who have occaſion to go to Mahon to bring away their families, or diſpoſe of their property, will have paſſports, on applying to the Britiſh commander-in-chief.

V. The officers of the war-department, the revenue, and marine, together with the perſons employed in every branch thereof, ſhall be permitted to follow the garriſon, and are to be included in the articles III. IV. and V.

Anſwer.—Admitted.

VI. Whatever officers and troops have been made priſoners in Ma-

hon,

hon, or other parts of the iſland, ſince the ſeventh inſtant, are comprehended in the above five articles.

Anſwer.—People who have already ſurrendered cannot be included in the above capitulation.

VII. The deſerters from this army, who have given themſelves up to the protection of his Britannic majeſty ſince the ſaid ſeventh inſtant, ſhall be reſtored to our army.

Anſwer.—Refuſed.

VIII. Beaſts of burden, both great and ſmall, ſhall be granted at the ordinary prices, for thoſe who may be deſirous of going to Mahon.

Anſwer.—Admitted.

IX. During the time the garriſon may remain in this iſland, their neceſſary wants ſhall be ſupplied at the expence of Spain.

Anſwer.—There will be no obſtacle to the garriſon's being ſupplied with proviſions by its own officers, while it remains, which will be as ſhort a time as poſſible, and be regulated by the commander-in-chief.

X. The ſick and wounded ſhall remain in the hoſpitals, and their treatment be at the expence of their regiments.

Anſwer.—Admitted.

XI. The inhabitants of this iſland ſhall be allowed to continue in the free exerciſe of their religion, enjoying peaceably the revenues, property, and privileges which they poſſeſs and enjoy at preſent.

XII. The epiſcopal ſee of the iſland ſhall remain eſtabliſhed in it, according to the bull for its new creation, enjoying the honours, authority, and rents, belonging to the biſhoprick, and ſubſiſting with its eccleſiaſtical chapter and as ſuffragan of the archbiſhop of Valencia.

XIII. The univerſities (or corporations) of the iſland ſhall be maintained in the enjoyment of the particular privileges and franchiſes which have been granted to them by the ancient kings of Spain, as they now poſſeſs them, and as they have been allowed to them in the treaties which have taken place as often as this iſland has paſſed from one dominion to another.

Anſwer.—XI. XII. and XIII. are articles which do not properly belong to this capitulation; but of courſe due care will be taken to ſecure the peaceable inhabitants in the enjoyment of their religion and property.

XIV. The merchant-ſhip named Experiencia, which is in Mahon, coming from Smyrna, and belonging to the conſulate of Cadiz, and its cargo, ſhall remain free, and a paſſport be granted for its ſafe conduct to Spain.

Anſwer.—Refuſed.

XV. Commiſſioners will be appointed on both ſides to ſettle the detail of the execution of this treaty, and to deliver and receive all ſtores, &c. the property of his moſt catholic majeſty.

(Signed) Charles Stuart,
General and commander-in-chief.
J. T. Duckworth,
Commodore and naval commander-in-chief.
Juan Nepomuſeno De Queſada.

Ciudadella, 15th Nov.

Return of Ordnance taken in the Iſland of Minorca.

Camp, oppoſite Ciudadella, Nov. 18.

Ciudadella and Fort St. Nicola—5 braſs 3½ inch howitzers; braſs ordnance, four 4-pounders, mounted; iron ordnance, ſix 18, ten

12, eight 9, and two 6 pounders, mounted.

Mahon—One 13 inch, 3 braſs 10¼ inch, mortars; 3 braſs 6½ inch howitzes; iron ordnance, fifteen 32, twelve 18, ſeventeen 12, and three 6-pounders, mounted; 3 braſs 8½ inch howitzers; braſs ordnance, three 24, four 12 pounders; iron ordnance, two 24, one 18, and five 12 pounders, diſmounted.

Lower Muſquito—iron ordnance, one 6 pounder, mounted; Upper Muſquito—iron ordnance, three 9, two 6 pounders, mounted; Calaucolins—iron ordnance, four 12-pounders, mounted; St. Tereſa—braſs ordnance, four 12-pounders, mounted; Fornelles—iron ordnance, fourteen 18-pounders, mounted; Pointa Prima—iron ordnance, four 12-pounders mounted; Calacouſa—iron ordnance, four 12-pounders, mounted; total—one 13, three 10¼ inch mortars; three 8½, three 6½, five 3½ inch howitzers; fifteen 32, five 24, thirty-three 18, fifty-two 12, eleven 9, eight 6, four 4 pounders.

Return of the Ammunition and Stores taken in the Iſland of Minorca.

Fifty 13, one hundred 10¼, one hundred and eighty 8½, ſeventy-eight 6¼ inch ſhells.

One thouſand nine hundred and eighty 32, three thouſand one hundred and thirty-one 18, four thouſand four hundred and ſixty 12, one thouſand four hundred and forty 9, one thouſand four hundred and thirty-three 6, ſeven hundred and ſixty-four 4 pound round ſhot.

Sixty-eight 32, three hundred and twenty 12-pound grape ſhot.

Forty-ſeven 32, ſixty 18, one hundred and ſixty-eight 12, ſix 9, forty-eight 6-pound double-headed ſhot.

Ninety-nine 4-pound round ſhot, fixed ammunition.

One hundred and forty-four hand granades.

Two hundred and ſeventy thouſand muſket-ball cartridges.

Two thouſand flints.

Six hundred and ninety-eight 18, one thouſand and ten 12, on hundred and ſixty 9, two hundred and thirteen 6-pound cartridges, filled.

Eight hundred and twenty-one whole, and three half barrels of gunpowder.

Haylord Flamingham,
Captain, commanding the
Royal Artillery.

His excellency-general the hon. Charles Stuart, commander-in-chief.

Copy of an Embarkation-return delivered by his excellency Don Juan Nepomuſeno de Queſada, to his excellency general the honourable Charles Stuart, Commander-in-chief of the Britiſh Forces in the Iſland of Minorca.

Fortreſs of Ciudadella, in the Iſland of Minorca.

General State of the Spaniſh Troops who are to embark for the Evacuation of this Iſland.

153 officers; 3528 ſerjeants, drummers, and rank and file; 56 horſes.

General ſtaff 16, including 1 governor, 1 lieutenant-governor, 1 major-general, &c.

(Signed)
Pedro Quadrado, major-general.
Ciudadella, Nov. 17.

I certify the above to be a true copy; and that ſince the landing of the Britiſh forces, and previous to the ſurrender of Ciudadella, on the 16th inſtant, nearly 300 deſerters have come over to the Britiſh army.

Rd. Stewart, Adjt.-general.

N. B.

N. B. The corps compoſing the Spaniſh force in this iſland are as follows—viz. regiment of Valencia, 3 battalions; Swiſs regiment of Kattiman, 2 battalions; Swiſs regiment of Yann, 1 battalion; a detachment of the dragoons of Numancia; and a detachment ſo artillery.

Admiralty-Office, Dec. 23.

Lieutenant Jones, of his majeſty's ſhip Leviathan, arrived here this afternoon, with a diſpatch from admiral the earl of St. Vincent to Mr. Nepean, of which the following is a copy:

Le Souverain, Gibraltar, Dec. 6.

Sir,

I incloſe the copy of a letter from commodore Duckworth, with other documents relating to the conqueſt of the iſland of Minorca; upon which important event I requeſt you will congratulate the lords commiſſioners of the admiralty.

Lieutenant Jones, firſt of the Leviathan, is the bearer of this diſpatch, who, from the report of commodore Duckworth, and my own obſervation, while my flag was on board that ſhip, is highly deſerving their lordſhips favour and protection. I am, ſir, &c.

St. Vincent.

Leviathan, off Fournelles, Minorca, 19th Nov.

My lord,

In purſuance of your lordſhip's inſtructions to me of the 18th and 20th of October, I proceeded with the ſhips under my orders, and the troops under the command of the honourable general Charles Stuart, to the rendezvous off the Colombrettes; and after having been joined by his majeſty's ſloop Peterell, and the arrangements for landing had been completed, on the 5th in the afternoon I ſtood for Minorca; but in conſequence of light winds, I did not make that iſland till daybreak on the 7th, then within five miles of the port of Fournelles, where finding the wind directly out of that harbour, and the enemy prepared for our reception I (having previouſly conſulted the general) made the ſignal for captain Bowen, of the Argo, accompanied by the Cormorant and Aurora, to aſſiſt in covering the landing, to lead into the creek of Addaya, there not being water or ſpace enough for the line-of-battle ſhips, which he executed in a moſt officer-like and judicious manner; and in hauling round the northern point, a battery of four 12-pounders fired one gun, but on ſeeing the broadſide, the enemy left it, blowing up their magazines, and ſpiking the guns, when the tranſports were got in without damage, though there was ſcarcely room for ſtowing them in tiers. During this ſervice, which was rapidly executed, the Leviathan and Centaur plied on and off Fournelles, to divert the attention of the enemy; but knowing an expeditious landing to be our greateſt object, as ſoon as I obſerved the tranſports were nearly in the creek, I bore away, and anchored with the Leviathan and Centaur off its entrance, to ſee that ſervice performed. One battalion was put on ſhore by eleven o'clock, and directly took the height, which proved fortunate, as the enemy very quickly appeared in two diviſions, one of which was marching down towards the battery before-mentioned, when I ordered the covering ſhips to commence a cannonade,

nonade, which effectually checked their progreſs, and the general kept them at bay with the troops he had; and by ſix o'clock in the afternoon the whole were on ſhore, with eight 6-pounders, field-pieces, and eight days proviſions, as alſo two howitzers. On the ſame evening, after ordering the Cormorant and Aurora to proceed off Port Mahon, with ſeven tranſports, to form a diverſion, I got under weigh with the Leviathan and Centaur, and turned up to Fournelles, with an intent to force the harbour; but on my entering the paſſage, I found the enemy had evacuated the forts, and the wind throwing out cauſed me to anchor, when I made the Centaur's ſignal (which was following me) to haul off, landed the marines of the Leviathan, took poſſeſſion of two forts of four guns each, and one of ſix; but ſoon after the general requeſting I would not enter this port, I ordered captain Digby to embark the marines, and to put to ſea, and cruiſe under the command of captain Markham, who was employed in covering the port of Fournelles and Addaya, and preventing ſuccour being thrown in, whilſt my pennant was hoiſted on board the Argo, where I continued two days, aiding and directing the neceſſary ſupplies for the army. In this I was ably aſſiſted by captain Bowen. During theſe two days, I viſited head-quarters, to conſult with the general, when it was decided, as the anchorage at Addaya was extremely hazardous, and the tranſports in hourly riſk of being loſt, to remove them to Fournelles, which was executed under cover of the Leviathan and Centaur. On the 11th I ordered the Centaur off Ciudadella, to prevent reinforcements being thrown in, and anchored the Leviathan at Fournelles, landed ſome 12-pounder field-pieces, and howitzers, the ſailors drawing them up to the army, ſhifted my pennant to the Leviathan, and left the Argo at Addaya, ordering captain Bowen to continue there till all the depots were re-embarked and removed, which was effected that day. Late that evening I received information from the general, that four ſhips, ſuppoſed to be of the line, were ſeen between Minorca and Majorca. In the middle of the night the general ſent me another corroborating report from the look-out man, of the four ſhips ſeen being of the line. I inſtantly put to ſea (though one-fifth of the crews were on ſhore) with two ſhips of the line, a forty-four, and three armed tranſports, and ſtood towards Ciudadella; when, at daylight the next morning, that place bearing S. E. by S. eight or nine miles, five ſhips were ſeen from the maſt-head ſtanding directly down for Ciudadella. I inſtantly made ſignal for a general chaſe, when I ſoon obſerved the enemy haul their wind for Majorca; but I continued the purſuit, to prevent the poſſibility of their throwing in ſuccour to Minorca; and at noon I diſcovered the enemy, from the fore-yard, to be four large frigates and a ſloop of war; this latter keeping her wind, I made the Argo's ſignal to haul after her; and captain Bowen, by his letter of the 15th, informs me he took her at half paſt three that afternoon, and proved to be his majeſty's ſloop Peterell, which had been captured the preceeding forenoon by the ſquadron of frigates I was in chaſe of. For farther particulars on that head, I ſhall refer you to captain Bowen's letter,

letter, where I am convinced you will obſerve, with great concern, the very harſh treatment the officers and crew of the Peterell met with when captured; and he has ſince added, that one man, who reſiſted the Spaniards plundering him of forty guineas, was murdered and thrown overboard.

I continued the chaſe till eleven o'clock that night, when I was within three miles of the ſternmoſt frigate; but finding the wind become light, I feared it would draw me too far from the iſland of Minorca; I therefore hailed the Centaur, and directing captain Markham to purſue the enemy, ſteered directly for Ciudadella, which I made the ſubſequent afternoon (the 14th) with the Calcutta and Ulyſſes. The next morning (the 15th) at day-break, the Argo joined us off Ciudadella. Having had no communication from the general, I ſent the firſt lieutenant, Mr. Jones, though a very hazardous night, in the ſhip's cutter, with a letter to the general, propoſing to cannonade Ciudadella, if it would facilitate his operations. In the morning of the 16th, lieutenant Jones returned with duplicates of two letters I had previouſly received by captain Gifford, the general's aid-de-camp, acquainting me that he had ſummoned the town on the 14th, and that terms of capitulation were agreed upon on the 15th to ſurrender to his majeſty's arms. When I went on ſhore, I ſigned the capitulation the general had made, on which fortunate event I moſt truly congratulate your lordſhip. The Centaur joined, not having been ſo fortunate as to capture either of the Spaniſh frigates, though within four miles of the ſternmoſt, captain Markham being apprehenſive the continuance of the chaſe would carry him to a great diſtance from more eſſential ſervice.

From the 10th in the morning, when Fort Charles was put into our poſſeſſion, and lord Mark Kerr in the Cormorant, with the Aurora, captain Caulfield, entered the port, thoſe ſhips have been employed for the defence of the harbour, guarding the priſoners; and I have the pleaſure to aſſure your lordſhip, in the performance of the various ſervices incident to the movements I have ſtated, I cannot paſs too high encomiums on the captains, officers, and ſeamen under my command. From captains Polden and Preſſland, agents of tranſports, I received every poſſible aſſiſtance in their departments; and when it was neceſſary I ſhould proceed to ſea, to bring to action a reputed ſuperior force, they ſhowed great ſpirit, and uſed every exertion to accompany me in their armed tranſports, as did lieutenant Simmonds, the other agent, in his. I muſt now beg leave to mention my firſt lieutenant, Mr. George Jones, who, in the various and hazardous ſervices he had to undergo, during the attack of the iſland, has proved highly deſerving my praiſe; I have therefore put him to act as commander of the Peterell, which ſhip I have preſumed to recommiſſion, to convey preſent diſpatches. There is alſo high merit due to my ſecond lieutenant, Mr. William Buchannan, whom I landed as ſecond in command under captain Bowen, with more than 250 ſeamen: there were likewiſe the Leviathan's and Centaur's marines with the army, to the number of 100; but other eſſential ſervice calling captain Bowen on board his ſhip, the command of the

ſeamen

ſeamen devolved on lieutenant Buchannan; and, as will appear by the ſtrongeſt accompanying teſtimony, given him from the commander-in-chief of the army, he performed the ſervices with the army with the greateſt ability and exertion.

I ſhould feel myſelf remiſs was I to cloſe this without noticing to your lordſhip the particular exertions, activity, and correctneſs, of lieutenant Whiſton, of the Conſtitution cutter, in the various ſervices and meſſages he had to execute.

The general having ſignified his wiſh, that his diſpatches ſhould be ſent without delay, I have not yet been able to viſit the port of Mahon, to obtain a return of the ſtate of the dock-yard, or veſſels captured in that place; but I underſtand, from captain lord Robert Mark Kerr, that there are no ſhips of war, and only one merchant-ſhip of value; the particulars of which I will tranſmit by the earlieſt opportunity.

I have the honour to be, &c.

J. T. Duckworth.

Earl St. Vincent.

Argo, at Sea, 15th Nov.

Sir,

I have the honour to acquaint you, that at half paſt three P. M. on the 13th inſtant, I had the good fortune to come up with the ſhip that I hauled the wind after, round cape Rouge, conformable to your ſignal: ſhe proved to be his majeſty's ſhip Peterell, in poſſeſſion of Don Antonio Franco Gandrada, ſecond captain of the Spaniſh frigate Flora, who, in company with the three others named in the margin,* captured her the day before.

Theſe frigates had come from Carthagena, had touched at Barcelona, ſailed from thence on Saturday laſt, bound to Mahon, with eight millions of rials, to pay the troops.

Deeming it abſolutely neceſſary to make the Peterell uſeful, until your return, I took all the Spaniards out (72 in number), and gave her in charge to my firſt lieutenant, Mr. Lynne, with a mate, two midſhipmen, 30 ſeamen, and 12 marines, directing them to land an officer and guide at Fournelles, with a letter for general Stuart, and to return here immediately.

I am ſorry to inform you the Spaniards behaved very ill to the officers and ſeamen of the Peterell, having robbed and plundered them of every thing. Great part of the captain's and officers clothes I have recovered. I returned off this place yeſterday, but, being calm, I could not get near the ſhore.

I have, &c.

J. Bowen.

Commodore Duckworth.

Before Ciudadella, Nov. 18.

Sir,

I have the honour to return you, and the gentlemen employed on ſhore under your command, my ſincere thanks, for your activity, zeal, and aſſiſtance, in forwarding the light artillery of the army; neither can too much praiſe be given to the ſeamen, for their friendly and cheerful exertions under very hard labour; exertions which were accompanied with a propriety of behaviour which I greatly attribute to your management, and which will ever merit my acknowledgements,

* Caſilda, of 40 guns; Pomona, of 40; and Proſerpine, of 40.

and

and affords me the ſatisfaction of aſſuring you that I am, with ſincere regard,

Yours, &c.

Charles Stuart.

Lieutenant Buchannan.

A Liſt of Stores found in the Arſenal at Port Mahon.

The keel and ſtern-frame for a man-of-war brig, on the ſtocks, with all the timbers, and part of the clothing, all the rigging, &c.; 14 gun-boats, hauled up, with all their rigging, in good order, but the boats very old; 13 boats, from 36 to 20 feet in length, all their rigging in good order, and fit for ſervice; 2 cables of 17 inch; 2 cables of 9 inch; 2 cables of 5½ inch; rope of 5 inch, 400 fathoms; rope of 3 inch, 400 fathoms; rope of 2½ inch, 600 fathoms; rope of 1½ inch, 400 fathoms; rope of 1 inch, 300 fathoms; rope of ¾ inch, 400 fathoms; old junk, 6,000 pounds; 6 anchors, from 14 to 17 hundred weight; 7 grapnels, of ſeven hundred weight; a large quantity of all ſorts of iron-work; a braſs mortar, of 13 inch; 3 ditto, of 12 ditto; ſome ſhells, of 13 inch and of 8 inch; 2 topmaſts for 74-gun ſhips; 3 leſſer ones; ſeveral caps and ſpars; 1000 fir planks; ſeveral knees, and ſome oak plank; 20 tons of nails, of all ſorts; 30 bolts of new, and about 400 yards of old canvas; 14 Spaniſh pennants; blocks for the ſheers and heaving ſhips down of all deſcriptions, with various other ſmall articles.

(Signed) J. Wooldridge,

Lieut. of the Cormorant.

November 18.

Liſt of Ships and Veſſels found at Port Mahon, and taken Poſſeſſion of.

One ſhip of 540 tons, partly laden with cotton, gum, and drugs; one ſhip of 200 tons, in ballaſt; a zebec of 60 tons, laden with horn; and four ſmall tartans.

(Signed) J. Wooldridge,

Lieut. of the Cormorant.

November 18.

London Gazette, December 25, 1798.

Admiralty-Office.

Copy of a Letter from Admiral Earl St. Vincent, K. B. Commander-in-Chief of his Majeſty's Ships and Veſſels in the Mediterranean, to Evan Nepean, Eſq. dated on board Le Souverain, Gibraltar, November 27.

Herewith you will receive the copy of a letter from rear-admiral lord Nelſon, incloſing one from captain Ball, of his majeſty's ſhip Alexander, with the capitulation of the iſland of Goza.

Vanguard, at Sea, Nov. 1.

My lord,

I have the honour to tranſmit you a letter received from captain Ball, dated October 30, together with the capitulation of the caſtle of Goza, and a liſt of ordnance, &c. found in it; the priſoners are now embarked in the Vanguard and Minotaur, till I can get a veſſel, to ſend them to France. Captain Ball, with three ſail of the line, a frigate, and fire-ſhip, is entruſted with the blockade of Malta, in which are two ſail of the line and three frigates, ready for ſea; and, from the experience I have had of captain Ball's zeal, activity, and ability, I have no doubt but

but that, in due time, I ſhall have the honour of ſending you a good account of the French in the town of Valetti. I am, with the greateſt reſpect,

Your lordſhip's
Moſt obedient ſervant,
Horatio Nelſon.

Admiral earl St. Vincent.

Alexander, off Malta, Oct. 30.

Sir,

I have the honour to acquaint you, that the commandant of the French troops, in the caſtle of Goza, ſigned the capitulation the 28th inſt. which you had approved. I ordered captain Creſwell, of the marines, to take poſſeſſion of it in the name of his Britannic majeſty, and his majeſty's colours were hoiſted. The next day, the place was delivered up in form to the deputies of the iſland, his Sicilian majeſty's colours hoiſted, and *he* acknowledged their lawful ſovereign.

I embarked, yeſterday, all the French officers and men who were on the iſland of Goza, amounting to 217.

I incloſe the articles of capitulation, and an inventory of the arms and ammunition found in the caſtle, part of which I directed to be ſent to the aſſiſtance of the Malteſe, who are in arms againſt the French.—There were 3,200 ſacks of corn in the caſtle, which will be a great relief to the inhabitants, who are much in want of that article.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) Alex. John Ball.

Rear-admiral ſir H. Nelſon.

Articles of Capitulation between Alexander John Ball, Eſq. Captain of his Britannic Majeſty's Ship Alexander, appointed to conduct the Blockade of Malta, under Rear-Admiral Sir Horatio Nelſon, K. B. on the Part of Great Britain, and Lieutenant Colonel Lochey, Aju. de Batt. Commander of the French Troops in the Caſtle of Goza.

I. The French troops ſhall march out of the caſtle of Goza with the honours of war, and ſhall lay down their arms as they get out of the gate.

II. The caſtle of Goza, with all the military implements and ſtores, ſhall be delivered up to the Britiſh officer appointed to take charge of them.

III. The French officers and troops ſhall be protected in their perſons and effects, and the officers allowed to retain their ſide-arms; they ſhall be embarked immediately on board his Britannic majeſty's ſhips, and ſent to France, in tranſports, at the expence of the French government. They are not to ſerve againſt his Britannic majeſty, or his allies, during the war, until regularly exchanged.

Rear-admiral ſir Horatio Nelſon, K. B. has entered into articles with the inhabitants of Goza, that, if the French ſurrender to the Britiſh, they ſhall be conſidered as under their protection, and they will not offer them the ſmalleſt inſult or moleſtation.

Signed, 28th of October, 1798,

Alex. John Ball, capt. of his Britannic majeſty's ſhip Alexander.

Lochey, Aju. de Battailon.

Approved, Horatio Nelſon.

Extract of Articles found in the Caſtle of Goza, the 28th October.

50 barrels of powder; 9000 ball-cartridges; 1000 muſket-cartridges, with-

without ball; 1700 flints; 38 eighteen-pound cartridges, filled; 140 twelve-pound ditto; 450 ſix-pound ditto; 268 four-pound ditto; 25 three-pound ditto; 88 two-pound ditto; 18 eighteen-pounder guns, good, and 200 ſhot; 2 twelve-pounder guns, good, and 900 ſhot; 4 ſix-pounder guns, good, and 2985 ſhot; 400 hand-granades, filled; 90 pikes, and 90 halberts; 3200 ſacks of corn.

N. B. No ſmall-arms, except thoſe laid down by the French troops.

Abſtract of the Report from the Committee of Secrecy of the Houſe of Commons, in Ireland, preſented to the Houſe, July 17th, 1798, by the Right Hon. Lord Caſtlereagh.

This report, which occupied in the reading full two hours, commences with a general view of the conſpiracy carried on by the ſociety of United Iriſhmen, from its original formation to its intimate connection with a foreign enemy.—The report then refers to the report of the lords committee in 1793, and that of both houſes in 1797, which it ſtates "to have been fully confirmed by the evidence of ſome principal leaders in the ſociety." The firſt objects of this ſociety, at its formation in 1791, were alleged to be Catholic emancipation and parliamentary reform; but from the original ſcheme, as developed in a letter from the founder, Theobald Wolfe Tone, the true objects appear to have been to ſeparate Ireland from Great Britain, to overturn the preſent conſtitution, and eſtabliſh a democratical republic in this country.

To forward theſe views, the public mind was prepared by the frequent circulation of ſeditious writings, in particular thoſe of Thomas Paine; but the real objects of the ſociety were not diſcloſed publicly until the year 1795, when the teſt of the ſociety, which had previouſly bound its members to ſeek 'a reform in the commons houſe of parliament,' was changed by the ſubſtitution of the words following—'a more equal repreſentation of *all* the people of Ireland;' and it had appeared to the committee, upon the teſtimony of *one* of the executive committee of that ſociety, that this alteration was made, in order to forward the plan of a ſeparate republic.

The report then goes on to ſtate, that great numbers of perſons in the north of Ireland having been induced to enter into the views of the union, an immediate and direct communication was opened with the enemy.

Upon the eſtabliſhment of the yeomanry in the autumn of 1796, the union found it neceſſary to aſſume a military character, in order to counter-act the efforts of government; and ſo far had they advanced in this ſyſtem, that, from the papers ſeized in Belfaſt, in April, 1797, it appeared that the number of men arrayed for military purpoſes was not leſs than one hundred thouſand; that arms in great abundance, pikes, cannon and ammunition, had been provided; and that nothing had been neglected to prepare the members of the union to riſe, upon either the arrival of a foreign enemy, or the orders of the ſuperior officers whom they were bound by oath to obey.

Beſide

Beſide theſe military preparations, every exertion was made to defeat the ordinary operations of juſtice. Witneſſes, magiſtrates, and proſecutors were murdered, or if not murdered, purſued with the moſt violent injuries; attacked in their profeſſions, their buſineſs, their characters, and their property; every inducement of hope, and every menace of danger, was employed to increaſe their numbers; and, from the fear of ruin, multitudes were daily obliged to join the ranks of the diſaffected.

To diſarm the loyal became as ſerious an object as to arm themſelves, and, in conſequence of inceſſant outrages, and continued murders, the loyal inhabitants of many parts of Ulſter were ſtripped of their arms, and driven from their houſes.

Government, as it was its duty, reſorted to the beſt means in its power of ſuppreſſing theſe outrages, and the legiſlature, in 1796, having paſſed the law, commonly called the Inſurrection Act, that law was enforced in many parts of Ulſter, with conſiderable advantage to the quiet of the country.

In October, 1796, parliament having ſanctioned the eſtabliſhment of the yeomanry, that body of men, the original eſtimate of whom was twenty thouſand, ſoon amounted to thirty-ſeven thouſand; and during the late rebellion their numbers exceeded fifty-thouſand men, ſharing all the dangers, and performing all the duties, of his majeſty's regular and militia forces.

Notwithſtanding theſe meaſures, the numbers and confidence of the union increaſed: to give encouragement to their followers in the province of Ulſter, a ſort of military parade was adopted and frequently practiſed. In autumn, 1796, and the ſpring of 1797, great multitudes of theſe perſons were uſed to aſſemble, under pretence of digging or planting potatoes, &c. but really with deſign to exhibit their numbers, and ſtrike terror into their opponents. To ſuppreſs this practice, general Lake iſſued a proclamation, which, for that time, had the deſired effect; many of the lower orders, giving up their arms, taking the oath of allegiance, and receiving certificates of protection.

In the month of May, 1797, immediately before an intended inſurrection, which was to have taken place in June, a proclamation was iſſued, bearing date the 17th of May, offering pardon and protection to thoſe who ſhould renounce their treaſons and ſurrender themſelves; this proclamation produced ſome degree of effect; but a general inſurrection was determined on, and a partial one took place, which, by the vigorous exertions of his majeſty's troops was ſpeedily ſuppreſſed.

The induſtry of Ulſter, which had been deſtroyed during the commotions preceding, was, upon this ſuppreſſion, immediately reſtored, and ſo much was the general tranquillity of the country re-eſtabliſhed, that the authority of the civil magiſtrates became fully adequate to ſupport the laws; the inferior orders of united Iriſhmen betook themſelves to their ordinary buſineſs, and only a few of the higher committees continued to proſecute their plans of treaſon; but, ſo completely had their followers been diſpirited, that until the province of Leinſter was actually ready to riſe, in May laſt, no inducement could

could prevail on the Northerns to riſe; and, when a partial inſurrection did take place, it was ſpeedily ſuppreſſed by the valour of the king's troops and yeomanry, and the unremitting zeal of the loyaliſts of Ulſter.

The report then ſtates that the union having perceived, during the invaſion of 1796, the loyalty of the common people of Munſter and Connaught, every effort was made to extend their principles into thoſe provinces; that the conſequences of their labours ſoon appeared, in the plundering of arms and murders of the loyal, in the ſummer and autumn of 1798; that, the midland and ſouthern counties became ſoon diſtinguiſhed in barbarity, reſorting, in addition to murder and robbery, to the ancient practices of burning the corn and houghing the cattle of thoſe againſt whom their rage was directed.

The means employed to excite the lower orders in theſe counties, who are chiefly Roman catholics, were promiſes of the abolition of tythes, and the fabrication of the moſt abominable teſts, falſely ſaid to have been taken by his majeſty's proteſtant ſubjects, for the extermination of Roman catholics; theſe fabrications, monſtrous and extravagant as they were, were the chief incentives by which the deluded and ignorant peaſantry were engaged to enter into the plans of the union.

In farther proſecution of their plans, an infamous periodical paper was publiſhed, in Dublin, called the Union Star, recommending by name the aſſaſſination of ſuch perſons as had, in the capacity of magiſtrates, jurors, or witneſſes, impeded the deſigns of the ſociety.

With the ſame view, the paper called the Preſs was eſtabliſhed, which was latterly printed in the name of Mr. Arthur O'Connor, who, in his examination before the committee, admitted himſelf to have been a member of the executive directory, and an active leader in the ſociety.—The objects of this paper, which was even more licentious than a former inſtrument of the union, (the Northern Star) were to impede the courſe of juſtice, by reviling all judicial proceedings; to aggravate the power of the union; and to forward all its plans; by continual exertions to prejudice the public mind in their favour, by continued miſrepreſentations of the conduct of the loyal, and unceaſing publications in ſupport of the deſigns of the union.

By theſe different means, the ſouthern counties were prepared for inſurrection; the county of Kildare, in particular, was ſo forward as to have manufactured 12,000 pikes; and the whole number of arms, in the kingdom, amounted, at the cloſe of 1797, to 129,000, of different deſcriptions.

No art was omitted which could tend to embarras government and promote the cauſe of the union; from the authentic reports of their officers, and the confeſſion of their chiefs, a large fund appeared to have been collected, by almoſt univerſal ſubſcription, to forward the objects of the ſociety; out of this fund, all perſons acting under their orders were defended when proſecuted; witneſſes bought off; lawyers hired to undertake, in the groſs, the cauſe of all perſons accuſed of treaſon; under-ſheriffs bribed to return partial pannels; and goalers paid to favour the eſcape of the perſons accuſed.

Still farther to embarras the king's government, the uſe of ſpirits was decried by the union, avowedly in order to injure the revenue; the circulation of bank-paper was impeded by a variety of contrivances; and the value of public ſecurities was attacked and depreciated by a ſtudied ſyſtem of miſrepreſentation.

The report then proceeds to ſtate, that, ſo early as the year 1796, the ſociety, (as it appeared by the evidence of Dr. M'Nevin, who confeſſes himſelf to be a member of the executive directory) deſpairing of ſucceſs in the project of producing a democratic republic, by the acquiſition of what was ſtyled 'reform,' had applied its labours to effect a revolution by arms; that, in conſequence of the repreſentations made by them to France, the government of that country reſolved to ſend a force to this country, and made an offer to that purpoſe, which was accepted by the leaders of the union, and M'Nevin was ſent to France with inſtructions to ſtate the diſpoſition of the people of this country, which he did, and received aſſurances of ſpeedy aſſiſtance; that Arthur O'Connor and the late lord Edward Fitzgerald alſo proceeded, upon the ſame errand, to Hamburgh and Switzerland, but did not enter France, leſt the government of this country ſhould receive intimation of their ſo doing; that, at Frankfort, they had an interview with general Hoche, where they ſettled the intended deſcent, which, it was agreed, ſhould take place in December; that, in December, the ſociety received from France ſeveral contradictory accounts of the number embarked for the invaſion, and therefore, doubting all of them, took no pains to prepare the people in the ſouth for the French, which occaſioned the peaſantry to act with ſuch loyalty in the winter of 1796.

It is then given as the opinion of the committee, that no formal communication between the union and France took place until this of 1796, although it appeared, by the trial of doctor Jackſon, found guilty of treaſon, in 1795, that the agents of France had been employed in this country; and from the ſtatement drawn up for the French government, and proved upon that trial, that the leaders of the union were the perſons then conſidered as the friends of a French connection.

That ſtatement appears to have been the joint production of Theobald Wolfe Tone, the founder of the ſociety, and Archibald Hamilton Rowan, one of its chief leaders; now both fugitives for high treaſon.

In order to keep up the ſpirit of the union, the leaders aſſured their followers of the certainty of French aid in the ſpring of 1797; and, in order to expedite this aid, found it neceſſary to diſpatch a confidential perſon, named Lewines, to preſs the directory for aſſiſtance; which perſon proceeded, in May or June laſt, to Paris, and has ſince remained there, the accredited miniſter of the Iriſh union to the French directory.

Another moſt confidential perſon was alſo diſpatched, in the courſe of the laſt ſummer, to France; this was Dr. M'Nevin, heretofore ſecretary to the executive committee; he went to Hamburgh, and preſented himſelf to the French miniſter there, in order to obtain a paſſport; finding ſome difficulty in this, he drew up and preſented to the ſame miniſter a memoir on the circumſtances of Ireland, in which

he ſtated, with great exaggeration, the reſources of the union, made promiſes of repayment to France, both for the expected aid and the expedition which had failed, the fund for which was to be raiſed by the ſale of the church-lands and the confiſcated property of thoſe who ſhould not join the union.

Dr. M'Nevin was alſo commiſſioned to apply to France for an immediate loan of half a million, or 300,000*l.* to be repaid from the ſame fund; and, if France were unable to raiſe ſo much, he was empowered to apply to the court of Spain for the purpoſe.

From all the evidence, it had appeared, to the committee, that France had been, at all times, diſinclined to ſending any force into this country, which ſhould not be ſufficient to ſecure and retain Ireland to herſelf as a French conqueſt; and the diſpoſition in the French government was illuſtrated by a letter from Lewines to lord Edward Fitzgerald, dated from Paris, and communicating to him, under the uſual cloke of mercantile correſpondence, the reſult of his negociation. The letter mentioned that "the truſtees (the French directory) had refuſed to advance the 5,000*l.* (for 5,000 men), or make any payment ſhort of the higher ſum (ſend fewer than their own propoſal of a large army), and that not in leſs than four months.

Through the ſame agents, attempts were made to induce Iriſh officers of high rank in the ſeveral foreign ſervices to enter into their projected invaſion; but, from the over-caution of the agents, theſe attempts were unproductive.

A ſecond memoir was preſented to the French miniſter, to urge the promiſed aſſiſtance; in this it was ſtated, that the deluſions of reform and emancipation were beginning to fail, from the delay; that the true republicans would be abandoned and diſcouraged, and the cauſe utterly loſt. The French government, anxious to diſcover the facts, ſent a confidential agent, with orders to proceed to Ireland; this perſon, having arrived in London, found a difficulty in getting a paſſport to Ireland, and the late lord Edward Fitzgerald was diſpatched to meet him in London. In conſequence of the repreſentations made to him, the directory gave every encouragement to the Iriſh agent at Paris; great preparations were made in Holland; the fleet, afterwards happily defeated, on the glorious 11th of October, 1797, by the gallant lord Duncan, was fitted out for the invaſion; the troops had been actually on-board, under command of general Daendells, but diſembarked, when the Dutch admiral was ordered out, by the French commiſſioner, againſt his own deſire, to fight the Engliſh fleet.

Upon this failure, promiſes were made of new ſuccours, in April, 1798; but, notwithſtanding the encouragement and temptation given, by the late Iriſh rebellion, nothing was done.

Here the report obſerves, that theſe circumſtances are all fully proved by the admiſſion and confeſſion of the principal leaders of the union.

In the beginning of the year 1797, the chiefs of the union, fearing that the zeal of their followers would abate, and that government might take ſtill ſtronger meaſures to put down their deſigns, before

French aid ſhould arrive, had ſeriouſly diſcuſſed a plan for a general inſurrection; but this plan was received ſo ill by the Leinſter delegates, that the project was dropped, and a conſiderable degree of coolneſs enſued between them and the northern leaders, and a deſign for ſeizing the caſtle, and truſting to the mere mob of Dublin for aſſiſtance, was actually in the contemplation of the Ulſter delegates in this city, and only abandoned on account of the military precautions adopted by government at that period; and, in the latter end of May, in the ſame year, orders were iſſued for a general riſing in Ulſter, which was fruſtrated by the energy of general Lake, and many of the leaders obliged to fly the country. Theſe fugitives, arriving at Hamburgh, obtained paſſports to France, (where they were very lately) and ſtill held communication with the diſaffected in this country.

It had appeared, in evidence, to be the general policy of the union, to diſcountenance any premature inſurrection; and the late rebellion was obliged to break out ſo ſoon as it did, by the well-timed meaſures of government, ſubſequent to the month of March, 1798; the apprehenſion of the provincial committee of Leinſter, on the 12th of that month, having ſo broken the order of the union, it was apprehended, by the remaining leaders, that, if a riſing did not ſpeedily take place the cauſe muſt be ſpeedily abandoned. Reports were therefore ordered to be made, by the officers, of all the military circumſtances of the country; of the ſeveral roads, rivers, mountains, faſtneſſes, defiles, and other kinds of knowledge neceſſary to the carrying on a war. Orders were alſo given to have the proper means of announcing the approach of the enemy (the king's troops) put in practice; and that the ſeveral departments of military duty ſhould be ſtrictly attended to.

On the 26th of February laſt, it appears, that ſo perfect was the military organization of the union, that, by a reſolution of that day, thanks were formally given to the different colonels for the zeal and diligence with which they had perfected their ſeveral regiments in diſcipline, and they were recommended to exhort their troops to bear the ſhackles of tyranny but a ſhort time longer, when the univerſal organization of Ireland would be able to burſt forth, and overwhelm their oppreſſors!

The ſame ſyſtem of terror which had nearly ſucceeded in the north, was adopted in the midland and ſouthern counties; not a night paſſed without new and horrible murders—the country was almoſt deſerted from the continued outrages which diſgraced it: witneſſes, jurors, magiſtrates, were all purſued with the ſame ſavage rancour; and to ſuch a degree did the inſolence of the diſaffected riſe, that, in the month of March laſt, in the county of Tipperary, a body of three hundred armed and mounted inſurgents entered the large and populous town of Cahier, in the open day, ſearched it deliberately for arms, and, having committed ſome acts of outrage, rode off with the plunder, without any oppoſition.

Lord Camden, upon this and other acts of treaſon, did, by a proclamation, dated the 30th of March, 1798, give, to the ſeveral generals commanding his majeſty's troops, full power and authority to put down

down this rebellion by military force, at the ſame time, holding out, to the peaceable and repentant, offers of protection and forgiveneſs. This proclamation was ſent into the ſeveral counties, and the commander-in-chief diſpatched to give the neceſſary directions, and full notice of the conſequence of diſobedience. And here the report obſerves, that, in all caſes where the power of the ſtate has been obliged to act for its preſervation, during this period of time, full time and ſufficient notice for repentance and ſubmiſſion have been always given. By this proclamation, and the conſequent meaſures, tranquillity was greatly reſtored; the lower orders of the union began to acknowledge their crimes, to give up their arms, to ſolicit and obtain pardon and protection, to betake themſelves to their induſtry, and renounce the practices of outrage; their deluſion was faſt yielding before the meaſures of government, and the cauſe of the union was rapidly loſing ground.

No alternative now remained to the union but an inſurrection, or an abandonment of their deſign.

An inſurrection was determined upon; the caſtle of Dublin, the camp at Lehaunſtown, and the artillery at Chappel-izod, were to be ſeized at the ſame time; the north and ſouth were to riſe in arms, and the ſignal for their inſurrection was to be, the detention of the mail-coaches from Dublin. This plan, which was given in evidence on the trial of Henry and John Sheares, ſince executed for treaſon, was alſo proved before this committee.

The ſanguinary views of the union, had this attempt proved ſucceſsful, are faithfully detailed in a draught of a proclamation, proved, upon the ſame trial, to be in the hand-writing of John Sheares, who, as it appeared, in evidence, to the committee, had been elected a member of the executive directory, in the room of one of the perſons apprehended on the 12th of March.

The inſurrection was fixed for the night of the 23d of May. On the 19th, ſeveral of the chiefs of the union were apprehended. On the 23d, the mail-coaches were ſtopped and deſtroyed; but ſuch was the vigilance of government, that the intended movements in the capitol were completely fruſtrated.

Every exertion was, however, made in other parts of the country, and the events of the atrocious rebellion which followed are too freſh in our memories to require detail.

On the 24th, the lord-lieutenant publiſhed another proclamation, by which he delegated to the ſeveral military officers, the power of trying crimes connected with rebellion by martial law; and to this ſeaſonable exertion of a conſtitutional power for the public ſafety, the report aſcribes the ſuppreſſion of the rebellion, not leſs than to the loyalty and courage of the regular, militia, and yeomanry corps.

The report then proceeds to give as a general opinion, upon the ſyſtem of the united Iriſhmen, that it originated not in a deſire to obtain reform or emancipation, but was deviſed for the ſubverſion of the preſent conſtitution, the ſeparation of Ireland from the Britiſh empire, the ſetting up a democratic republic, the abolition of rank, and the overthrow of every preſent eſtabliſhment in church and ſtate.

That the means by which this ſyſtem was forwarded, were the propagation of doctrines which flattered the paſſions of the ignorant and vulgar, by promiſes to the ſouthern peaſantry of an abolition of tythes; and to the northern manufacturers, of political power; by ſeditious publications, and perpetual falſehoods and miſrepreſentations.

It aſcribes the ſpeedy ſuppreſſion of the rebellion to the raſhneſs of the attempt, and the vigilance of government in diſconcerting the plans agreed upon.

The facts thus proved, by the concurring teſtimony of ſome of the moſt active leaders of the union, are ſuppoſed, by the report, to be ſufficient to convince the moſt incredulous, that the maſk of reform and emancipation were only aſſumed, in order to impoſe upon the public mind, and conceal and advance the real deſign of ſeparation from Great Britain, and eſtabliſhing a republic, if not ſubject to, at leaſt, in alliance with, France.

The committee then obſerve, that the means already employed, and intended to be farther employed by the ſociety, in caſe of ſucceſs, were exactly thoſe by which the happineſs and honour of the French nation have been already deſtroyed: and which, wherever they have been practiſed, have blaſted the country which they have invaded with all the curſes of anarchy and deſolation.

The report then refers to an appendix, containing ſome of the depoſitions upon which the committee formed theſe opinions.

The firſt of theſe is the examination, upon oath, of Dr. M'Nevin which is given at large, and of which the following is the ſubſtance:

Having confeſſed himſelf an united Iriſhman, he thus deſcribed the ſeveral gradations of committees, each choſen by delegation from that immediately below it in rank—the baronial from the original ſocieties, the diſtrict from baronial, the county from diſtrict, and the provincial from county committees. He ſwears, "that the executive committee was choſen by the four provincial meetings, who having balloted for five names, the ſecretary of the executive reported the event of the election to the perſons choſen, but did not communicate the reſult to the electors, who were thus excluded from any knowledge of the perſons by whom the union was directed."

He ſays, "that the words *reform in parliament* were ſtruck out of the teſt, and *a repreſentation of all the people* inſerted, becauſe the idea of reform was given up, and the eſtabliſhment of a republic determined on. The ſociety became a military body in 1795; the delegates of the different ſocieties were uſually the military officers; thoſe from the ſocieties of twelve each were ſerjeants; thoſe of the baronial meetings uſually captains; and ſo to the rank of colonels, who were county members; each battalion conſiſting of 600 men. The ſtaff-officers were elected by the colonels giving three names to the executive, who appointed from them a general of the county. He knows of a plan to procure Iriſh officers from the continent which did not ſucceed; he does not know that any of the French emigrant-officers in Ireland were ever applied to; he knows that attempts have been made to ſeduce the ſoldiery to the party of the union, but thoſe attempts have not

not been generally ſucceſsful; he knows that a fund was formed to defend the perſons accuſed of crimes committed under the union, and to procure arms, and that thoſe arms were to be employed in effecting a revolution, and eſtabliſhing a republic; that emiſſaries, ſupported by this general fund, have been ſent not only through this country and Great Britain, but into France. He has read the reports made in parliament in 1793 and 1797, and except that the numbers of men aſſociated in the union, were under-rated, he believes thoſe reports to have been well-founded. The people had long been inclined to riſe, but it was thought abſurd to do ſo while their enemies were on their guard. He knows that the military organization of Leinſter and Munſter began in 1797.

"The connection between the union and the ſocieties in England and Scotland was very ſlight—it was ſcarcely more than what paſſed between the members, as individuals.

"In April 1797, an inſurrection was planned, but the writing which contained the project was afterwards deſtroyed, and the idea given up.

"He knows that part of the ſyſtem was to decry the uſe of ſpirits and the circulation of bank-notes; it was alſo recommended not to aid public credit by the purchaſe of quit rents; an exhortation to this purpoſe was circulated by the executive.

"Communications were made from the union to the French directory, in 1796; a promiſe was then made of invading Ireland to ſupport the deſigns of the union, and it was agreed on the part of Ireland to defray the expences of the armament.

"About October, 1797, a ſpecial meſſenger arrived to ſay that theſe ſuccours were ready to the number of 8,000. Theſe troops were to be landed in Bantry-bay. An inſurrection was to have taken place in the north, had theſe troops been landed when they arrived. A conference was had with Hoche, at Frankfort, to ſettle the plan of this invaſion.

"Witneſs knows, that until the the month of February laſt, an accredited miniſter from Ireland reſided at Paris; ſince that time witneſs (having been apprehended in March) knows nothing of him. He knows that a memoir was given to the French miniſter at Hamburgh upon the affairs of the union; that memoir was in Engliſh. It ſtated "that the Bantry-bay expedition had given confidence to the republicans; that the next landing in the ſouth ſhould be attempted at Oyſterhaven, eſpecially as government had fortified Bantry, and taken military precautions at Bandon and Fermoy; that the ſouth was now completely organiſed, and Bandon become a ſecond Belfaſt; that 108,000 men were ready in the north, but from the quantity of arms ſurrendered to government in conſequence of its meaſures, a large ſupply of them would be wanting; that in the north the peninſula of Donegal was organized, and Lough Foyle would be a proper place for landing, as the garriſon of Derry was weak, and one regiment there diſaffected. It alſo recommended a diverſion to be made at Sligo, and repreſented the bay of Galway as very eaſy to enter, but very difficult to get out of. It farther mentioned, that the catholic prieſts throughout the king-

dom had ceaſed to be alarmed at the calumnies againſt the French with reſpect to their conduct to their prieſts, and were become active in the cauſe, and promiſed that France ſhould be fully reimburſed for the expences of this and the former unſucceſsful attempt, provided the number of troops did not exceed ten, or fall ſhort of five thouſand men, provided with a ſufficient train of artillery, engineers, &c.

"It was alſo recommended that the Iriſh ſeamen, priſoners of war, ſhould be ſeparated from the Engliſh, in order to induce them to join in the expedition; that the French ſhould, upon their landing, publiſh a proclamation that they came as allies to deliver, and not as enemies to conquer Ireland; and it was urged that France ſhould in the negociations at Liſle inſiſt upon the independence of Ireland as a preliminary article; and as a future inducement to France, aſſured the directory that the Iriſh militia would join the union."

The writer of this memoir went afterwards to Paris, and was at Liſle during the laſt negociation for peace. He underſtood that the directory did not think the Engliſh miniſtry ſincere, but that if what France had a right to expect had been offered, peace would have been made. After the rupture of the negociation, new aſſurances were given, that ſpeedy ſuccour ſhould be ſent, to deliver Ireland.

"Has heard that three ſeveral accounts have been received from Paris ſince February laſt, promiſing that in April a deſcent ſhould be made.

"Witneſs was himſelf a member of the executive directory of the union. The memoir he has mentioned was delivered to the French miniſter at Hamburgh.

"The Iriſh miniſter at Paris was ſupported from the general fund; he took money with him, and has been ſince ſupplied with remittances.

"Witneſs knows that a reſolution was entered into by the provincial committee in February laſt, not to be diverted from their object by any conceſſion of parliament; he knows that this reſolution was communicated to the executive, and approved by them, as a democratic houſe of commons, and the overthrow of the eccleſiaſtical eſtabliſhment, were their chief objects. A loan of half a million was attempted to be negociated in 1797, in France, but it did not ſucceed. Witneſs believes that diſability alone prevents France from carrying her promiſe into effect, of invading Ireland. He does not think the common people of Ireland care one farthing about reform or emancipation; he believes all they wiſh is exemption from the payment of tythes."

The teſtimony of Arthur O'Connor ſtates—"that he was a member of the executive directory; he has been an united Iriſhman from 1796, and a member of the directory until January, 1798; began his communications with France in the year 1796. He knows of no connection with the Engliſh and Scotch ſocieties; the Iriſh union always wiſhed to keep clear of them."

The remainder of O'Connor's teſtimony is nearly the ſame with that of M'Nevin.

Samuel Nelſon depoſes that in May, 1795, the civil organization of the union was complete in Ulſter, and that the military organization was ſettled in Auguſt, 1796. The witneſs

witneſs was taken up on a charge of treaſon, and falling into ſickneſs, was liberated laſt January, by government, on condition of his not engaging in treaſonable projects; but when Bond was arreſted, he came forward and gave his advice and aſſiſtance to the union. He was acquainted with a deſign of attacking Newgate on the night of the 23d of May laſt, which was fruſtrated by government; he was alſo acquainted with a deſign of attacking Kilmainham Gaol, but he diſſuaded his friends from the attempt. He thinks Ulſter is by no means ſo well organized, or ſo hearty in the cauſe, as it was twelve months ago, the moſt active leaders having been arreſted and obliged to fly; the plans of the union were ſo well prepared and concealed, that until laſt March he did not think government had been well informed of their proceedings. He then corroborated M'Nevin and O'Connor's evidence, and detailed the connection with France, &c.

Thomas Addie Emmet, barriſter-at-law, in addition to the teſtimony in which he detailed the ſame facts as the other witneſſes, conſeſſes, "that he was a member of the executive directory of the union, being appointed in January, 1797, and continued till May in the ſame year; and afterwards, from his being re-elected in January, 1798, until the time of his arreſt. The firſt communication with France, which came to his immediate knowledge, was in April, 1797, when, in order to eſtabliſh a conſtant intercourſe with the French directory, an agent was ſent from Ireland to reſide in France, where he ſtill continues. He knows that France ſent to this country aſſurances of her aſſiſtance, &c; that it became neceſſary to apply to France for a larger quantity of arms than were promiſed at firſt, in order to ſupply thoſe given up to government. He is certain that France gave aſſurances that the armament in the Texel, in the ſummer of 1797, was intended to come to Ireland; and that a farther promiſe of aſſiſtance, in April, 1798, was made by the directory.

"He accounts for the loyalty of the lower orders in Munſter, during the Bantry-bay invaſion, by the union having taken no pains to prepare their minds for the French, as they had been amuſed with contradictory accounts from France; and it was alſo determined to avoid an inſurrection until the French ſhould come, had not the ſevere meaſures adopted in Kildare, by the king's miniſters urged the alternative of riſing or yielding up the cauſe. He believes, had they waited until the French came, the riſing would have been more general and formidable

It was intended to raiſe a general fund for the ſervice of the union, by the confiſcation of the church property, and that of all of thoſe who did not join them; the perſons of the latter, if they did not actively oppoſe the union, were to be only held as hoſtages until it would be convenient to tranſport them; and their wives, if they were not hoſtile to the new order of things, were to be ſupported by a ſtipend out of their huſband's property—the reſt to belong to the republic.

"He is perſuaded that the bulk of the people do not care about, or underſtand reform and emancipation, but that they are become anxious for them, having been told that they led to the abolition of tythes.

It was determined to have no eccleſiaſtical eſtabliſhment whatever, nor any diſtinction of rank."

Witneſs being aſked as to the practicability of Ireland being a ſeparate ſtate from Great Britain, when ſhe had not means to build a navy, and muſt be dependent on England for the mere article of coals? he replied "that he thought Ireland fully able to ſtand alone as an independent republic; her wealth and population had infinitely increaſed within the laſt century, and though ſhe might and would for ten or twelve years be much crippled by the fleets and power of England, yet the ſtrength of the Britiſh navy would ſoon fail when Ireland ceaſed to act with Great Britain; and as to the article of fuel, the extenſion of inland navigation would ſoon remove the neceſſity of importation."

It appeared by the concurrent teſtimony of all theſe witneſſes, that as every individual concealed his own arms, no depot or collection of arms for the union exiſted.

Articles agreed upon for the Exchange of Priſoners, between the Britiſh and French Commiſſioners.

I. An exchange of priſoners of war ſhall immediately take place between the two countries, man for man, and rank for rank: and the French government ſhall begin, by ſending over to England, in a French cartel veſſel, a number of Britiſh priſoners, with the proportion of five officers to one hundred men; upon the arrival of whom in England, the Britiſh government will cauſe an equal number, of the ſame ranks, of French priſoners, to be ſent, in an Engliſh cartel veſſel, to France. The Britiſh government ſhall then cauſe to be ſent to France, in an Engliſh cartel veſſel, a number of French priſoners, with the ſame proportion of officers, as above-mentioned, for whom the French government ſhall return, by a French cartel veſſel, the ſame number and ranks of Britiſh priſoners. The exchange ſhall be continued according to the ſame alternate plan, until one or the other of the two governments ſhall think proper to put a ſtop thereto; and, in that caſe, the party ſo diſcontinuing is to return, without delay, whatever number of priſoners may appear to be againſt it on the balance of the exchanges that may to that time have taken place in conſequence of this cartel.

II. In order to prevent any difficulties that might otherwiſe ariſe from the diverſity of ranks of officers in the ſervice of the two countries, it is hereby agreed that the table hereto annexed, of correſponding ranks in the Engliſh and French ſervices, ſhall uniformly be attended to by both parties, and that officers, on either ſide, of ranks of which there ſhall be no correſponding officer or officers in poſſeſſion of the other power, ſhall be exchanged for their equivalent, according to the ſcale of value in men ſpecified in the ſaid table.

III. All the priſoners on both ſides to be exchanged by this cartel ſhall be ſelected, according to their ranks, by the reſpective agents of the countries to which they belong, reſiding at Paris or in London, without any interference whatever on the part of the government in whoſe poſſeſſion they may be.

IV. It being ſtipulated, that the Britiſh priſoners ſhall be ſent to England

land in French veſſels, and the French priſoners conveyed to France in Britiſh veſſels, it is hereby agreed, that the whole expence attending ſuch veſſels ſhall be defrayed by the reſpective countries by which they may be employed; and that the priſoners, during their paſſage, ſhall be furniſhed with the following daily allowances, *viz.*

Britiſh Priſoners.		*lb.*
Bread	—	1
Beef	—	1

Beer 2 quarts, or wine 1 quart.

French Priſoners.		*lb.*
Bread	—	1½
Beef	—	¾

Beer 2 quarts.

A table of which allowances is to affixed to the maſt of each cartel veſſel.

V. All priſoners on both ſides, not being officers, who, from wounds, age, or infirmities, are rendered incapable of farther ſervice, and alſo all boys, under twelve years of age, ſhall be forthwith returned to their reſpective countries, without regard to their numbers or equality of exchange; but the ſelection of perſons, of the deſcriptions mentioned in this article, is to be left entirely to the agents and ſurgeons of the government of the country in which they are detained.

VI. All ſurgeons, ſurgeons' mates, purſers (or aides-commiſſaires), purſers' ſtewards (or commis aux-vivres), ſecretaries, chaplains, and ſchoolmaſters, being the claſſes comprehended under the denomination of *non-combatants*; and alſo paſſengers not of the ſea or land ſervice, in whatever ſhips taken, ſhall not be conſidered as priſoners, but ſhall be immediately ſet at liberty, to return to their reſpective countries, without being placed to the account of exchange.

VII. All officers bearing authentic commiſſions in the land-ſervice, and thoſe belonging to the ſea-ſervice of the following ranks, *viz.* admirals, vice-admirals, rear-admirals, commodores, captains, lieutenants, enſigns, maſters, mates (or pilotes), midſhipmen (or aſpirants), and alſo maſters and mates, or ſecond captains, of merchant veſſels, exceeding the burthen of eighty tons, together with the captain, and in the proportion of three other officers to each hundred men, of privateers of fourteen carriage-guns and upwards, ſhall either be permitted to return to their reſpective countries on parole, not to ſerve until regularly exchanged, or ſhall have the uſual indulgence of parole granted to them in the country in which they are detained. And it is agreed, that whatever officers may, by virtue of this article, return to their reſpective countries, ſhall be ſuffered to depart from their preſent places of confinement, to Dover or Gravelines, as ſoon as conveniently may be after the ſigning of the preſent cartel; and alſo that all officers reſiding on parole in their own countries, ſhall ſignify to the agent of the country to which they are priſoners, their reſpective places of reſidence, which they are on no account to change, without firſt intimating their intention to the ſaid agent; and they are, moreover, at the expiration of every two months, to tranſmit, to the ſaid agent, a certificate of the particular places where they may reſide, ſigned by the magiſtrates or municipal officers of ſuch places.

VIII. The ſettlement of the balance now exiſting on the account of ſuch

ſuch exchanges of priſoners of war of both countries, as have taken place from the commencement of hoſtilities to the day of the date hereof, ſhall be deferred until the determination of the preſent war; but it is clearly underſtood, that all officers on both ſides, who have been releaſed, and permitted to return to their reſpective countries on parole, ſince the commencement of the war, and who have not hitherto been regularly exchanged, are not to ſerve in any capacity, either civil or military, until they ſhall have been duly exchanged for priſoners of equal ranks, according to their original engagements.

Done at the tranſport-office, London, the 13th day of September, 1798.

Rupert George, John Schank.
Ambroſe Serle, John Marſh.
Niou.

Table of the correſponding Ranks in the Engliſh and French Service, with their Value in Men.

Ranks in the Navy.		*Value*
French.	*Engliſh.*	*in Men.*
Vice-admiral commanding in chief, having the temporary rank of admiral.	Admiral commanding in chief,	60
Vice-admiral.	Admiral carrying his flag at the main: vice-admiral,	40
Rear-admiral.	Rear-admiral, —	30
Chief of a ſquadron.	Commodore, —	20
Captain of a ſhip of the line.	Poſt-captain of three years ſtanding, whoſe rank anſwers to that of colonel. Ditto, having rank of lieutenant-colonel,	15
Captain of a frigate.	Maſters and commanders, or captains not poſt, having rank of major, amongſt whom are included captains of fire-ſhips, who are maſters and commanders, —	8
Lieutenant of a ſhip of the line.	Lieutenant, without diſtinction,	6
Enſign of a ſhip of the line.	Lieutenant, when all the French ſhall be exchanged, and, in default of Engliſh lieutenants, midſhipmen, —	4
Midſhipman, maſter of a merchant veſſel, and captain of a privateer.	Midſhipman, maſter of a merchant veſſel, and captain of a privateer, —	3
Lieutenant of a merchant veſſel or privateer, and all petty officers.	Mates, and all petty officers,	2
Seamen, volunteers, and others, being conſidered as common ſeamen.	Seamen, volunteers, and others, being conſidered as common ſeamen, —	1

Ranks

Ranks in the Land-Service.

French.	*Engliſh*	*Value in Men.*
General of diviſion, commanding in chief	Captain-general, or field-marſhal,	60
General of diviſion.	General,	40
General of brigade.	Lieutenant-general,	30
Inferior to the preceding; ſuperior to the following.	Major-general	20
Chief of brigade.	Brigadier-general,	15
Chief of battalion of ſquadron.	Colonel,	8
Captain.	Captain,	6
Lieutenant.	Lieutenant,	4
Sous-lieutenant.	Enſign,	3
Non-commiſſioned officers, down to the rank of corporal, incluſive.	Non-commiſſioned officers, down to the rank of corporal, incluſive,	2
Soldiers.	Soldiers,	1

Rupert George, Ambroſe Serle. John Schank, John Marſh. Niou.

Abſtract of the Proceedings of the Lords of the Treaſury, on the Matters referred to their Conſideration by Parliament, relative to the propoſed Alterations and economical Arrangements in the public Offices.

Cuſtoms.

The firſt office to which their attention has been turned, is that of the cuſtoms, in which various alterations and modifications are propoſed to take place, the moſt material of which are the following: 1ſt. The abolition of many of the fees taken at preſent, particularly on out-door buſineſs. 2d. The entire abolition of holidays in that office. 3d. The regular weekly tranſmiſſion of moneys from Scotland to the hands of the receiver-general of the cuſtoms of England.

For ſome of theſe beneficial purpoſes inſtructions are given to the ſolicitor to prepare a bill for the inſpection of Parliament. Recompenſe is, however, to be made to the preſent incumbents, for any loſs that may be ſuſtained by the alteration.

Exciſe.

The ſecond object is the office of exciſe. Here the primary conſideration is the great expence of law charges, particularly thoſe incurred for the laſt year, which, according to accounts produced, amounted to upwards of 12,000*l.* the ſolicitor's emoluments on which are ſtated at 5,826*l.* 12*s.* 1*d.* To this article of expenditure, particular attention is, in future, to be paid. In this department, likewiſe, much diſſatisfaction is expreſſed, from the detention of the remittances from Scotland, together with ſome particular modes for the prevention of the

the like in future. Reſpecting the abolition of holidays in this office, nothing is yet recommended.

Stamp-Office.

The firſt object of their lordſhips attention in this office, appears to be the great increaſe of incidental expences, particularly for Scotland. The next appears to be an order from their lordſhips, that in future all perſons accepting places in this office, ſhall do their duty perſonally. To which are to be added, various economical variations reſpecting the emoluments of ſtamp diſtributors. In ſhort, it is recommended that a complete alteration ſhall take place in the management of this branch of revenue; a bill for which purpoſe is to be brought into parliament.

Poſt-Office.

The next object to which their lordſhips have turned their attention, is the poſt-office, in which a great nnmber of alterations are propoſed, particularly reſpecting the receipts, diſburſements, &c. more eſpecially under the foreign department, packet-hire, inſurance, &c. Theſe being, from their nature, very complex, a proper idea of the propoſed retrenchments cannot at preſent be exhibited.

Tax-Office.

The inveſtigation reſpecting the tax-office, which comes next under conſideration, is principally confined to the poundage allowance made to the various country receivers.

The Salt-Office

Is to be totally aboliſhed, and its duties transferred to the exciſe, agreeably to the recommendation of the finance committee.

The Hawkers and Pedlars, and the Hackney-Coach-Offices are likewiſe propoſed to be aboliſhed, and placed under the commiſſioners for taxes.

Penſion-Duties.

Some alterations are propoſed to be made in the receipt of the penſion-duties, to prevent the retention of thoſe duties ſo long a time in the hands of the receivers as at preſent.

Treaſury-Office.

The only alteration in this office, is the total abolition of the new year's gifts in future; poſitive orders to which effect have been iſſued by the commiſſioners.

The offices of the Secretary of State, and the Admiralty, are to be brought under the conſideration of parliament at an early period.

Tranſport-Office.

One ſource of emolument, namely, a per centage on a ſhip's final ſettlement of her accounts, is ordered to be aboliſhed.

The arrangements in the War-Office are poſtponed till the meeting of parliament, as are thoſe of the Ordnance.

The Exchequer.

In this office various modifications are propoſed, eſpecially for the purpoſe of bringing public accountants forward, and for the recovery of balances in their hands.

Liſt of the ſeveral Offices, which, being uſeleſs, are propoſed to be aboliſhed as they become vacant; with the Amount of the Annual Income of

of each, after the Deduction of Taxes, in the Year, 1788.

PORT of LONDON.

	Income, including Fees. £.	s.	d.
Inſpector of proſecutions	1,800	3	3
Regiſter of ſeizures	414	8	6
Inſpector of the exchequer-books in the out ports	223	0	0
Surveyor-general	2,351	17	7
Surveyor of ſubſidies and petty cuſtoms	2,104	0	2
Regiſter of warrants	251	6	5
Total	7,144	15	11

A Liſt of the ſeveral Offices, which, on Vacancies, are to be aboliſhed, as Patent Offices; but the Duties of which, being neceſſary, are propoſed to be executed, either by the Deputies to the Perſons who held the Patents, or by other Officers of the Revenue; together with the Amount of the Annual Income of each, in the Year 1788, *after Deduction of Taxes.*

PORT of LONDON.

	Income, including fees. £.	s.	d.
Superviſor of the receiver-general's receipts and payments	542	16	8
Regiſter-general of all trading ſhips belonging to Great Britain	602	18	0
Inſpector-general of imports and exports	914	0	9
Comptroller inwards and outwards	1,761	5	2
Collector inwards	2,733	4	6
Collector outwards	2,103	2	3
Uſher in the long room	596	16	4
Nineteen king's waiters	2,678	12	1
Chief ſearcher	766	14	0
Five under-ſearchers	4,946	0	0
Two ſearchers at Graveſend	1,233	15	7
Total London	18,879	5	4

OUT PORTS.

Twenty-three cuſtomers, twenty comptrollers, twenty ſearchers, four king's waiters at Briſtol	24,569	6	2
Total London and out-ports	43,448	11	6

A Liſt of the ſeveral Offices which are propoſed to be either aboliſhed, conſolidated, or regulated; with the Amount of the Annual Income of each, after Deduction of Taxes, in the Year 1788.

PORT of LONDON.

	Income, including fees. £	s.	d.
Receiver of fines and forfeitures for London	402	4	8
Reciver of fines and forfeitures remitted from the out-ports	515	0	0
Comptroller of fines and forfeitures remitted from the out-ports	259	6	9
Accountant of petty receipts	501	10	0
Surveyor of the out-port accounts	194	9	11

Four

	£.	s.	d.
Four examiners of outport collectors quarter books - -	474	8	0
Customer of cloth and petty customs, outwards - -	69	10	3
Collector of the petty customs, inwards -	288	11	11
Comptroller of cloth and petty customs, inwards and outwards - -	182	18	8
Collector of the great customs on wool and leather exported -	220	11	11
Comptroller of the great customs on wool and leather exported - -	61	17	3
Total	3,170	9	4

List of Pensions granted since the 1st Day of January, 1792; together with the Names of the Persons to whom, or in Trust for whom, the said Pensions have been granted, and the Amount of the same.

	£.	s.	d.
Feb. 4, 1792.—Arabella Dorothea Lockman, during pleasure -	33	10	0
Oct. 2, 1792.—William Morland, esq. for the life of his daughter, Harriet Bernard, wife of Scrope Bernard, esq. - - - -	554	0	0
Nov. 6, 1792.—Lady Elianor Butler, during pleasure - -	100	0	0
March 13, 1793.—Geo. Burghall, esq. ditto	300	0	0
May 21, 1793.—Samuel Starbuck and his wife Abigail Starbuck respectively and successively, in consideration of his having removed from Nova-Scotia, where he was employed in the southern whale fishery, and settled with his family at Milford-Haven, during the term of their natural lives -	169	0	0
May 21, 1793.—Timothy Folger and his wife Abigail Folger, ditto - -	169	0	0
June 18, 1793.—Sarah Hawkins, widow of Pennel Hawkins, esq. (expired) during pleasure - - - -	393	0	0
June 25, 1793.—James Hayes, ditto - -	500	0	0
July 6, 1793.—Betty Clerk Chamberlayne, and the survivor of them, ditto - -	66	13	4
July 17, 1793.—William Fraser and lieut. col. Fraser, in trust for Mary Fraser, ditto	600	0	0
July 20, 1793.—Edmund Antrobus and Coutts Trotter, in trust for Eleanor Molleson, ditto -	300	0	0
July 20, 1793.—Benedict Arnold and Thomas Morrison, esqrs. in trust for the following children, viz. Edward Shipden Arnold, James Robertson Arnold, Sophia Matilda Arnold, and George Arnold, 100*l.* each	400	0	0
July 20, 1793.—Sir John Call, bart. and John Roberts, esq. in trust for Sarah Bates, ditto	500	0	0

	£	s.	d.
July 20, 1793.—Penelope Ann Cooke, ditto	150	0	0
July 20, 1793.—Elizabeth Cooke, ditto	175	0	0
July 20, 1793.—Maria Cooke, ditto -	175	0	0
July 20, 1793.—Elizabeth Davy, ditto -	32	10	0
July 20, 1793.—John Fordyce and William Fullarton, in truſt for Geo. Hamilton Gordon, ditto - -	200	0	0
July 20, 1793.—William Auguſtus Miles, eſq. ditto - - -	300	0	0
July 20, 1793.—Sir Geo. Oſborne, bart. and John Ley, eſq. in truſt for Jane Wraxall, ditto - - -	400	0	0
July 20, 1793.—William Smith and John Farhill, in truſt for Anna Craufurd, ditto -	400	0	0
July 20, 1793.—The hon. Thomas Walpole, ditto - -	500	0	0
July 20, 1793.—Caleb Whiteſoord, eſq. ditto	200	0	0
Sept. 2, 1793.—Robert Halifax, and Catharine Halifax, widow of the late biſhop of St. Aſaph, in truſt for the following children, viz. Gertrude, Charlotte, Marianne, Caroline, Catharine, and Elizabeth Halifax, 60*l.* each, ditto	360	0	0
Sept. 6, 1793. — William Fawkener, eſq. in addition to a penſion of 200*l.* per ann. granted to him in 1763, during pleaſure	100	0	0
Sept. 18, 1793.—Jeremy Sneyd, in conſideration of his long and faithful ſervices in the office of his majeſty's ſecretary of ſtate for foreign affairs, during pleaſure - -	336	0	0
Sept. 18, 1793.—Elizabeth Sneyd, wife of ditto, ditto - -	336	0	0
Oct. 9, 1793. — Marg. Wolters, during pleaſure - - -	248	0	0
Oct. 9, 1793. — Catharine Gertrude Robinſon, ditto - -	600	0	0
Oct. 9, 1793. — Lewis Erneſt Hake (expired) ditto - -	248	0	0
Oct. 9, 1793. — Lackford Hart, ditto - -	100	0	0
Oct. 9, 1793. — Ann Flint, widow, ditto	66	0	0
Oct. 9, 1793.—Ditto, in truſt for the two eldeſt of her eight children, during pleaſure -	66	0	0
Oct. 9. 1793.—Frances Francis, ditto - -	60	0	0
Oct. 9, 1793. — Elizabeth Francis, ditto	60	0	0
Oct. 9, 1793.—Catharine Callow, ditto	50	0	0
Jan. 20, 1794. — Capt. Evelyn Sutton, ditto	250	0	0
April 16, 1794. — Ann Chriſtie, ditto -	18	11	0
April 21, 1794.—James Rivers, eſq. ditto -	446	0	0
July 1, 1794. — Samuel Roſe, in truſt for Wm. Cowper, during pleaſure - -	300	0	0
July 1, 1794. — Lady Albina Cumberland, ditto - - -	400	0	0
July 1, 1794.—Henry Hobart and Richard Cum-			

	£	s.	d.
Cumberland, eſqrs in truſt for Harriet Elizabeth Margaret Cumberland, ditto -	100	0	0
July 1, 1794.—Ditto, in truſt for Albina Elizabeth Cumberland, ditto - -	100	0	0
July 27, 1794.—Thomas Lord Walſingham, in truſt for George and Thomas de Grey, and the ſurvivor, ditto -	1200	0	0
Sept. 20, 1794.—Right hon. Edmund Burke, during the joint lives of himſelf and his wife Jane Burke, and the ſurvivor of them	1200	0	0
Sept. 25, 1794.—Wm. Webſter and his wife, and the ſurvivor of them, during pleaſure	63	0	0
Sept. 25, 1794.—Thomas Engliſh, ditto	147	0	0
Nov. 10, 1794.—Elizabeth Ewart, widow, ditto - -	645	0	0
Nov. 10, 1794.—Ditto, in truſt for her ſon John Ewart, ditto	121	0	0
Nov. 10, 1794.—Ditto, in truſt for her daughter, Elizabeth Ewart, ditto - -	121	0	0
Nov. 10, 1794.—Ditto, in truſt for her daughter, Mary Ewart, ditto	121	0	0
Jan. 20, 1795.—Frances Ann Allen, ditto	65	0	0
Jan. 20, 1795.—Jane Moley, ditto -	50	0	0
Jan. 20, 1795.—Mary Coulſon, widow, ditto	35	0	0
Feb. 24, 1795.—Henry Bunbury, eſq. during pleaſure, or until he ſhall be provided for in his majeſty's ſervice - - -	500	0	0
Mar. 21, 1795.—Right hon. Sylveſter Douglas, during the term of his natural life; but to ceaſe and determine when he ſhall accept and be in actual poſſeſſion of any office or place, for the term of his natural life, either in Great Britain or Ireland, of the clear yearly value of 1000*l.* or upwards; or when he ſhall accept and be in actual poſſeſſion of the office of ſurveyor-general of his majeſty's woods, &c. then and in that caſe, the ſaid annuity to be ſuſpended, and the payment thereof to ceaſe for and during the time he ſhall be in actual poſſeſſion of the ſaid laſt-mentioned office; but in caſe he ſhall be removed therefrom, then the ſaid annuity or yearly ſum is to become payable as before - - -	600	0	0
March 21, 1795.—Right hon. Sylveſter Douglas, during the joint lives of himſelf and Frederick Sylveſter North Douglas, his ſon, and the ſurvivor of them - -	600	0	0
July 9, 1795.—Dorothy Balmer, during pleaſure - - -	50	0	0

	£	s.	d.
Dec. 22, 1795.—John and Andrew Hollingsworth, in truſt for Sarah Adams, ditto	300	0	0
July 1, 1796.—Sir Jas. Bland Burgeſs, bart. ditto - -	1200	0	0
July 27, 1796.—Thomas Coutts, eſq. in truſt for lady Auguſta Murray, ditto -	1200	0	0
Sept. 8, 1796.—Sir Robert Ainſlie, knt. during the joint lives of his majeſty and himſelf - - -	1000	0	0
Sept. 28, 1796. — Sir John Hart, bart. for ſervices as conſul-general at Liſbon, during pleaſure -	1000	0	0
March 29, 1797.—Peggy Edgcombe, widow, ditto - -	196	0	0
July 11, 1797.—Mary Henrietta Erſkine, ditto - -	400	0	0
July 19, 1797.—Rev. Geo. Hooten Hyde, continuation of a grant from king William and queen Mary to his family, for ſervices, ditto -	50	0	0
Sept. 2, 1797.—Lady Mary Mordaunt, ditto	400	0	0
Sept. 2, 1797.—Lady Frances Bulkeley, ditto	200	0	0
Nov. 17, 1797.—Jas. Tyrrell Roſs, eſq.	250	0	0
Jan. 13, 1798.—Thomas Mudge, ditto	130	0	0
Feb. 7, 1798.—Harriet Ann Maclaine, ditto	200	0	0
March 20, 1798.—Lydia Brooks, widow of the late Sam. Brooks, one of his majeſty's meſſengers in ordinary, ditto -	100	0	0

Contingent Penſions.

	£	s.	d.
June 5, 1792. — Right hon. lord Grenville and Chas. Moſs, clk. in truſt for Harriet Margaret King, wife of John King, eſq. one of the under-ſecretaries of ſtate, during her natural life, to commence at the death of Mr. King, or whenever he ſhall ceaſe to hold the office of under-ſecretary of ſtate, or any other office or offices, ſalary or ſalaries, from or under government, to the clear annual value of 400*l.* with a proviſion, that if Mr. King ſhall in future be in poſſeſſion of any offices or ſalaries of the clear annual value of 400*l.* as before-mentioned, then, during ſuch time as he ſhall be in the enjoyment of the ſame, the ſaid penſion, granted as aforeſaid, to determine and ceaſe to be paid -	554	0	0
Oct. 2, 1792.—William Pollock and Frederick Booth, eſq. in truſt for Marg. Nepean, wife of Evan Nepean, eſq. one of the under-ſecretaries of ſtate, during her natural life, to commence upon the death of the ſaid Evan Nepean, or when			

	£	s.	d.
when he ſhall ceaſe to hold the ſaid office of under-ſecretary of ſtate - -	643	0	0
July 1, 1796. — Jane Auſt, wife of George Auſt, eſq. late one of the under-ſecretaries of ſtate, to commence from the death of the ſaid George Auſt, and to continue during pleaſure - -	717	0	0
Sept. 14, 1797.—Sarah Anne Wilmot, wife of John Wilmot, eſq. to commence from the death of the ſaid John Wilmot, and to continue during pleaſure; granted in conſequence of Mr. Wilmot's ſervices in executing the proviſions of the act of the 30th year of his preſent majeſty, for giving relief to ſuch perſons as have ſuffered in their rights and properties during the late unhappy diſſentions in America -	400	0	0
Nov. 7, 1797.—Elizabeth Hayter, wife of the rev. John Hayter, and to Sophia Hayter, their daughter, reſpectively and ſucceſſively, to commence from the death of the ſaid John Hayter, and to continue during pleaſure - -	131	0	0

None of the above penſions have yet taken effect.

Penſions to late Miniſters at foreign Courts.

	£	s.	d.
Nov. 13, 1793.—Wm. Lindſay, eſq. late reſident at Venice; to continue until otherwiſe provided for in his majeſty's ſervice, or until determined by warrant from his majeſty (expired) -	600	0	0
May 17, 1793.—Lord viſcount Torrington, late miniſter-plenipotentiary to the court of Bruſſels; to continue until otherwiſe provided for in his majeſty's ſervice, or until determined by warrant from his majeſty - -	1684	0	0
June 26, 1793.—Chas. Keene, eſq. late chargé d'affaires at Stockholm; to continue until otherwiſe provided for in his majeſty's ſervice, or until determined by warrant from his majeſty -	250	0	0
Oct. 4, 1793.—William Barnier, eſq. late chargé d'affaires at Peterſburgh; to continue until otherwiſe provided for in his majeſty's ſervice, or until determined by warrant from his majeſty	250	0	0
Oct. 23, 1793.—Sir Robert Murray Keith, late envoy-extraordinary at Vienna; to continue until otherwiſe provided for in his majeſty's ſervice,			

	£	s.	d.
or until determined by warrant from his majesty (expired) -	2250	0	0
May 30, 1794.—Cha. Logie, esq. late agent and consul-general at Algiers; to continue until otherwise provided for in his majesty's service, or until determined by warrant from his majesty - - -	460	0	0
Aug. 26, 1794.—Lord Hervey, late envoy extraordinary at Florence; to continue until otherwise provided for in his majesty's service, or until determined by warrant from his majesty (expired) -	1500	0	0
Jan. 28, 1797.—Lord Malmesbury, late ambassador extraordinary to the states-general of the United Provinces; to continue until otherwise provided for in his majesty's service, or until determined by warrant from his majesty - - -	2300	0	0
Jan. 28, 1797.—Lord St. Helens, late ambassador extraordinary to the states-general of the United Provinces; to continue until otherwise provided for in his majesty's service, or until determined by warrant from his majesty - - -	2300	0	0
June 26, 1797.—Thomas Walpole, esq. late envoy extraordinary to the elector palatine; to continue until otherwise provided for in his majesty's service, or until determined by warrant from his majesty -	800.	0	0
Feb. 7, 1798.—Major-general Gardiner, late minister plenipotentiary to the court of Warsaw; to continue until otherwise provided for in his majesty's service, or until determined by warrant from his majesty	600	0	0
Feb. 7, 1798.—Francis Drake, esq. late minister plenipotentiary to the republic of Genoa; to continue until otherwise provided for in his majesty's service, or until determined by warrant from his majesty -	600	0	0

Contingent Pensions to late Ministers.

	£.	s.	d.
Sept. 6, 1793.—William Fawkener, esq. late envoy extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the most faithful queen, for negociating commercial arrangements, and to the empress of Russia, for assisting in certain negociations in that court; to commence when he shall cease to hold his present office of one of the clerks of the privy council, and not be in possession			

	£	s.	d.
of any other office, or place of equal value, or until determined by warrant under the royal ſign manual -	1000	0	0
Feb. 26, 1795.—Lord Auckland, employed in ſeveral miſſions to France, Spain, and Holland, to continue until otherwiſe provided for in his majeſty's ſervice: to be ſuſpended nevertheleſs when and from the time his ſon William Elliot Eden becomes poſſeſſed of the office of one of the four tellers of the exchequer, and to continue to be ſuſpended as long as his ſaid ſon ſhall continue in the poſſeſſion of the ſaid office, (ſuſpended)	1900	0	0
Jan. 12, 1798.—George Hammond, eſq. late miniſter plenipotentiary to the United States of America; to commence when he ſhall ceaſe to hold his preſent office of under ſecretary of ſtate, and not be in poſſeſſion of any other office, or place, of equal value, or until determined by warrant under the royal ſign manual -	1200	0	0

None of the above penſions have yet taken effect, except lord Auckland's, which is ſuſpended.

Charles Long.

Whitehall, Treaſury-Chambers, April 4, 1798.

Circular Letter, addreſſed from the War-Office, to the Commanders of Dragoon Guards, Dragoons, and Infantry of the Line, on pay of Field-Officers, &c.

"Sir,

"I have received his majeſty's commands to acquaint you, that, in thoſe corps wherein the new ſyſtem regarding pay-maſters has been eſtabliſhed, the field-officers and captains will not be held generally reſponſible, as ſuch, for the future regimental accounts of their reſpective corps.

"The eſtabliſhment of the ſaid ſyſtem has enabled his majeſty, with ſafety to the public, to ſhew a farther aſſiſtance of his royal conſideration for the field-officers and captains above-mentioned, by ordering that their whole pay ſhall in future be iſſued monthly, inſtead of being divided into ſubſiſtence and arrears, and be ſubject only to the uſual deduction on account of poundage, hoſpital, and agency.

"You will be pleaſed to take the earlieſt opportunity of making known theſe marks of his majeſty's gracious attention to the field-officers and captains of the regiment under your command; and of acquainting them with the reſpective rates of their pay, as it is hereafter to be iſſued by his majeſty's order according to the annexed ſtate; *in which you will obſerve that the ſurgeon is alſo comprehended:* theſe daily rates have been calculated upon the total amount per annum of the ſums which the officers have heretofore received under the denomination of ſubſiſtence and nett arrears; excluding minute fractions, which would have greatly tended to complicate the general accounts of the regiments, as well as the

the particular accounts of the officers themſelves.

"I am to add, that, in the iſſue of pay to be made by the Pay-Office on the 24th of next month, the difference between the old and new rates for the two preceding months (viz. from the 25th of December, 1797, to the 23d of February, 1798) will be included.

"W. Windham."

The ſame letter, with the exception of the words in Italics, has been addreſſed to the commanding-officers of the fencibles and the militia.

Rates of pay to be iſſued to the Field-Officers and Captains of the Dragoon-Guards, Dragoons, fencible Cavalry, Infantry of the Line, Militia, and fencible Infantry; and to the Surgeons of Dragoon Guards, Dragoons, and Infantry of the Line; commencing from the 25th of Dec. 1797:

Dragoon-guards, dragoons and fencible cavalry.	Per diem. l.	s.	d.	For 365 D. l.	s.	d.
Colonel -	1	12	10	599	4	2
Lieut.-Colonel	1	3	0	419	15	0
Major -	0	19	3	351	6	3
Captain -	0	14	7	266	2	11
Surgeon of dragoon guards and dragoons.	0	11	4	266	16	8
Infantry of the line, militia, and fencible infantry.						
Colonel -	1	2	6	410	12	6
Lieut.-Colonel	0	15	11	290	9	7
Major -	0	14	1	257	0	5
Captain -	0	9	5	171	17	1
Surgeon of the line	0	9	5	171	17	1

By his majeſty's command,

W. Windham.

Circular Letter from Mr. Dundas to the Lords Lieutenants of Counties, accompanied with the ſubſequent Plans.

It directs them immediately to determine on the places of depot to which the live and dead ſtock are to be removed; the manner in which they are to be taken care of at ſuch depots; the routs which they are to take, and thoſe which they are to avoid, in order not to interfere with the movements of the military; the allotment of yeomanry, or other eſcorts, for their protection, or for enforcing the regulations eſtabliſhed reſpecting them; the neceſſary arrangements for removing infirm perſons, women, and children, and next to them ſuch articles of property as are moſt valuable; the precautions to be taken for deſtroying the remainder, and for obtaining, by previous eſtimates, agreeable to the proviſions of the act, ſome grounds by which the amount of compenſation to be made to owners of property ſo deſtroyed may be aſcertained; the ſeparate place of rendezvous to which every deſcription of perſons, whether connected with the armed force or otherwiſe, ſhould repair, on the ſignals of alarm being made; the arrangement of thoſe ſignals, &c.

No volunteer to be admitted into the armed aſſociation, whoſe habitual occupation and place of reſidence is not within the diviſion of the county to which the aſſociation may extend. Thoſe who prefer cavalry may be received into the neareſt troop, or formed in ſeparate troops, of not leſs than 40 or more than 80 men. The officers to be recommended by the lord-lieutenant, and entitled to yeomanry cavalry allowance and aſſiſtance. To be trained for ſix hours, once a week, and, in caſe of invaſion, ſerve within the military diſtrict to which they belong.

The armed infantry to conſiſt of companies, from 60 to 120 men, armed as the volunteer corps of towns, or a certain proportion with

pikes, with uniform clothing, or a fair allowance for the ſame, and to be commanded by proper officers, reſident and having not leſs than 50*l.* income in land within the county, or renting land in the ſame to the amount of 100*l.* The ſons of perſons ſo qualified, or perſons having previouſly held ſome military commiſſion, rendering them eligible for ſuch a ſituation, are exempted from theſe reſtrictions.—Perſons accuſtomed to military ſervice, on half pay or not, will be preferred, and allowed full pay. To be trained ſix hours once a week, and ſerve within the limits above.

Every man of the volunteer corps, who thinks proper to claim it, will be entitled to 1s. per week, paid by government. A depot for the arms to be provided at a ſafe place within the county. None but known and reſpectable houſekeepers, or perſons who can bring at leaſt two ſuch houſekeepers to anſwer for their good behaviour, will be admitted.

Mr. Dundas concludes by ſtrongly recommending to every deſcription of perſons, to lay aſide all untimely and miſplaced jealouſy reſpecting the military power, with which every arrangement muſt be concerted.

I have the honour to be, my lord,
Your lordſhip's moſt obedient
Humble ſervant,
(Signed) Henry Dundas.

Schedule, No. 1. contains columns for the total of men between the age of fifteen and ſixty. Infirm, or incapable of active ſervice. Serving in volunteer corps or armed aſſociations. Aliens. Quakers. Perſons who, from age, infancy, or other cauſe, may probably be incapable of removing themſelves.

Schedule, No. 2. contains columns of the oxen, cows, young cattle and colts. Sheep and goats. Pigs, horſes, waggons, carts, corn-mills. Quantity of corn they can grind in a week. Ovens. Amount of bread the ſame could bake in 24 hours. Quarters of wheat, oats, barley, beans and peaſe. Loads of hay and ſtraw. Sacks of potatoes. flour, or other meal. Quarters of malt.

Schedule, No. 3. refers to the returns to be made of the number of perſons between the ages of 15 and 60, willing to ſerve, and in what capacity; whether on horſeback or on foot. The cavalry to be armed with ſwords and piſtols. The infantry, with firelocks and pikes. To the number of perſons between the ages of 15 and 60, willing to act as pioneers or labourers. To the implements they can bring; ſuch as felling-axes, pick-axes, ſpades, ſhovels, bill-hooks, ſaws. To the number of perſons between the ages of 15 and 60, willing to act as ſervants with cattle. To the number of perſons between the ages of 15 and 60, willing to act as ſervants with teams. To the number of perſons between the ages of 15 and 60, willing to act as guides.

A Plan for driving the Live Stock off ſuch Parts of the Country as may become expoſed to the Inroads of the Enemy in caſe of an Invaſion, &c.

If an enemy ſhould land upon our ſhores, every poſſible exertion ſhould be made immediately to deprive him of the means of ſubſiſtence.

The navy will ſoon cut off his communication with the ſea; the army will confine him on ſhore in ſuch a way as to make it impoſſible for him to draw any ſupplies from the adjacent country. In this ſituation,

tion, he will be forced to lay down his arms, or to give battle on ſuch diſadvantageous terms, as can leave no doubt of his being defeated.

But if unforeen and improbable circumſtances ſhould enable him to make ſome progreſs at firſt, a ſteady perſeverance to the ſame ſyſtem will increaſe his difficulties at every ſtep; ſooner or later he muſt inevitably pay the forfeit of his temerity.

How much the accompliſhment of this object will be facilitated by driving away the live ſtock, and conſuming, or, in caſe of abſolute neceſſity, deſtroying all other means of ſubſiſtence, in thoſe parts of the country which may be in imminent danger of falling into his poſſeſſion, is too evident to need any diſcuſſion.

The only queſtion is, how to effect this purpoſe with the greateſt celerity and order, and with the leaſt poſſible injury to individuals. To this end, a well digeſted plan is obviouſly indiſpenſible.

In clearing the country likely to be in this ſituation, the firſt principle is an indemnification from the community at large to the individuals, for the value of all ſtock which may be removed in conſequence of invaſion, if not reſtored to the reſpective owners; as alſo for whatever moveable property may be deſtroyed by our own arms, to prevent its falling into the hands of the enemy, provided the proprietor comes forward and enters into ſuch arrangements as may be propoſed to preſerve it, either by perſonal attendance at the time, or otherwiſe, in ſome mode of ſervice, at the moment of invaſion. It muſt at the ſame time be very clearly underſtood, that no indemnification whatever can be allowed, for any property deſtroyed either by our own arms, or by the enemy, if it ſhould appear that no previous preparation or exertion had been made uſe of to remove it; and that all property left in this ſtate is to be deſtroyed, if neceſſary, to prevent its falling into the enemy's hands. Upon theſe grounds, the following preparatory arrangements are propoſed for immediate conſideration:

1ſt. The inhabitants of every pariſh, hundred, or other diviſion of the county, of convenient ſize, ſhould forthwith agree among themſelves, upon proper places of rendezvous, at which their cattle, waggons, and carts might be collected, in caſe of an order to drive the country, being received from the general commanding in the diſtrict, or any competent perſon authoriſed by him to give ſuch an order, or in caſe of any ſignal he or they may have appointed for this purpoſe being made; proper march-routs ſhould be fixed upon for driving them away to certain places of ſecurity in the interior of the country, taking care to chooſe bye-roads for that purpoſe; that the great turnpike-roads may remain entirely free for the marching of troops and artillery; and where it may be unavoidable to paſs over one or more of the great roads, it ſhould be done in ſuch a manner that they may only be croſſed, and occupied during the ſhorteſt ſpace of time poſſible. If a column of troops, artillery, or army ſupplies, ſhould happen to be moving on the great road at the place of croſſing, the ſtock may eaſily be ſtopped in its progreſs, until the military ſhall have paſſed the ſame; every arrangement for theſe purpoſes muſt be concerted with the general commanding in the diſtrict, or ſubmitted to his approbation.

To

To avoid loſs, confuſion, and delay in this operation, it will be neceſſary that the inhabitants of each pariſh or other diviſion, ſhould chooſe from among themſelves a ſufficient number of perſons to drive and attend the cattle, under the direction of one or more leaders, to be choſen by the proprietors, which leaders ſhould have authority and means given them, by the proprietors, to provide the neceſſary ſubſiſtence for the cattle, and perſons attending them, upon the road and at the places of ſecurity fixed upon, and to determine the places of halting and refreſhment during their march, and other arrangements of detail after their arrival. Such places as afford good water and plenty of paſture ſhould be preferred and pointed out by the civil authority of the county, for the depots, in concert with the general commanding the forces in the diſtrict, who is inſtructed to give every aſſiſtance and accommodation in his power, for the protection and ſubſiſtence of the cattle, and of the perſons attending the ſame.

It ſhould alſo be recommended to the proprietors to mark their cattle, not only with the initials of their names, but alſo to add ſome diſtinctive mark, common to the whole pariſh, that confuſion may be avoided, if the ſtock of ſeveral pariſhes ſhould come to join in one body.

2d. As it may be impoſſible for the inhabitants, in caſe of alarm, immediately to remove the more bulky articles of property, ſuch as grain, hay, and ſtraw, which nevertheleſs cannot be ſuffered to fall into the hands of the enemy, conſiſtently with the eſſential object of depriving him of all means of ſubſiſtence, it ſhould be recommended to them to appoint ſeveral diſcreet truſty perſons from among themſelves, to remain in the pariſh as long as the ſame ſhall not actually be in poſſeſſion of the enemy, or entirely cut off from the army. This arrangement will not only facilitate the means of ſupplying our own army with what muſt otherwiſe be deſtroyed, to prevent its falling into the hands of the enemy, but it will, in many inſtances alſo diminiſh the chance of loſs. Receipts will be given by the troops for all articles which may be taken for their uſe; on the production of which receipts the proprietors will afterwards be entitled to payment, at fair and reaſonable prices, according to regulations to be eſtabliſhed for that purpoſe. The perſons ſo named would point out the places where ſupplies are depoſited, and take the receipts of the troops in truſt for the abſent proprietors.

3d. Care ſhould be taken by the inhabitants of ſuch pariſhes as may be in imminent danger of falling into the hands of the enemy, that all mills and ovens be rendered uſeleſs to him, by carrying off or deſtroying ſome eſſential part of the machines of the former, which cannot eaſily be replaced, and by breaking the latter. In both caſes, that mode of derangement is the moſt eligible which, while it effectually anſwers the purpoſe, may afterwards be repaid at the ſmalleſt expence.*

4th. A corps of guides, not exceeding on horſeback and

* Breaking the upper millſtone and the crown of the oven are deemed the moſt effectual and leaſt expenſive modes of derangement.

on

on foot, conſiſting of thoſe who are beſt acquainted with the roads, lanes, foot-paths, bridges, creeks, rivers, fording-places, and other communications, in the ſeveral parts of the country, ſhould be ſelected in the maritime counties, and their names and places of abode be communicated to the general, commanding in the diſtrict to which ſuch counties reſpectively belong.

5th. The unarmed inhabitants will have an opportunity of rendering ſervices equally neceſſary and important, by forming themſelves into companies of pioneers, under the direction of leaders, to be appointed by the civil authority of the county.

A numerous body of pioneers is ſo eſſential to the movements of an army, and to the obſtruction of the progreſs of the enemy, that, it is intended, in caſe of their being called into actual ſervice, to make a competent daily allowance to all who may offer to come forward in the capacity of pioneers.

In that caſe, theſe pioneers ſhould, if poſſible, come provided with tools, of the following deſcription, *viz.* ſix pick-axes, ſix ſpades, ſix ſhovels, three bill-hooks, and four felling-axes, to every twenty-five men.

The duty of the pioneers will generally conſiſt in repairing and opening ſuch roads, bridges, and communications, as may facilitate the movements of our own army, and in breaking up or obſtructing ſuch as it may be neceſſary to render impaſſable to the enemy.

[Here follow the allowances to be made to the pioneers, and the forms of the papers to be ſubſcribed by thoſe who enter into the views of this plan.]

A Plan for the Aſſociation of the Nobility, Gentry, and Yeomanry, reſiding in the ſeveral Counties, to ſupply ſuch a Number of Waggons, Carts, and Horſes, in Aid of the Proviſions made by the Mutiny-Act, as may be neceſſary for carrying on his Majeſty's Service; as alſo to contribute to the Supply of his Majeſty's Forces, with Flour, Wheat, Oats, Hay, Straw, and Fuel, in caſe of an Invaſion.

The neceſſity of being prepared to repel an invaſion, in the preſent ſtate of public affairs, is too obvious to require diſcuſſion. The only queſtion is, how to form all neceſſary arrangements at the leaſt poſſible expence. The country abounds in ſupplies of all kinds, to a degree which renders the laying in of extenſive magazines unneceſſary. Small depots for a few days conſumption are ſufficient, provided means can be found to bring forward the reſources of the country at a ſhort notice. Depots of this deſcription have accordingly been formed at different places, purſuant to orders given by his royal highneſs field-marſhal the duke of York. The means of tranſporting them, and of obtaining and tranſporting ſuch farther quantities, as may be neceſſary, in caſes of emergency, remain to be deviſed. The eſtabliſhment of a waggon-train, of ſufficient force to ſupply an army, would entail a very heavy expence upon the public, and take away a very conſiderable number of horſes and men from the ordinary purſuits of agriculture. Both may be avoided by means equally ſimple and certain. The ſpirit of the country will do it moſt effectually; nor need that ſpirit

be

be waſted to the detriment of individuals; it need only be rouzed at the moment of actual danger, when all is at ſtake, when all muſt give way to the primary object of ſelf-preſervation.

Such of the nobility, gentry, and yeomanry of the county as may approve of the meaſure, ſhould be requeſted to ſubſcribe a paper, expreſſing, oppoſite to their names, the number of waggons and carts provided with tilts, and the number of horſes, drivers, and conductors, which they propoſe to furniſh reſpectively.

The waggons, carts, &c. ſubſcribed for, or ſuch part as may be required from time to time, ought to march as ſoon as poſſible, and, at lateſt, on the next morning after notice received to that effect.

The waggons, carts, &c. marching in conformity to ſuch notice, to continue at the diſpoſal and under the orders of the king's officers, as the ſervice may require.

The ſaid waggons and carts to travel at the rate of five miles in every two hours; twenty-five miles when loaded, and thirty miles when empty, in every twenty-four hours.

One or more diſcreet and intelligent perſons, beſides the drivers, ſhould accompany each detachment of ten waggons or carts, and upwards. Theſe perſons ſhould be ſtyled waggon-conductors, and their duty ſhould conſiſt in ſuperintending the drivers, that there may be regularity and diſpatch upon the road.

The commiſſary-general to pay to the perſons, who may be appointed agreeable to this and the ſecond article, for their trouble and expences at the following rates, *viz.*

For every empty waggon procured, in conſequence of notice given, 1*s.*; for every empty cart, 9*d.*; for every ſack of flour, of 280*lb.* nett, loaded agreeable to the twelfth article, 2*d.*; for every ſack of oats, of four buſhels, loaded as above, 1*d.*; for every ton of hay, ſtraw, or fuel, loaded as above, 20*d.*: but no charge to be made for procuring the waggons and carts reſpectively, unleſs they go empty.

A Plan for inſuring a regular Supply of Bread to his Majeſty's Forces, in caſe of an Invaſion.

The eſtabliſhment of flour magazines, and of a field-bakery, of ſufficient force to ſupply an army, would entail a very heavy expence upon the public, which can only be avoided by aſcertaining, under this head, the reſources of the country, and the means of bringing them forward, in caſe of emergency, without previouſly making any expenſive preparations. Returns have been procured of the bakers and ovens at moſt of the conſiderable places in ſeveral counties, from which it appears that they are capable, on any emergency, of baking for four times, nay, many of them ſix times, the number of their inhabitants and troops now in garriſon; and that, with the help of additional journeymen-bakers, they can ſupply double that quantity. All other counties may, without riſk of error, be ſuppoſed equally capable with thoſe above alluded to. Grain and mills abound every where. The reſult is, that an army of 30,000 men may, without difficulty, be ſupplied with bread, in any ſituation, at four or five days notice,

notice, and even two or three times that number, at a longer notice, provided ſuch preparatory arrangements are concerted with the millers and bakers as will enable the country to do juſtice to itſelf.

[Here follow directions to the miller or baker.]

General Orders iſſued by Sir Charles Grey.

Barham-Court, May 6.

General ſir Charles Grey, judging it neceſſary to announce to the troops he has the honour to command, in the ſouthern diſtrict, that, from the vicinity of the coaſts of Eſſex, Kent, and Suſſex, to that of France, and the very great preparations the enemy are ſaid to be making to carry their long-threatened invaſion of this kingdom into execution, which though he cannot bring himſelf to believe, from the impoſſibility of its ſucceſs, yet it is not impoſſible but they may be mad and deſperate enough to try the experiment, to make a little confuſion without a hope: he is therefore perſuaded of being more ſucceſsful, ſhould the daring attempt be made on the coaſts of the diſtrict, namely, Eſſex, Kent, and Suſſex, in which he is moſt immediately concerned; and he does not heſitate to ſay, that it is an event more deſirable than not, from the reception he is convinced they will meet from the troops under his command, ſeconded by the loyalty, zeal, and ſpirit, of all ranks of the community, in defence of their king and country, their lives and properties, deareſt intereſts and attachments; and, whom he doubts not, will, with the uſual ſpirit of Britons, unite hand and heart in repelling, and ſeverely chaſtiſing, the inſolent foe, who come for the declared purpoſe of ſtriking at their deareſt rights and privileges, by the overthrow of their happy conſtitution.

And although general ſir Charles Grey will pledge himſelf for the reſult being moſt brilliant, honourable, and glorious, for England, yet it would be unwiſe not to be prepared at all points, as we are; but, nevertheleſs, and to guard againſt accidents, the general apprizes the troops, that, in caſe a landing ſhould be made by the enemy, after eſcaping the vigilance of our well-conducted and numerous navy, to the eaſtward in Eſſex, or to the weſtward in Kent or Suſſex, and which are certainly more immediately threatened, it may be neceſſary to embark a part of the troops, to make a ſucceſsful landing behind the enemy, whilſt an army is acting on their front, in which ſituation their communication would be cut off; and their flanks and rear being acted upon, it would not be a conteſt of many hours duration, before the invaders would feel the fatal effects of their temerity, by being ignominiouſly driven back into the water, killed, or made priſoners.

In caſe of this event happening, and ſudden orders given for embarkation, general ſir Charles Grey poſitively orders, that every regiment and corps, of all deſcriptions, included in the orders for embarkation, leave the whole of their heavy baggage behind, under a proper guard, compoſed of the worſt and weakeſt men, commanded by an officer, the ſoldiers carrying only a change in neceſſaries, their blankets, haverſacks, and canteens;

and not one woman, on this occaſion, muſt accompany the ſoldiers. The officers commanding regiments and corps will ſee them, and be reſponſible for their being, ſtrictly complied with.

General ſir Charles Grey pledges himſelf that every attention ſhall be paid by him to the care of the ſoldiers wives, and in having them conveyed to their reſpective regiments ſhould their abſence be of any length, and they not return to the quarters from whence they embarked, which is by no means likely to happen, but, on the contrary they will quickly return.

The general is ſure that every thinking good ſoldier will readily ſee the convenience to themſelves, and propriety, of this order, and cheerfully ſubmit to a ſhort ſeparation.

(Signed) John Viſcher,
A.D.C.

Letters addreſſed by the Archbiſhop of Canterbury and the Biſhop of Rocheſter to their reſpective Clergy.

To the Reverend the Clergy of the Dioceſe and the Peculiars of the See of Canterbury.

April 29.

Reverend Brother,

In the preſent ſituation of the country, expecting, without undue alarm, but not without juſt anxiety, the appearance of a deſperate and malignant enemy on our coaſts; there is, perhaps, no circumſtance, ſingly taken, on which more may depend, with regard to the intereſts of religion, the credit of our order, and the public ſafety, than the diſcretion with which the conduct of the clergy ought to be diſtinguiſhed in theſe moments of general and neceſſary exertion; when all good men are called upon to come forward and to repel the attempts of an enemy, breathing revenge againſt this kingdom in general; revenge, not for wrongs on our part done, but for wrongs on their part by us reſiſted, and fraught, with particular malice, againſt our holy religion and its miniſters. Under this perſuaſion, I have thought it my duty to call a meeting of the biſhops, in order to conſider in what way the parochial clergy may moſt effectually promote the common cauſe without neglecting the proper duties of our holy calling, of which we never muſt loſe ſight, and leaſt of all in times of public danger.

The meeting conſiſted of the two archbiſhops and eleven biſhops, the occaſion being thought too preſſing to wait the arrival of others from the remote dioceſes. The two reſolutions which I now tranſmit to you were agreed upon unanimouſly. In them we warn you not to abandon the proper buſineſs of your profeſſion, in order to take up the ſoldier's occupation, in which your actual ſervice can be but very limited, and, at laſt, may not be wanted. We aſſure ourſelves you will, in all circumſtances, naturally wiſh to make your exertions in thoſe ſervices of which you feel yourſelves the moſt capable; and thoſe will generally be ſuch as will the leaſt interfere with your ſacred functions. But, if the danger ſhould be realized, and the enemy ſet his foot upon our ſhores, our hand, with that of every man, muſt, in every way, be againſt thoſe who come for purpoſes of rapine and deſolation, the avowed champions

champions of anarchy and irreligion, defying the living God. We are the ſervants of God; and God's ſervants in God's cauſe muſt take an equal ſhare with their fellow-ſubjects, in ſuch an emergency, againſt the blaſphemers of his holy name. But one ſervice in particular, amongſt many others, for which the country, amidſt the din of arms, will naturally look to the wiſdom and piety of the clergy, will be, that, by your perſuaſion, your exhortations, and your good example, you will be the inſtruments of maintaining internal harmony and ſubordination, in a criſis when harmony and ſubordination, even with the beſt general diſpoſition of the people, are moſt difficult to be maintained.

I commend you to God's high and holy protection, with good hope and confidence of your diſcretion and zeal in this time of trial.

I am, your affectionate brother,

J. Cantuar.

April 28. At a meeting of the two archbiſhops and eleven biſhops, on this day, the following reſolutions were paſſed unanimouſly;

"Reſolved, That it would not conduce, in any conſiderable degree, to the defence and ſafety of the kingdom, and would interfere with the proper duties of the profeſſion, if the clergy were to accept commiſſions in the army, be enrolled in any military corps, or be trained to the uſe of arms.

"Reſolved farther, That, in the caſe of actual invaſion, or dangerous inſurrection, it will be the duty of every clergyman to give his aſſiſtance in repelling both, in any way that the urgency of the caſe may require."

Weſtminſter, May 1.

Rev. Brother,

I have obſerved, with much ſatisfaction, the zeal which is diſplayed by the clergy of my dioceſe, in common with our brethren in all parts of the kingdom, to take an active part in defence of the country, againſt an enemy who threatens to come with a prodigious army, to depoſe our king, to plunder our property, to enſlave our perſons, and to overturn our altars; inſtigated, in addition to the common motives of ambition and revenge, which have ordinarily inflamed the animoſities of contending nations, by that deſperate malignity againſt the faith he has abandoned, which, in all ages, has marked the horrible character of the vile apoſtate. The readineſs of the clergy, to unite in the defence of objects ſo dear to all, againſt ſuch a foe, is highly laudable, and conſiſtent with that character of rational piety, which hath ever diſtinguiſhed the true ſons of the church of England.

It is, however, to be remembered, that the offices of religion never are of more importance, than in times of public danger; when our people moſt need the conſolations of religion and the advice of their paſtors; and when our prayers for God's merciful protection of our country ſhould be offered up with unremitted aſſiduity and redoubled ardour. It becomes, therefore, a queſtion of conſiderable importance, in what manner the parochial clergy may, with propriety, co-operate with the preparations, at this time carried on, for the reception of the enemy. It is certain, that no claſs of men in the community is more deeply intereſted in the common cauſe, and, upon that account, they may be expected

pected to take a principal share, either of toil or danger; yet they must not abandon the regular exercise of their sacred function, unless they should be driven from their stations (which God avert!) by hostile force; and there are various ways, in which, without interruption of their ordinary duties, the clergy may render the most essential service to their country.

Our venerable primate, the lord archbishop of Canterbury, with that vigilant attention to the interests of religion and of the established church, which hath ever been conspicuous in his conduct, no less than it belongs to his station, conceiving that the clergy of the whole kingdom, in this difficult and momentous crisis, might expect and need the counsel of their dioceſans, hath thought good to assemble the bishops, to take the matter into their serious consideration. The meeting held the 28th ult. was numerous; and, upon the most mature deliberation, we agreed unanimously in two resolutions, which I transmit to you *verbatim*.

These two resolutions contain, as is conceived, the best general principles for the regulation of the conduct of the parochial clergy, in the present stage, and in the probable progress, of the public danger. On the one hand, the disorders and scandals that would arise, if the clergy in general were to accept military commissions, or submit to be drilled in the ranks, are too numerous and too obvious to be mentioned. On the other hand, in the case of actual invasion or treasonable insurrection, it will be a duty of indispensible obligation upon every clergyman to give his utmost assistance, in the resistance and annoyance of the foreign invader, or domestic traitor, in that particular way, in which, from local or other circumstances, his services may be the most effectual. Upon this point I mean to speak out my mind very plainly; and I desire to be clearly and fully understood.

Wars and fightings unquestionably have their origin in the bad passions of men.* Nevertheless, the world being as it is, it must needs be that wars and fightings, with other offences, come. War, therefore, in the general, is to be reckoned among the sinful practices of mankind: but, in every individual instance, the guilt lies principally at the aggressor's door,—"woe to him by whom the offence cometh;" and it is little else than a calumny upon the Christian religion, to pretend, as some have pretended, that defensive war is either contrary to the general spirit of the morality of the Gospel, or forbidden by any particular precept, or discouraged by the example of the first Christians. The notorious fact is, that they scrupled not to serve in the armies even of their Heathen sovereigns. It would be still more injurious to the Gospel to maintain, that foreign attack, or domestic treason, are of the sort of ill usage which Christians, either laity or clergy, are commanded not to oppose by force. It is true, that, even under the urgency of that extreme necessity of invasion or insurrection, there will be many ways in which a clergyman may be useful, besides that of actual military service: in directing, for instance, and superintending the removal of the women and children, and of the old and infirm, to places of safety; in advising the method and pointing the route

* St. James, iv. 1.

route of driving off the live-ſtock; in overſeeing the deſtruction of ſuch things as cannot be removed, and would be ſerviceable to the enemy if they were left to fall into their hands; and in many other very important, though indirect and collateral, operations of defence, which it is impoſſible to enumerate. Many of theſe ſervices are of a kind to be better performed by a clergyman, than by another perſon, who, from the ordinary habits of his life, may be likely to be more uſeful, than the clergyman would be, in the field. Whenever this moment of jeopardy and peril ſhall arrive, every clergyman muſt judge for himſelf, in what way he may be moſt uſeful, according to the circumſtances in which he may be placed. Of different ways of being uſeful, actual fight will often be the laſt that he will chooſe: not from any ſuperſtitious apprehenſion, that to mingle in the combat would, in ſuch circumſtances, and at ſuch a ſeaſon, derogate from his character; much leſs from a daſtardly concern for his own perſonal ſafety; but becauſe battle is the particular ſervice, for which, in moſt caſes, he will be the leaſt qualified, and in which, of conſequence, he would be of the leaſt uſe. When the caſe ſhall be otherwiſe, as often no doubt it will, he muſt not, with a ſafe conſcience he cannot, decline his ſhare in the common danger. But the particular rules of his conduct he muſt take from the occaſion itſelf, when it arrives. It is impoſſible beforehand to lay down any other than this moſt general rule: that his country, in that criſis, will have a right to his beſt ſervices, in any and in every way, even if the beſt ſervice to be performed by him ſhould be (as in many inſtances it will happen) to level the muſquet, or trail the pike. Nor let him fear, that the ſanctity of his character ſhall contract aught of ſtain, even in the mortal ſtriſe againſt the enemies of his king and of his God. Gird yourſelves, therefore, without ſcruple for the battle, in this holy cauſe, when the occaſion ſhall call, nothing doubting, but that the God, whom we ſerve, and our enemies defy, will teach the hands of his ſervants to war, and their fingers to fight. Offering our earneſt prayers to God, to give us all grace, in the hour of trial, which ſeems to be coming upon the Chriſtian world, to hold faſt the profeſſion of our faith without wavering, and to do and ſuffer valiantly whatever we may be ordained to do and ſuffer for his ſake; we remain, your loving brother,

Samuel Roſſens.

Public Acts paſſed in the Second Seſſion of the Eighteenth Parliament of Great Britain.

December 30, 1797.

Act for raiſing a certain ſum of money by loans on exchequer-bills for the ſervice of the year 1798.

For continuing the additional duties on diſtilleries in the highlands of Scotland.

For the regulation of his majeſty's marine forces when on ſhore.

For regulating the exportation and carrying coaſtwiſe of wheat and rye, &c.

To continue the act relating to the admiſſion of certain articles of merchandize in neutral ſhips, and for making regulations reſpecting

the trade to and from the Cape of Good Hope.

Annual indemnity act for perſons holding places and neglecting to qualify.

Act to enlarge the time for raiſing a militia in Scotland.

Jan. 12, 1798.

Act for granting to his majeſty an aid and contribution for the proſecuting of the war.

For allowing a certain proportion of the militia to enliſt into his majeſty's other forces.

Feb. 20.

Act to enable his majeſty to order out a certain proportion of ſupplementary militia, and to provide for the neceſſary augmentation of men in the ſeveral companies of militia, by incorporating the ſupplementary militia therewith.

March 9.

Act for raiſing a farther ſum of money by loans or exchequer-bills for the ſervice of the year 1798.

The mutiny-act.

For repealing the duties on gold and ſilver watch-caſes.

To permit the importation of ſalt from Portugal in neutral ſhips.

For rectifying miſtakes in the land-tax act.

April 5.

Act for reviving and continuing the duties on diſtilleries in the highlands of Scotland.

For providing for the defence of the realm, and for indemnifying perſons who may ſuffer in their property by ſuch meaſures as may be neceſſary for that purpoſe.

For diſallowing the bounty on ſail-cloth or canvas, the manufacture of Great Britain, exported to Ireland.

To continue the laws reſpecting the bounties on Britiſh and Iriſh linens, and for regulating the duties on tobacco-pipe clay, rape-ſeed, Greenland fiſheries, manufactures of flax and cotton, &c.

For reviving an act, authorizing his majeſty to permit the exportation of wheat, &c. to Guernſey, Jerſey, and Alderney.

To prevent, during the war, perſons reſiding in Great Britain from advancing money or effects for the purchaſe, or on the credit of debts owing to the government of the United Provinces, without licence, and for extending the act to prevent traitorous correſpondence with the ſaid provinces.

For the regulation of quarantine, and goods removed from one ſhip to another.

For increaſing the rates of ſubſiſtence to be paid by inn-keepers, and others, on quartering ſoldiers.

April 21.

Act to empower his majeſty to ſecure and detain ſuch perſons as are ſuſpected of conſpiring againſt his perſon and government.

May 7.

Act for raiſing the ſum of 17,000,000*l.* by way of annuities.

For enlarging the time of appealing in prize-cauſes.

For amending the act relative to the importation and exportation of certain goods in Jamaica, Grenada, Dominica, and New Providence.

May 10.

For granting additional duties on ſalt.

For granting additional duties of exciſe on tea.

For repealing the duties on houſes, windows and lights, inhabited houſes, clocks and watches, and granting other duties on all theſe, except clocks and watches.

For

For repealing the duties upon male ſervants, carriages, &c. and granting other duties in lieu of the ſame.

To prevent commercial connection with Switzerland, without licence.

To enable his majeſty to call out a part of the militia of Scotland.

May 26.

Act for altering and amending the land-tax act, as far as relates to the qualifications of commiſſioners.

For more effectually and ſpeedily manning the navy.

June 1.

Act to continue the alien-act.

To regulate the trial of cauſes, indictments, and other proceedings, within the counties of certain cities and towns corporate.

For authorizing the billetting of ſuch troops of yeomanry cavalry as may be deſirous of aſſembling for the purpoſe of being trained together, and for exempting from the payment of certain duties perſons providing horſes for the ſaid yeomanry cavalry.

June 21.

Act for the redemption of the land-tax.

For raiſing money by lottery.

For a duty on armorial bearings.

For regulating the duties on ſpices.

For enabling his majeſty to accept the ſervices of ſuch militia as may offer to ſerve in Ireland.

For regulating the drawbacks and bounty on ſugar.

To amend the laws of exciſe relating to coach-makers, auctioneers, beer, cider, and certain ſtamps on hides and ſkins, drawbacks on wine and ſweets.

To revive and continue the act which prohibits the importation of light ſilver coin of this realm from foreign countries into Great Britain and Ireland.

For allowing gold wares to be manufactured at a ſtandard lower than is now allowed by law.

To prevent the exportation of baſe coin to the Weſt Indies.

For defraying the charge of the pay and clothing of the militia of England.

To continue the act for the more effectual encouragement of the Britiſh fiſheries.

For amending an act to prevent frauds in weighing and packing butter.

For amending an act for the due making of bread, and to regulate the aſſize thereof in the city and liberties, and within ten miles of the Royal Exchange.

For preventing the depaſturing of foreſts, commons, and open fields, with ſheep infected with the ſcab or mange.

June 28.

Act for the better protection of the trade of the kingdom, and for granting additional duties of cuſtoms.

For raiſing an additional ſum of money by loans or exchequer-bills.

To authorize exchequer-bills to be iſſued on the credit of the loan of 17 millions.

To enable the lords of the treaſury to iſſue exchequer-bills on the credit of the money raiſed by contribution.

For regulating the ſalt-duties.

For the better execution of the act granting his majeſty an aid and contribution for the proſecution of the war.

For extending the duties of vellum, parchment, and paper ſtamps, to all other materials.

For abolishing certain offices in the customs.

For preventing the mischiefs arising from the printing and publishing newspapers, and papers of a like nature, by persons not known, and for regulating the printing, &c. of such papers in other respects.

To prevent his majesty's subjects from going to, or remaining in, France, or carrying on correspondence there.

To amend the act respecting aliens.

For regulating the shipping, and carrying of slaves in British vessels from Africa.

June 29.

For raising the sum of three millions by loans or exchequer-bills.

For reviving and continuing the duties on distilleries in the highlands of Scotland, until April 10, 1799.

For ascertaining the duty payable on taxed carts.

For the regulation of the provisional cavalry.

A GENERAL

A GENERAL BILL

OF

CHRISTENINGS AND BURIALS,

From DECEMBER 12, 1797, to DECEMBER 11, 1798.

Christened { Males 9497 / Females 8430 } 17927. Buried { Males 8964 / Females 9191 } 18155.

Increaſed in the burials this year 228.

Died under 2 years - 5728	30 and 40 - 1678	70 and 80 - 919	102 - 1
Between 2 and 5 - 2189	40 and 50 - 1732	80 and 90 - 353	105 - 1
5 and 10 - 802	50 and 60 - 1566	90 and 100 - 41	108 - 1
10 and 20 - 573	60 and 70 - 1292	100 - - - - 0	117 - 1
20 and 30 - 1280			

DISEASES.							
Abortive and ſtill born	594	Dropſy	784	Palpitation of the heart	1	Burnt	19
Abſceſs	26	Dropſy on the brain	c	Palſy	86	Dropped down dead	0
Aged	1117	Evil	4	Pleuriſy	15	Drowned	103
Ague	8	Falling ſickneſs		Quinſy	5	Exceſſive drinking	5
Amputation		Fevers of all kinds	1754	Rheumatiſm	3	Executed*	8
Apoplexy and ſuddenly	224	Fiſtula	3	Rickets	1	Found dead	11
Aſthma and Phthiſic	421	Flux	12	Scurvy	4	Fractured	1
Bedridden	2	French pox	39	Small pox	2237	Frighted	0
Bleeding	22	Gout	111	Sore throat	12	Frozen	0
Brain-fever		Gravel, ſtone, and ſtrangury	16	Sores and ulcers	11	Killed by falls and ſeveral other accidents	52
Burſten and rupture	18	Grief	7	Spaſm	1	Killed by a cow	0
Cancer	71	Head-ach	c	St. Anthony's fire	4	Killed by fighting	0
Childbed	144	Headmouldſhot, horſe ſhoehead, and water in the head	67	Stoppage in the ſtomach	4	Killed themſelves	27
Colds	4	Jaundice	69	Swelling		Murdered	3
Colick, gripes, and twiſting of the guts	13	Jaw locked	2	Swine pox		Poiſoned	3
Conſumption	4533	Inflammation	384	Teeth	370	Scalded	6
Convulſions	3663	Influenza	c	Thruſh	49	Shot	2
Cough and hooping-cough	418	Itch	1	Tumor in the womb	0	Smothered	1
Croup	14	Lethargy	1	Vomiting and looſeneſs		Starved	0
Diabetes	1	Livergrown	7	Worms	8	Sprain	0
		Lunatic	83			Strangled	0
		Meaſles	196	CASUALTIES.		Suffocated	2
		Miſcarriage	2	Bit by a mad dog	0	Tooth-ach	0
		Mortification	262	Broken limbs	1	Total	274
				Bruiſed	3		

* There have been executed, in Middleſex and Surrey, 245; of which number 8 only have been reported to be buried (as ſuch) within the bills of mortality.

AVERAGE PRICES OF CORN FOR 1798.

	Wheat.		Barley.		Oats.		Beans.	
	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.
January	6	4	3	7	2	2	3	7
February	6	2	3	5	2	1	3	5
March	6	3	3	4	2	1	3	4
April	6	5	3	6	2	4	3	5
May	6	5	3	8	2	6	3	7
June	6	4	3	8	2	8	3	8
July	6	4	3	8	2	10	3	10
August	6	4	3	5	2	10	3	11
September	6	2	3	9	2	7	3	11
October	6	2	3	8	2	5	3	11
November	5	11	3	7	2	5	3	11
December	6	0	3	8	2	5	4	0
General Average	6	2½	3	7	2	5	3	9

METEOROLOGICAL TABLE FOR 1798.

	Thermometer.			*Barometer.*			*Hygrometer.*			
	Greatest Height.	Least Height.	Mean Height.	Greatest Height.	Least Height.	Mean Height.	Greatest Height.	Least Height.	Mean Height.	*Rain.*
	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Inches.	Inches.	Inches.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Inches
January	53	29	40,1	30,52	28,96	29,94	90	73	82,8	1,105
February	54	24	40,1	30,76	29,23	30,11	90	71	82,8	0,693
March	58	30	42,9	30,37	29,18	29,93	90	68	79,8	0,333
April	69	31	52,7	30,38	29,27	29,96				0,517
May	75	46	57,3	30,44	29,11	30,00	69	30	51,4	1,621
June	86	51	64,8	30,42	29,65	30,07	69	32	50,1	0,960
July	76	54	64,4	30,17	29,36	29,80	74	38	55,8	2,879
August	82	55	63,9	30,35	29,70	30,09	70	41		1,525
Sept.	76	45	59,2	30,26	28,97	29,78	73	37		2,437
October	63	33	52,4	30,39	29,16	29,90	82	45		3,428
Nov.	60	25	42,4	30,27	28,69	29,58	93	57		3,056
Dec.	50	14	35,5	30,58	29,27	29,90	95	53		0,857
Whole Year			51,10			29,92				19,411

PRICES

PRICES OF STOCK FOR THE YEAR 1798.

PRICES OF STOCK FOR THE YEAR 1798.

N. B. The highest and lowest Prices of each Stock in the Course of any Month are put down in that Month.

1798.	Bank Stock.	3 per c. red.	3 do. conf.	4 per c. con.	5p.ct. Navy.	5 per cent.	Long ann.	Short ann.	India Bonds	India Stock.	Old ann.	New ann.	S. Sea Stock	Irish 5p ct.	Imp. 3 p.ct.	Imp. ann.	Omn.	New Loan.	Eng. Lot. Tickets.	Irish Pr. 2d. ditto.
Jan.	119½	48⅞	49⅝	59¾	69⅞	72¾	13½	6½	8 dif.	151¾	48¼	48	52½	59¼	45⅛	9⅜	—	—	11 17 0	86¼
	118	48	47¼	59¼	69⅜	70⅛	13⅜	6⅜	18	145	48⅛	47⅝	51¼		44	9¼	—	—	11 12 0	86
Feb.	122¾	50½	49⅞	61⅜	71⅞	73	14⅛	6⅝	par.	149	48¼	—	53½	61½	46¾	9¾	—	—	12 14 6	—
	119	48½	47¾	59¼	69¾	70¼	13¾	6⅜	3 dif.	144¾	48	—	52⅝	59½	44½	9⅛	—	—	11 18 6	—
Mar.	125	50¼	51	63¼	74¾	73⅛	14	6½	2 pr.	149	—	49¾	54¼	—	48	10	—	—	17 7 0	—
	121¼	49⅞	49⅜	61	72	—	—	6⅝	1 dif.	148½	—	49⅝	53½	—	46½	9¼	—	—	12 5 0	—
Apr.	122	47½	49⅞	60½	73¾	71	13¼	6⅜	1 dif.	149¼	48¾	49½	52⅝	59¾	46⅜	10	—	—	13 0 0	7 7 *
	116¼	47¼	48	58½	71⅜	69⅞	13⅛	6	20	147½	47⅛		52¼	57¼	46	9⅞	—	—	16 0 0	7 3 0
May	119¼	47⅝	49¼	60⅛	75¼	73¼	13¾	6⅜	—	149½	—	48¼	51¼	62½	45	9⅝	—	—	13 10 0	7 7 0
	116½	47⅛	48⅜	58⅞	72	70¼	13⅛	6	—	148½	—		51¼	60¼	44⅞		—	—	12 19 0	7 6 0
June	119	48	49½	61¼	76¼	74¼	13½	6⅜	—	150½	—	48¾	51¾	63½	44⅞	10	2 pr.	—	13 5 0	7 8 0
	118½	47½	49⅛	61	75¾	73⅛	13⅜	6⅛	—	148½	—			61¼	44½	9¾	1¼	—	13 4 0	7 6 0
July	125¾	49¼	50	63⅞	75½	76⅜	14¼	6½	—	150½	—	48¼	53¼	69	46¼	10⅛	3½	—	13 5 0	8 0 0
	119¼	47⅝	49	61¼	74¼	73¼	13¼	6¼	—	144½	—	48⅛	48¼	63	44½	9⅜	1¼	—	13 4 0	7 12 0
Aug.	132	51⅛	50¼	66½	78	79⅛	15	6⅞	2 pr.	152¼	50¼	48¼	55	73½	48⅜	10⅞	7¼	—	13 5 0	21 0 0
	124¼	48¼	48¼	63½	75⅛	76⅝	14¼	6½	1	146	50⅛	48¼		68½	46¼	10⅛	2¾	—	13 4 0	7 5 0
Sept.	131¾	50½	50¾	65	79⅞	78¼	14⅞	6¼	2	150¼	—	—	—	72	48½	10¾	7¼	—	13 5 0	7 8 0
	129½	—	49⅞	—	77¼	78⅛	—	—	1 dif.	147¼	—	—	—	71⅜	48⅛	10¼	5⅜	—		7 5 0
Oct.	139	56	56½	70	85¼	83	16½	6⅝	—	163½	—	51¼	57½	74	56	11	19¾	—	13 17 0	7 16 0
	130½	52¼	50½	66½	79¼	80¾	15⅛	6¼	—	150¼	—		55¼	70½	49	10⅛	7½	—	13 5 0	7 8 0
Nov.	141¼	56¾	57⅜	71⅛	87	84½	16½	6⅞	—	171⅜	—	53⅜	58⅞	77¼	49⅛	10⅜	20	—	13 15 0	8 5 0
	132	51⅞	52⅛	61⅛	80½	78½	14½	6	—	160	—			74¼			18½	—	13 12 0	7 16 0
Dec.	138½	54⅞	56	68	83¼	83	15⅛	6⅜	—	167½	—	—	—	76½	52½	10⅞	—	½ pr.	13 16 0	—
	132½	52	52⅛	64⅞	81⅞	79⅛	14¼	6⅛	—	160½	—	—	—	74¼	49⅛	10⅛	—	½ dif.		—

* New Lottery.

Statement of the Amount, Value, and Intereſt, of the National Funded Debt, on the 31ſt Day of December, 1798.

Capital.					Value at eſtimated prices.			Intereſt per annum.			Intereſt and management.		
L.	*s.*	*d*			*L.*	*s.*	*d.*	*L.*	*s.*	*d.*	*L.*	*s.*	*d.*
235,241,668	10	5½	3 per cent. conſolidated-annuities eſtimated at the price of . . .	55 per cent.	129,382,917	13	9	7,057,250	1	1	7,163,108	16	1
63,649,698	16	4	3 per cent. reduced annuities at	55	35,007,334	7	0	1,909,490	19	3	1,938,133	6	6
45,269,293	11	6	4 per cent. conſolidated-annuities	67	30,330,426	13	10	1,810,771	14	10	1,831,142	18	5
28,114,922	7	3	5 per cent. navy-annuities	83	23,335,385	11	2	1,405,746	2	4	1,418,397	16	7
20,165,962	10	0	5 per cent. annuities, 1797	83	16,737,748	17	6	1,008,298	2	6	1,017,372	16	1
1,000,000	0	0	3 per cent. annuities, 1726	55	550,000	0	0	30,000	0	0	30,450	0	0
			Long-annuities to expire, Jan. 5, 1860	at 15½ years purchaſe on amount	15,769,792	7	1	1,017,405	19	2	1,028,851	15	6
			Short-annuities to expire, Jan. 5, 1808	at 6¼ years purchaſe on amount	2,614,581	10	9	418,333	0	11	422,881	15	5
3,662,784	8	6*	South-Sea Stock	55 per cent.	2,014,531	8	8	109,883	10	8			
11,908,470	2	7	Ditto old 3 per cent. annuities	55	6,549,108	11	5	357,224	2	1	735,974	14	0
8,494,830	2	10	Ditto new 3 per cent. annuities	55	4,672,156	11	6	254,841	18	1			
1,919,600	0	0	Ditto 3 per cent. annuities, 1751,	55	1,055,780	0	0	57,588	0	0	58,667	15	6

Imperial Stock, for which the country is

			Imperial Stock, for which the country is ſecurity to the ſubſcribers.							
7,502,633	6	8	Imperial 3 per cent. annuities, at 53 percent.	3,976395,	13	4	225,097	0	0	228,455	2	6
			Imperial annuities to expire May 1, 1819 } at 11 years purchaſe on amount }	2,580,000	0	0	230,000	0	0	232,587	10	0
426,928,863	16	1	Capital of the national funded debt, excluſive of the long, ſhort, and imperial expirable annuities.									
20,914,373	17	10	Capital of theſe annuities taken at their eſtimated value, as above.									
447,843,237	13	11	Capital of the national funded debt, including the long, ſhort, and imperial expirable annuities.									
3,000,000	0	0	To be added for the loan of December, 1798	3,000,000	0	0						
			Intereſt on the loan, eſtimated at 5*l.* 9*s.* 6*d.* per cent.				164,250	0	0	166,780	18	3
450,843,237	13	11†	Total amount of the national funded debt.									
			Total value at eſtimated prices	277,526,159	6	0						
			Total amount of intereſt of national funded debt and expence of management }				16,056,165	10	11	16,272,805	4	10

* Though the government only pays 3 per cent. intereſt on this ſtock, the South-Sea Company pays the proprietors 3½ per cent.

† In the above eſtimate of the funded debt, the Iriſh annuities are not included, the Iriſh government being ſecurity for them. The following annuities are alſo omitted:

£. 76,322	11	6	Exchequer-annuities, expiring in 1803, 1805, 1806, and 1807.
54,460	8	7	Annuities on ſingle lives.
540	0	0	Tontine annuities of 1765.
18,180	3	11	Ditto . . . . 1789.

None of theſe being regularly at market, it is difficult to fix their value; and it is not material to the plan of paying off the debt that they ſhould be included in it, no more than the debt due from government to the bank of £. 11,686,800, which is not contemplated to diſcharge; nor than the floating debt in exchequer-bills, which are ſuppoſed to be about £. 5,000,000; but, as they are receivable in all branches of the public revenue, the actual amount in the poſſeſſion of individuals cannot eaſily be correctly aſcertained. Theſe, with other deſcriptions of floating debt, would eaſily be provided for by the fund hereafter propoſed to be left to keep down any future debt, after the preſent funded debt ſhall be paid off.

SUPPLIES granted by Parliament for the Year 1798.

NAVY.

	£	s.	d.
November 16, 1797.			
That 110,000 ſeamen be employed, including 20,000 marines.			
For wages for ditto	2,643,500	0	0
For victuals for ditto	2,717,000	0	0
For wear and tear of ſhips in which they are to ſerve,	4,290,000	0	0
For ordnance ſea-ſervice on board ſuch ſhips	357,500	0	0
For the expence of the tranſport-ſerviee, and for the maintenance of priſoners of war in health	1,200,000	0	0
November 20.			
For the ordinary of the navy, including half-pay to ſea and marine officers	689,858	19	7
For buildings and repairs of ſhips, and other extra works	639,530	0	0
April 24, 1798.			
That 10,000 additional ſeamen be employed.			
The ſum for maintaining them, including ordnance for ſea-ſervice	910,000	0	0
	£ 13,449,388	19	7

ARMY.

November 21, 1797.			
That 48,609 men be employed for land-ſervice, including 5,766 invalids.			
For guards, garriſons, and other land-forces, in Great Britain, Jerſey, and Guernſey	1,699,450	7	3
For forces in the plantations, including Gibralter, Portugal, the Cape of Good Hope, and New South Wales	1,025,536	16	6
For difference between the Britiſh and Iriſh pay of ſix regiments of foot for ſervice abroad	78,226	4	3

For

	£	s.	d.
For four troops of dragoons, and fifteen companies of foot, ſtationed in Great Britain, for recruiting regiments ſerving in Eaſt India	20,244	0	1
For recruiting and contingences for land-forces, and extra feed for the cavalry	180,000	0	0
For general and ſtaff-officers, and officers of hoſpitals	89,723	19	3
For full pay to ſupernumerary officers	33,463	13	10
For allowances to the paymaſter-general of the forces, commiſſary-general of the muſters, &c. &c.	108,582	14	10
For the increaſed rates of ſubſiſtence to be paid to innkeepers, and others, on quartering ſoldiers	140,000	0	0
For reduced officers of land-forces and marines	163,874	16	8
For allowances to reduced horſe guards	125	3	4
On account of officers late in the ſervice of the ſtates-general	1,000	0	0
Ditto - - - of reduced officers of Britiſh American forces	52,500	0	0
For allowances to ſeveral reduced officers of ditto	7,500	0	0
April 24, 1798.			
To defray the extraordinary expences of the army, from 25th December, 1796, to 24th December, 1797	1,351,391	19	3
April 26.			
For the out-penſioners of Chelſea-hoſpital	116,167	4	3
For the in-penſioners of ditto, and the expences of the hoſpital	26,547	17	6
For penſions to widows and commiſſioned officers	12,954	15	3
For expences incurred, or expected to be incurred, in the barrack-maſter-general's department	520,717	0	0
For foreign corps in the ſervice of Great Britain	226,083	11	3
Towards defraying the extraordinary ſervices of the army, for 1798	3,200,000	0	0
	£ 9,054,090	6	8

MILITIA AND FENCIBLE CORPS.

November 21, 1797.			
For the embodied militia in South Britain, and corps of fencible infantry, in Great Britain, Jerſey, Guernſey, and the iſlands of Scilly and Man	1,417,179	10	5
For contingences for ditto	40,000	0	0
For clothing for the embodied militia	116,267	3	9
For corps of fencible cavalry	404,570	4	1
For extra feed for ditto	25,000	0	0

	£.	s.	d.
March 1, 1798.			
Making provision for pay and clothing of the militia.			
April 26.			
For the embodied supplementary militia	1,315,708	0	0
For the embodied provisional cavalry	130,000	0	0
For the volunteer corps	350,000	0	0
May 12.			
Making provision for pay and clothing of the militia.			
Ditto - - - - - for allowances to subaltern officers of the militia, in time of peace			
£	3,798,724	18	3

ORDNANCE.

November 21, 1797.			
For ordnance land-service, for 1798	1,073,885	13	9
Ditto, not provided for in 1796	5,726	9	2
Ditto, sea-service; not provided for in 1796	114,855	8	6
Ditto, land-service, not provided for in 1797	96,571	4	10
February 19, 1798.			
To make compensation for lands, &c. purchased for securing batteries, and other works, in Kent and Devon, pursuant to Act 34, Geo. III.	10,587	17	11
Ditto, for the loss sustained by the owners or occupiers of lands in Kent, in consequence of the above Act	1,953	11	11
£	1,303,580	6	1

MISCELLANEOUS SERVICES.

November 23, 1797.				
Plantations.	For the civil establishment of Upper Canada	7,150	0	0
	Ditto of Nova Scotia	5,915	0	0
	Ditto of New Brunswick	4,550	0	0
	Ditto of St. John's Island	1,900	0	0
	Ditto of the Island of Cape Breton	1,840	0	0
	Ditto of Newfoundland	1,232	10	0
	Ditto of the Bahama Islands	4,100	0	0
	Ditto of the Bermuda, or Somers Islands	580	0	0
	Ditto of the Island of Dominica	602	0	0
	Ditto of New South Wales	6,157	2	0

For

	£	s.	d.
For relief of the ſuffering clergy and laity of France	168,000	0	0
For penſions and allowances to American loyaliſts	44,000	0	0
For his majeſty's ſecret ſervice abroad	150,000	0	0
For diſcharging bills drawn, or to be drawn, from the ſettlement at New South Wales	36,000	0	0
For defraying the expences of convicts at home	33,325	17	3
For repairs of the pier and light-houſe at Douglas harbour, in the Iſle of Man	2,500	0	0
March 6, 1798.			
For the board of agriculture	3,000	0	0
April 24.			
For relief to American and Eaſt Florida Sufferers, purſuant to Act 30 Geo. III.	49,978	7	6
For ſupporting the Britiſh forts and ſettlements on the coaſt of Africa	13,000	0	0
For aſſiſting the Levant company in carrying on their Trade	10,000	0	0
Towards enabling the truſtees of the Britiſh Muſeum to carry on the execution of the truſts repoſed in them	3,000	0	0
For printing the journals, &c. of the houſe of commons,	7,000	0	0
For diſcharging the balance due on account of expences of the mint	13,250	18	0
For defraying extraordinary expences incurred for proſecutions relating to the coin	2,024	0	9
Towards defraying the charge of the ſuperintendence of the alien-act	2,600	0	0
For work done at Somerſet-place, and for repairs immediately neceſſary to be performed there	15,000	0	0
To make good money iſſued, purſuant to addreſſes	10,043	6	4
Ditto, for ſecret ſervice abroad, above the ſum granted in the laſt ſeſſion	38,222	7	6
Ditto, for relief of the ſuffering clergy and laity of France, ditto	12,677	12	1
Ditto, for expences ariſen from the execution of the alien-act, ditto	1,000	0	0
Ditto, to pay bills drawn from the ſettlement at New South Wales, which became due in 1797, being the exceſs of the ſum granted by parliament	17,073	1	5
Ditto, for expences in ventilating and warming the houſe of lords	282	17	6
Ditto, for fitting up two houſes, for the ſpeaker of the houſe of commons, and the ſerjeant at arms,	2,542	10	6
Ditto, to Mr. Barlow, for his ſervices during Mr. Haſtings's trial	261	15	6

Ditto,

	£	s.	d.
Ditto, to Mr. Hudſon, for ditto	547	12	0
Ditto, for two years rent of the parliament-office	260	15	6
Ditto, for attendance on various committees of the houſes of lords and commons, in ſeſſion 1795—6,	422	16	0
Ditto, for making up, and publiſhing, weekly returns of the average price of ſugar	472	17	0

April 26.

For the works and repairs of the military roads and bridges in North Britain	4,500	0	0
To enable his majeſty to make remittances, to be applied to his ſervice in Ireland, on proviſion being made by the parliament of that kingdom, for defraying the intereſt and charges of a loan to that amount	2,000,000	0	0
For the exceſs beyond the ſum granted towards defraying the charge of printing the journals, &c. of the houſe of commons, for 1797	360	0	3
Ditto, towards defraying the expence of convicts at home, for 1797	3,338	17	8½
To make good money iſſued to certain architects, for making a ſurvey at Somerſet-place	800	1	0
Ditto, for the expences of examining the ſtate of the king's houſe, at Wincheſter	98	19	0

May 12.

For ſupport of the Veterinary college	1,500	0	0

June 14.

To defray the ſums which the commiſſioners under the American treaty have awarded to be paid by the Britiſh government; and the expences attending the ſaid commiſſion	38,516	16	2½
For erecting and completing the piers at Sutton Pool,	3,387	13	3
	£ 2,723,013	14	3

NATIONAL DEBT.

April 24, 1798.

To the bank of England, to be by them placed to the account of the commiſſioners for the reduction of the national debt	200,000	0	0

EXCHEQUER

EXCHEQUER BILLS.

	£	s.	d.
June 14, 1798.			
For paying off exchequer-bills, made out purſuant to an act of laſt ſeſſion, for raiſing a certain ſum thereby	8,500,000	0	0

VOTE OF CREDIT.

June 14, 1798.			
To enable his majeſty to take ſuch meaſures as the exigencies of affairs may require . .	1,000,000	0	0
Total of ſupply . . .	35,028,798	4	10

ANNUAL GRANTS.

November 20, 1797.			
For continuing the duties on malt, mum, cider, and perry	750,000	0	0
For raiſing four ſhillings in the pound on land, &c.	2,000,000	0	0
March 6, 1798.			
That the charge of pay and clothing of the militia be defrayed out of the land-tax . . .			
May 22.			
That the charge of pay and clothing of the militia be defrayed out of the land-tax. . . .			
That the allowances to certain ſubaltern officers of the militia be defrayed out of the ſame.			
	2,750,000	0	0

EXTRAORDINARY AIDS.

December 11, 1797.			
For raiſing 3,000,000*l.* by exchequer-bills . .	3,000,000	0	0
February 22, 1798.			
For raiſing 3,000,000*l.* by exchequer-bills . .	3,000,000	0	0

	£	s.	d.
April 26.			
For raiſing 17,000,000*l.* by annuities . .	17,000,000	0	0
May 3.			
For applying 62,755*l.* 10*s.* paid by the receivers-general of the land-tax to the bank of England, in purſuance of act of laſt ſeſſion, for raiſing men for the army and navy . . .	62,755	10	0
May 25.			
For raiſing 667,916*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* by a lottery . .	667,916	13	4
June 14.			
For raiſing 3,500,000*l.* by exchequer-bills . .	3,500,000	0	0
June 18.			
For raiſing 1,000,000*l.* by exchequer-bills . .	1,000,000	0	0
June 19.			
For raiſing 3,000,000*l.* by exchequer-bills . .	3,000,000	0	0
Total of ways and means . .	33,980,672	3	4

Number of Bankruptcies, from the Year 1748 *to the End of the Year* 1797.

Year.	No.	Year.	No.	Year.	No.	Year.	No.
1748 —	130	1762 —	230	1776 —	435	1790 —	585
1749 —	91	1763 —	243	1777 —	535	1791 —	583
1750 —	169	1764 —	322	1778 —	656	1792 —	636
1751 —	172	1765 —	239	1779 —	522	1793 —	1302
1752 —	153	1766 —	342	1780 —	458	1794 —	816
1753 —	242	1767 —	360	1781 —	458	1795 —	708
1754 —	238	1768 —	351	1782 —	558	1796 —	760
1755 —	223	1769 —	344	1783 —	532	1797 —	869
1756 —	279	1770 —	397	1784 —	521		
1757 —	274	1771 —	433	1785 —	502	Total	
1758 —	315	1772 —	523	1786 —	510	amount	
1759 —	254	1773 —	507	1787 —	509	from 1748	
1760 —	221	1774 —	337	1788 —	707	to 1797	21,645
1761 —	182	1775 —	350	1789 —	562		

STATE

STATE-PAPERS.

Meſſage from his Majeſty to the Houſe of Lords, 11th January, 1798.

G. R.

HIS majeſty thinks proper to acquaint the houſe of lords, that he has received various advices of preparations made, and meaſures taken, in France, apparently in purſuance of a deſign openly and repeatedly profeſſed, of attempting an invaſion of theſe kingdoms. His majeſty is firmly perſuaded that, by the zeal, courage, and exertions, of his faithful people, ſtruggling for every thing that is moſt dear to them, ſuch an enterprize, if attempted, will terminate in the confuſion and ruin of thoſe who may be engaged in it. But his majeſty, in his anxious concern for the welfare and ſafety of his people, feels it incumbent on him to omit no ſuitable precaution which may contribute to their defence at ſo important a conjuncture. His majeſty, therefore, in purſuance of the act of parliament paſſed laſt ſeſſion, for providing for the augmentation of the militia, thinks it right to make this communication to the houſe of lords, to the end, that his majeſty may cauſe the ſaid militia, or ſuch part thereof as he ſhall think neceſſary, to be drawn out and embodied, and to march as occaſion ſhall require.

Proteſt on the Rejection of the Duke of Bedford's Motion for the Diſmiſſal of Miniſters, as entered on the Journals.

Diſſentient,

BECAUSE we feel it to be a duty preſcribed to us by neceſſity, and dictated equally by our love for our country, and by our regard for the perſon and dignity of the king himſelf, to declare our ſolemn and conſcientious conviction, that nothing ſhort of an immediate diſmiſſal of his majeſty's preſent miniſters, and a change of the ſyſtem on which they have conducted the government, can enable us to ſupport our preſent accumulated diſtreſs, or afford us a chance of averting the dangers with which we are, on all ſides, ſurrounded, and which, if not encountered with adequate fortitude and wiſdom, threaten certain ruin and diſſolution to the power, laws, and liberties, of theſe kingdoms.

Bedford.
Norfolk.
Holland.

Proteſt entered upon the Journals of the Houſe of Lords, againſt the Bill intituled, "An Act for making perpetual, ſubject to Redemption and Purchaſe, in the Manner therein

therein ſtated, the ſeveral Sums of Money now charged in Great Britain as a Land-Tax, for One Year, from the 25th Day of March, 1798."

Diſſentient,

1ſt, BECAUSE, unwilling to depart from the eſtabliſhed principle of the land-tax being voted annually; a principle, we conceive, founded on the moſt ſolid baſis of political wiſdom.

2dly, Becauſe the introduction of ſo ſerious an innovation, as rendering the land-tax perpetual, appears to us neither beneficial to the public, nor juſt to individuals. That tax being, from its very nature, unequal, and liable to fluctuation from a variety of cauſes, cannot furniſh any reaſonable ground on which to eſtabliſh one permanent uniform plan of financial operation.

3dly, Becauſe the propoſed plan of ſale or redemption, with a view to the general proſperity of the country, appears totally fallacious, as the mode in which its operation is to take effect cannot but be precarious; and, ſhould the event propoſed anſwer the warmeſt expectations of the moſt zealous advocates for the meaſure, its ſucceſs can alone be derived from ſacrificing the great and conſtitutional intereſts of the country, namely, the landed, to the more precarious and fluctuating intereſt of the monied property of the kingdom.

4thly, Becauſe, admitting under the preſent circumſtance the neceſſity of great and extraordinary exertions, in order to protect our liberties, conſtitution, and country, againſt thoſe unprecedented dangers with which we are menaced, we ſtill think the country equal to reſiſt ſucceſsfully every probable degree of difficulty and danger, provided its reſources are applied with wiſdom as well as energy. The land undoubtedly muſt, in common with every other ſpecies of property, bear its part of the public burdens; and, be the weight of thoſe burdens more or leſs, according to the preſſure of particular times and circumſtances, we never can approve the endangering the conſtitutional importance of that intereſt which has hitherto been regarded as ſo materially connected with the legal independence and rational freedom of our country.

It is upon theſe grounds we object to this bill paſſing into a law; and, actuated by no other motives than the conſcientious diſcharge of our duty, and the moſt earneſt wiſhes for the proſperity of the ſtate, we have thought it neceſſary to record our diſſent, in order that whatever inconvenience, vexation, or more ſerious calamity, may ariſe from ſuch a meaſure being adopted, we may not appear reſponſible for its conſequences, either to the preſent age, or to poſterity.

Leeds.
Newark (duke of Leinſter)
Caernarvon.
Suffolk and Berkſhire.

Proteſt on the Motion for a Committee to inquire into the State of Ireland being negatived.

Diſſentient,

1ſt, BECAUSE it was the duty of the king's miniſters to have adviſed his majeſty to make an early, regular, and conſtant communication of the diſaſtrous event which

which have happened in Ireland, and of the deplorable ſtate of that kingdom, to both houſes of parliament, and more eſpecially to this houſe, who are the great hereditary council of the crown, and who never have been, or can be, conſulted on a queſtion of greater importance to the ſafety of the Britiſh empire, than that which was the ſubject of this day's debate.

2dly, Becauſe miniſters having ſtudiouſly withheld from the knowledge of this houſe a fact of ſuch tranſcendent magnitude and importance as the exiſtence of a rebellion raging in Ireland, and having employed a great portion of the ſupplies granted, and of the army voted by parliament for the ſervice of Great Britain, without the advice, conſent, or knowledge of parliament, for the ſuppreſſion of ſuch rebellion, are guilty of a high aggravation of thoſe unwarrantable acts, and criminal omiſſions, by refuſing to yield to a motion ſo temperate, ſo prudent, and ſo neceſſary, as that which has been ſubmitted to this houſe; whereby this houſe is, in effect, deprived of all means of performing their duty to the king and to the country, or of acting at all in their conſtitutional capacity as council to the crown, in a caſe of the moſt urgent neceſſity and imminent danger to his majeſty's perſon and government, and to the ſafety of the whole empire.

3dly, That, conſidering the nature and all the circumſtances of the caſe, we hold that a refuſal, on the part of miniſters, to conſent to an inquiry into theſe tranſactions, is equivalent to an acknowledgement of conſciouſneſs in them that the calamities of Ireland originate in their own pernicious councils, and will not bear inveſtigation; and that ſuch refuſal may be attended with the moſt fatal conſequences—for all which we hold them to be reſponſible to his majeſty, to parliament, and to the nation.

Bedford.
Devonſhire (diſſentient for the firſt reaſon).
Dorcheſter.
Rawdon.
Wentworth Fitzwilliam.
Holland.
Ponſonby.
Leinſter.
Suffolk and Berkſhire.
Shafteſbury.
Norfolk, E. M.
Scarborough.

Meſſage to the Houſe of Commons, from his Majeſty, 20th April.

G. R.

HIS majeſty thinks it proper to acquaint the houſe of commons, that, from various advices received by his majeſty, it appears that preparations for the embarkation of troops and warlike ſtores are now carried on with conſiderable and increaſing activity in the ports of France, Flanders, and Holland, with the avowed deſign of attempting the invaſion of his majeſty's dominions; and that in this deſign the enemy is encouraged by the communications and correſpondence of traitorous and diſaffected perſons and ſocieties in theſe kingdoms.

His majeſty places the firmeſt reliance (under the bleſſing of divine Providence) on the bravery of his

fleets and armies, and on the zeal, public ſpirit, and unſhaken courage, of his faithful people, already manifeſted in the voluntary exertions of all ranks of his ſubjects for the general defence, more than ever neceſſary, at a moment when they are called upon to defend all that is moſt dear to them.

His majeſty, in purſuance of the act paſſed in the laſt ſeſſion of parliament for raiſing a proviſional body of cavalry, has thought it right to give directions for ſuch regiments of cavalry to be drawn out and embodied; and it is alſo his majeſty's intention to order the part not yet embodied, of the augmentation made to the militia, under the act of the laſt ſeſſion, to be forthwith embodied and drawn out, in purſuance of his majeſty's communication already made to the houſe of commons on this ſubject.

His majeſty feels it incumbent on him to make the fulleſt uſe of the extenſive means provided by parliament for the national defence; but he feels it, at the ſame time, under the circumſtances that he has ſtated, neceſſary to recommend it to the houſe of commons to conſider, without delay, of ſuch farther meaſures as may enable his majeſty to defeat the wicked machinations of diſaffected perſons within theſe realms, and to guard againſt the deſigns of the enemy, either abroad or at home.

Meſſage from his Majeſty to the Houſe of Commons, 18th June.

G. R.

HIS majeſty thinks proper to acquaint the houſe of commons, that the officers, non-commiſſioned officers, and privates of different regiments of the militia of this kingdom have made to his majeſty a voluntary tender of their ſervices to be employed in aid of the regular and militia forces of this kingdom, to ſuppreſs the rebellion now unhappily exiſting in Ireland.

His majeſty has received, with the utmoſt ſenſibility, this ſtriking and ſeaſonable proof of their ardent zeal and attachment to his perſon and government, and of affectionate concern for the intereſts and ſafety of his majeſty's faithful and loyal ſubjects in Ireland: and conceiving that the being able to avail himſelf of this new and diſtinguiſhed inſtance of public ſpirit may eventually be of the utmoſt importance for the preſervation of the lives and property of his Iriſh ſubjects; for the ſpeedy and effectual ſuppreſſion of the rebellion; for the defence of Great Britain itſelf, and for the general intereſts and ſecurity of the empire;—he recommends it to his faithful commons to conſider of ſuch proviſions as may be neceſſary for empowering his majeſty for a time, and to an extent to be limited, to accept the ſervices of ſuch parts of his militia forces in this kingdom, as may voluntarily offer themſelves to be employed in Ireland at this important conjuncture.

Proteſt entered on the Journals of the Houſe of Lords, on the Rejection of the Duke of Bedford's Motion for a Change of Syſtem in Ireland.

Diſſentient,

BECAUSE the houſe, having thought fit to reject the various motions reſpecting the calamitous

tous ſituation of Ireland, which have been ſubmitted to their conſideration, in the firſt inſtance, for inquiry—in the ſecond, for lenity and conciliation—and in the laſt, for putting an immediate ſtop, at leaſt, to the rigorous proceedings of the army in Ireland, where, under the name of a ſyſtem of coercion, we have reaſon to fear that atrocious cruelties have been practiſed, we think it our duty to record the nature of the evidence on which we have proceeded, and on which our conviction of the truth of the facts is founded, and on that evidence to appeal in our own juſtification to our country, to the world, and to poſterity. We affirm, that the facts are undiſputed, that the evidence of them is irreſiſtible, and that the effects produced by this barbarous ſyſtem convict the authors and adviſers of ſuch a total want of wiſdom, even for their own pretended purpoſes, as can only be exceeded by the ſhocking cruelty of the principles avowed, and of the practice recommended by them.—We ſhall ſtate ſome of the documents we refer to, in the order of time in which they have appeared, in order to ſhew that this ſyſtem of coercion has not been haſtily reſorted to on the ſpur of an inſtant neceſſity, but that it was deliberately reſolved on long before it could be juſtified or palliated by any of the pretences or cauſes which have ſince been aſſigned in defence of it.

Dublin-caſtle, March 3, 1798.

His excellency farther authorizes you to employ force againſt any perſons aſſembled in arms, not legally authorized ſo to be, and to diſperſe all tumultuous aſſemblies of perſons, though they may not be in arms, without waiting for the ſanction and aſſiſtance of the civil authority, if, in your opinion, the peace of the realm and the ſafety of his majeſty's faithful ſubjects may be endangered by waiting for ſuch authority.

(Signed) Thomas Pelham.

On the 26th of February, 1798, ſir Ralph Abercrombie declared, in public orders, that "the very diſgraceful frequency of courts martial, and the many complaints of irregularities in the conduct of the troops in that kingdom, had too unfortunately proved the army to be in a ſtate of licentiouſneſs, which muſt render it formidable to every one but the enemy."

On the 18th of April, 1798, the following order was iſſued by major-general Duff:

The commander-in-chief gives this public notice, that the lord-lieutenant and council have iſſued orders to him to quarter troops, to preſs horſes and carriages, to demand forage and proviſions, and to hold courts martial for the trial of offences of all deſcriptions, civil and military, with the power of confirming and carrying into execution the ſentences of ſuch courts martial, and to iſſue proclamations.

The commander-in-chief calls on all the general officers to procure of the magiſtrates the beſt accounts they can give of the number of arms taken from the yeomanry and the well-affected, of arms that have been concealed, and of pikes that have been made, which are to be recovered

and taken poſſeſſion of by the military.

They are alſo to communicate to the people, through the prieſts, and by one or two men ſelected from each town-land, the purpoſe of the following notice.

That the order, if complied with, will be a ſign of their general repentance; and not only forgiveneſs will follow, but protection.

That they muſt be ſenſible that it is infinitely better for them to remain at home, quietly minding their own affairs, than committing acts which muſt bring on the ruin of themſelves and of their families.

As it will be impoſſible, in ſome degree, to prevent the innocent from ſuffering with the guilty, the innocent have means of redreſs, by informing againſt thoſe who have engaged in unlawful aſſociations, and robbing houſes of arms and money.

The people muſt be very ignorant not to know, notwithſtanding the fair promiſes of the French, that they have firſt deceived and then plundered every country into which they have come. And they are therefore forewarned, that, in caſe of invaſion from the French, if they ſhould attempt to join the enemy, or communicate with him, or join in any inſurrection, they will be immediately put to death, and their houſes and properties deſtroyed.

The general officers call on the people to know why they ſhould be leſs attached to the government now than they were a year ago, when they ſhewed ſo much loyalty in aſſiſting his majeſty's troops to oppoſe the landing of the French. Is it not becauſe they have been ſeduced by wicked men?

Why ſhould they think themſelves bound by oaths into which they have been ſeduced or terrified?

The people are requeſted to bring in their arms to the magiſtrates or commanding-officers in the neighbourhood, who have directions to receive them, and no queſtions will be aſked.

(Signed) James Duff, maj. gen.

On the 7th of May, 1798, the following orders were iſſued by lieutenant-general ſir James Stewart.

Whereas it has been repreſented to lieutenant-general ſir James Stewart, that in ſome parts of the country, where it has been neceſſary to ſtation troops at free quarters, for the reſtoration of public tranquillity, that general ſubſcriptions of money have been entered into by the inhabitants to purchaſe proviſions for the troops, by which means, the end propoſed, of making the burden fall as much as poſſible on the guilty, is entirely defeated, by making it fall, in a light proportion, on the whole, and thereby eaſing and protecting the guilty; it has been thought proper to direct, that whenever that practice has been adopted, or ſhall be attempted, the general officers commanding diviſions of the ſouthern diſtrict, ſhall immediately double, treble, or quadruple the number of ſoldiers ſo ſtationed, and ſhall ſend out regular foraging parties to provide proviſions for the troops, in the quantities mentioned in the former notice, bearing date the 27th day of April, 1798, and that they ſhall move them from ſtation

tion to ſtation through the diſtrict or barony, until arms are ſurrendered and tranquillity be perfectly reſtored, and until it is reported to the general officers, by the gentlemen holding landed property, and thoſe who are employed in collecting the public revenues and tythes, that all rents, taxes, and tythes are completely paid up."

Adjutant-General's-Office, Cork, May 7, 1798.

On the 11th of June, 1798, major-general Nugent, after holding out certain offers and terms to the inſurgents, proceed to declare, "That, ſhould the above injunctions not be complied with within the time ſpecified, major-general Nugent will proceed to ſet fire to and wholly deſtroy the towns of Killincy, Killileagh, Ballynahinch, Sallitfield, and every cottage and farm-houſe in the vicinity of thoſe places, carry off the ſtock and cattle, and put every one to the ſword who may be found in arms.

"It particularly behoves all the well-affected perſons who are now with the rebels from conſtraint, and who, it is known, form a conſiderable part of their numbers, to exert themſelves in having theſe terms complied with, as it is the only opportunity there will be of reſcuing themſelves and properties from the indiſcriminate vengeance of an army neceſſarily let looſe upon them."

But, finally, the document which appears to us the moſt important of all, and to which we earneſtly invite and preſs the attention of the houſe, is a public order iſſued about the middle of the preſent month of June, 1798, in the following words:

"Major-general Morriſon requeſts that officers commanding corps, will give the ſtricteſt orders to prevent ſetting fire to houſes or buildings of any kind, a mode of puniſhment that can lead only to the moſt pernicious conſequences, and that ſeldom or ever falls on the guilty, but on the contrary, on the landlord, the wife and children of the criminals, who, however iniquitous the huſband or father, ought always to be ſpared and protected.

"And he has likewiſe received orders from lieutenant-general Lake, that free quarters are no longer to be permitted, neither are foraging parties to be allowed to go out, unleſs under the care of an officer, who is to be reſponſible for every act, in order that the friends of government, the helpleſs and infirm, may not be involved in one indiſcriminate maſs of deſtruction with the rebellious and ill-diſpoſed."

The prohibition contained in this order, wiſe and humane as it is, is equivalent to a hiſtory of all the horrible tranſactions it alludes to, and eſtabliſhes the truth of them by evidence, which cannot be diſputed or ſuſpected, and alſo confirms in the ſtrongeſt terms, and on the irreſiſtible proof derived from practice and experience, that ſuch a mode of puniſhment ſeldom or ever falls on the guilty, but on women and children, who ought always to be ſpared and protected; and that its principle, if not its only operation and effect, is to involve the friends of government, the helpleſs and infirm, in one maſs of deſtruction with the rebellious and ill-diſpoſed.

Bedford.
Wentworth Fitzwilliam.
Ponſonby.

Ponſonby.
Holland.
Albemarle.
King.
Thanet.

Proteſt of Lord Oxford.

Diſſentient,

1. BECAUSE I was ſhocked that an addreſs to the king, upon ſo awful a ſubject as the preſent ſtate of Ireland, ſhould have been rejected, without one ſingle ſyllable being ſaid by the king's miniſters upon the ſubject.

2. Becauſe I look back with pride to that law which our anceſtors obtained, which ſays, "No free man ſhall be taken, or impriſoned, or diſſeized of his freehold, or liberties, or free cuſtoms, or be outlawed, or exiled, or any otherwiſe deſtroyed. Nor will we not paſs upon him, nor condemn him, but by lawful judgement of his peers, or by the law of the land. We will ſell to no man. We will not deny or defer to any man either juſtice or right." And becauſe I agree with the commentary of that great lawyer, ſir Edward Coke, upon this chapter of Magna Charta, wherein he ſays, "No man deſtroyed;" that is, fore-judged of life or limb, diſherited, or put to torture or death. And becauſe I think that to flog, picket, and half-hang any of our fellow-ſubjects, in order to extort confeſſion, is "a putting to torture," and, therefore, not only outrageous to humanity, but directly againſt Magna Charta, the great corner-ſtone of our laws and liberties. And whoever have dared to put to torture any of our fellow-ſubjects in Ireland, or elſewhere, have violated the great charter, have betrayed their country, and ought ſpeedily to be brought to condign puniſhment, for theſe their treaſonable and deteſtable practices. And whoever have dared openly and publicly to juſtify torture, upon the ground of policy, deſerve the ſame execrations from their countrymen, as have been uſually given to the cruelſt inquiſitors of Rome.

3. Becauſe, whenever our brethren and fellow-ſubjects in Ireland, or elſewhere, are flogged, picketed, half-hanged, and othewiſe tortured, in order to extort confeſſion, I hold it to be the bounden duty of every man, in his different ſtation, to uſe all the legal means in his power to declare his abhorrence of ſuch diabolical and tyrannical meaſures.

4. Becauſe I hold, that when an Iriſhman is tortured, an Engliſhman is tortured; for the ſame men, who, in violation of the laws of their country, and of every dictate of humanity, dare to put Iriſhmen to torture, will not heſitate, when they think it expedient, to put Engliſhmen to torture alſo.

5. Becauſe it is a mortal truth that cannot be denied, that, if men have been driven, by flogging and by tortures, contrary to all law and reaſon, into open reſiſtance, the guilt and conſequences of that reſiſtance are imputable to thoſe who flog and torture, contrary to all law and reaſon, and not to thoſe who are thereby driven to reſiſtance.

6. Becauſe to flog and torture men into open reſiſtance, for the ſake of employing a power in the hands of thoſe who flog and torture, to cruſh that reſiſtance, and thereby to make themſelves more ſecure,

ſecure, is not only a refinement of cruelty, againſt which law, reaſon, juſtice, humanity, and nature, cry aloud; but which the experience of all times teaches us will never anſwer.

7. Becauſe the hiſtory of the world tells us, that it is no ſmall matter which provokes a people to throw off their allegiance; and that when they have thrown off their allegiance, attention to their juſt demands, and protection in the enjoyment of their rights, liberties, and properties, are the only means by which an allegiance worth having can be recovered.

8. Becauſe I think the times call for a declaration of theſe principles, and that to act upon them is the only method of healing the preſent diſcontents, and preventing the ſpeedy ruin of our country

Oxford and Mortimer.

Speech of his Majeſty to both Houſes, on proroguing the Parliament, June 29.

My lords and gentlemen,

BY the meaſures adopted during the preſent ſeſſion, you have amply fulfilled the ſolemn and unanimous aſſurance which I received from you at its commencement.

The example of your firmneſs and conſtancy has been applauded and followed by my ſubjects in every rank and condition in life: a ſpirit of voluntary and ardent exertion, diffuſed through every part of the kingdom, has ſtrengthened and confirmed our internal ſecurity: the ſame ſentiments have continued to animate my troops of every deſcription; and my fleets have met the menaces of invaſion, by blocking up all our enemies in their principal ports.

Gentlemen of the houſe of commons,

The extenſive and equitable ſcheme of contribution, by which ſo large a ſhare of our expences will be defrayed within the year, has defeated the expectations of thoſe who had vainly hoped to exhauſt our means, and to deſtroy our public credit. You have been enabled to avail yourſelves of farther reſources from a commerce increaſed in extent and vigour, notwithſtanding the difficulties of war, and have had the ſingular ſatisfaction of deriving, at the ſame moment, large additional aid from individual exertions of unexampled zeal, liberality, and patriotiſm.

The proviſion which has been made for the redemption of the land-tax, has alſo eſtabliſhed a ſyſtem which, in its progreſſive operation, may produce the happieſt conſequences, by the increaſe of our reſources, the diminution of our debt, and the ſupport of public credit.

My lords and gentlemen,

The deſigns of the diſaffected, carried on in concert with our inveterate enemies, have been unremittingly purſued; but have been happily and effectually counteracted in this kingdom, by the general zeal and loyalty of my ſubjects.

In Ireland they have broken out into the moſt criminal acts of open rebellion. Every effort has been employed on my part to ſubdue this dangerous ſpirit, which is equally hoſtile to the intereſts and ſafety of every part of the Britiſh empire. I cannot too ſtrongly commend the unſhaken fidelity and valour of my regular, fencible, and militia forces

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in Ireland: and that determined ſpirit with which my yeomanry and volunteer forces of that kingdom have ſtood forward in the defence of the lives and properties of their fellow-ſubjects, and in ſupport of the lawful government.

The ſtriking and honourable proof of alacrity and public ſpirit, which ſo many of my ſencible and militia regiments in this kingdom have manifeſted on this occaſion, has already received the fulleſt teſtimony of the approbation of Parliament.

This conduct, perſonally ſo honourable to the individuals, affords the ſtrongeſt pledge, both of the military ardour which actuates this valuable part of our national defence, and of their affectionate concern for the ſafety and happineſs of Ireland, which are eſſentially connected with the general intereſts of the Britiſh empire.

With the advantage of this ſupport, and after the diſtinguiſhed and important ſucceſs which has recently attended the operations of my arms againſt the principal force of the rebels, I truſt the time is faſt approaching, when thoſe now ſeduced from their allegiance will be brought to a juſt ſenſe of the guilt they have incurred, and will entitle themſelves to forgiveneſs, and to that protection which it is my conſtant wiſh to afford to every claſs and condition of my ſubjects, who manifeſt their deſire to pay a due obedience to the laws.

This temporary interruption of tranquillity, and all its attendant calamities, muſt be attributed to thoſe pernicious principles which have been induſtriouſly propagated in that country, and which, wherever they have prevailed, have never failed to produce the moſt diſaſtrous effects.

With ſuch warnings before us, ſenſible of the danger which we are called upon to repel, and of the bleſſings we have to preſerve, let us continue firmly united in a determined reſiſtance to the deſigns of our enemies, and in defence of that conſtitution which has been found by experience to inſure to us, in ſo eminent a degree, public liberty, national ſtrength, and the ſecurity and comfort of all claſſes of the community.

It is only by perſeverance in this line of conduct, that we can hope, under the continuance of that divine protection which we have ſo abundantly experienced, to conduct this arduous conteſt to a happy iſſue, and to maintain, undiminiſhed, the ſecurity, honour, and laſting proſperity of the country.

His Majeſty's Speech to both Houſes at the Meeting of Parliament, 20th November, 1798.

My lords and gentlemen,

THE events which have taken place in the courſe of the preſent year, and the ſignal ſucceſs which, by the bleſſing of Providence, has attended my arms, have been productive of the happieſt conſequences, and have eſſentially promoted the proſperity and glory of our country.

The unexampled ſeries of our naval triumphs has received freſh ſplendour from the memorable and deciſive action in which a detachment of my fleet, under the command of rear-admiral lord Nelſon, attacked and almoſt totally deſtroy-

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ed a ſuperior force of the enemy, ſtrengthened by every advantage of ſituation: by this great and brilliant victory, an enterprize, of which the injuſtice, perfidy, and extravagance, had fixed the attention of the world, and which was peculiarly directed againſt ſome of the moſt valuable intereſts of the Britiſh empire, has, in the firſt inſtance, been turned to the confuſion of its authors; and the blow thus given to the power and influence of France has afforded an opening which, if improved by ſuitable exertions on the part of other powers, may lead to the general deliverance of Europe.

The wiſdom and magnanimity ſo eminently diſplayed at this conjuncture, by the emperor of Ruſſia, and the deciſion and vigour of the Ottoman Porte, have ſhown that thoſe powers are impreſſed with a juſt ſenſe of the preſent criſis; and their example, joined to the diſpoſition manifeſted almoſt univerſally in the different countries ſtruggling under the yoke of France, muſt be a powerful encouragement to other ſtates to adopt that vigourous line of conduct which experience has proved to be alone conſiſtent with ſecurity or honour.

The extent of our preparations at home, and the demonſtrations of zeal and ſpirit among all ranks of my ſubjects, have deterred the enemy from attempting to execute their vain threat of invading the coaſts of this kingdom.

In Ireland, the rebellion which they had inſtigated has been curbed and repreſſed; the troops which they landed for its ſupport have been compelled to ſurrender; and the armaments ſince deſtined for the ſame purpoſe have, by the vigilance and activity of my ſquadrons, been captured or diſperſed. The views and principles of thoſe who, in concert with our inveterate enemy, have long planned the ſubverſion of our conſtitution, have been fully detected end expoſed, and their treaſons made manifeſt to the world. Thoſe whom they had miſled or ſeduced, muſt now be awakened to their duty; and a juſt ſenſe of the miſeries and horror which theſe traitorous deſigns have produced, muſt impreſs on the minds of all my faithful ſubjects the neceſſity of continuing to repel, with firmneſs, every attack on the laws and eſtabliſhed government of their country.

Gentlemen of the houſe of commons,

Under the unavoidable preſſure of protracted war, it is a great ſatisfaction to me to obſerve, that the produce of the public revenue has proved fully adequate to the increaſe of our permanent expenditure; that the national credit has been maintained and improved; and that the commerce and induſtry of my ſubjects have continued to flouriſh in a degree hitherto unknown.

The ſituation in which we are placed, unhappily renders the continuance of heavy expences indiſpenſable for the public ſafety. But the ſtate of our reſources, and the good ſenſe and public ſpirit which prevail through every part of my kingdom, will, I truſt, enable you to provide the neceſſary ſupplies without eſſential inconvenience to my people, and with as little addition as poſſible to the permanent burdens of the ſtate. The progreſs made towards ſuch a ſyſtem by the meaſures adopted in the laſt ſeſſion, and the aid given to public credit

credit by the plan for the redemption of the land-tax, have been attended with the moſt beneficial effect, which you will, I am perſuaded, omit no opportunity to confirm and improve.

My lords and gentlemen,

I rely with confidence on the continuance of your exertions, to enable me ultimately to conduct the great conteſt in which we are engaged to a ſafe and honourablec conclufion.

We have ſurmounted many and great difficulties. Our perſeverance in a juſt cauſe has been rewarded with diſtinguiſhed ſucceſs; and our preſent ſituation, compared with that of other countries, ſufficiently proves how much, in a period of general danger and calamity, the ſecurity and happineſs of the Britiſh nation have depended (under the bleſſing of Providence) on its own conſtancy, its energy, and its virtue.

Meſſage from his Majeſty to the Houſe of Commons, 22d. Nov.

HIS majeſty having taken into his conſideration the ſignal and meritorious ſervices performed by rear-admiral lord Nelſon, in the memorable and deciſive victory obtained, over a ſuperior French fleet off the mouth of the Nile, not only highly honourable to himſelf, but eminently beneficial to theſe kingdoms; and his majeſty being deſirous to confer upon him ſome conſiderable and laſting mark of his royal favour, in teſtimony of his approbation of his great ſervices, and therefore to give and grant to the ſaid rear-admiral lord Nelſon, and the two next heirs male to whom the title of baron Nelſon of the Nile, and Burnham Thorpe, in the county of Norfolk, ſhall deſcend, for their lives the nett ſum of 2000*l.* per annum: but his majeſty not having it in his power to grant any annuity to that amount, or for a period beyond his own life, his majeſty recommends it to his faithful commons to conſider of the means of enabling his majeſty to extend and ſecure an annuity of 2000*l.* per annum to rear-admiral lord Nelſon, and the two next heirs male on whom the title of baron Nelſon of the Nile, and Burnham Thorpe, in the county of Norfolk, ſhall deſcend, in ſuch manner as ſhall be moſt advantageous to their intereſts.

Proteſt of Lords Holland and Oxford, againſt the Aſſeſſed-Tax Bill.

Diſſentient,

BECAUSE, we conceive that, in the preſent circumſtances, no grant of money by parliament can alone be ſufficient to extricate the country from its alarming and critical ſituation.

When the exigencies of the ſtate are ſuch as to demand large ſupplies from the people, our duty is not confined to the bare neceſſity of the caſe, or the mode of levying the money. We are not, from the preſſure of circumſtances, and the approach of danger, haſtily to concur in laying additional burthens on our fellow-ſubjects, without inſuring to the public a wiſe application of the money ſo raiſed, and without due precautions for directing the efforts of the people to their only legitimate object, the benefit of the community. A neglect of this, the moſt important of all parliamentary

mentary duties, muſt produce, and in our opinions it has already produced, conſequences the moſt fatal to the dignity of the nation, the ſtability of the government, and the intereſts of the people. In the unconditional compliance with the demands of the executive government again propoſed as the remedy, we perceive the real and fatal ſource of the evil. Year after year his majeſty's miniſters have grounded their application to parliament upon the urgency of the occaſion, and the extraordinary exigences of the ſtate. To ſatisfy their demands, to enable them to encounter the dangers, and remove the difficulties in which we were involved, every article of luxury, or convenience has been taxed, the reſources of the country have been exhauſted, and ſums unparallelled in hiſtory have been entruſted to their diſpoſal; yet, year after year, the occaſion has become more urgent, the exigences more preſſing, the difficulties more alarming, and the dangers more immediate. The ſecurity of the nation has been ſhaken in the ſame proportion as the proſperity of the country has been impaired, external danger has kept pace with internal diſtreſs, and the exertions which have impoveriſhed the people, and ſhaken our credit, have purchaſed nothing but the loſs of national honour, the defection of allies, and the failure of every great object of the war.

If the whole force of Great Britain and Ireland, aided by grants, laviſhed beyond the example of the moſt improvident times, aſſiſted by the moſt powerful monarchs of Europe, has proved inſufficient in the hands of miniſters, to ſecure the bleſſings of peace, or even to avert the preſent awful circumſtances of the country, it ſeems inconſiſtent with reaſon to expect that the painful efforts of an empire, whoſe means are exhauſted by taxation, whoſe ſpirits are damped by failure, and whoſe affections are in part alienated by oppreſſion, can, without a ſingle ally, under the direction of the ſame men, reſiſt with effect, a powerful and exaſperated enemy, elated with ſucceſs, ſtrengthened by conqueſt, and ſupported by the united powers of Holland and of Spain. In this ſituation of affairs, to perſevere in the ſyſtem which has produced it, to confide in the miniſters, who, with the aid of ſo many millions, have been unable to avert it, evinces, in our opinion, a total diſregard of the common maxims of prudence, a wanton rejection of the leſſons of experience, and a determined neglect of the moſt important of our parliamentary duties.

Under the perſuaſion, therefore, that the dangers with which we are now threatened are the reſult of force, directed to objects at once impracticable, and foreign to the intereſts of this country; that they are the neceſſary conſequences of a miſapplication of the public money, and the natural fruits of the incapacity and profuſion of thoſe to whom it has been improvidently entruſted; we deemed it our duty not to ſanction any grant to the executive government, until a pledge was given to the houſe, by the removal of his majeſty's miniſters, of a complete alteration in his councils. We held it neither juſt to impoſe, nor reaſonable to require, any additional ſacrifices from our fellow-ſubjects, until ſome proſpect was held out to the people, of a reform of that houſe which had granted, and a cenſure of thoſe miniſters who

who have laviſhed, ſums ſo enormous, without any benefit reſulting to the community. We thought, that while his majeſty's affairs were conducted by thoſe who originally engaged in this calamitous conteſt, and who can neither carry on war or negociation with honour, advantage, or ſucceſs, no grant of money by parliament, no ſacrifices on the part of the people, could afford a reaſonable hope that the bleſſings of peace would be ſpeedily reſtored or permanently ſecured. We imagined, that, until ſome earneſt was given of a radical alteration of the ſyſtem of terror and coercion in Ireland, of the repeal of the two bills, the one intituled, "An act for the ſafety and preſervation of his majeſty's perſon and government againſt treaſonable and ſeditious practices and attempts," and the other intituled, "An act for the more effectually preventing ſeditious meetings and aſſemblies," of economy in public expenditure, and diminution of the enormous patronage and influence of the crown, we were not warranted in expecting that cheerful co-operation of the people, which, being at once the indication and reſult of a reciprocal confidence between the government and the governed, can only be reſtored by the reſtoration of the ancient and happy practice of a conſtitution undisfigured by coercive laws, of a parliament ſpeaking the ſenſe of the people, and a miniſtry dependent on the voice of the parliament.

Becauſe it appears to us that any attempt to raiſe the ſupplies within the year, in the preſent exhauſted ſtate of the country, muſt be attended with the greateſt difficulty and danger.

Becauſe, were we to allow that the principle of raiſing the ſupplies by contribution, inſtead of loan, was juſt, wiſe, and expedient, yet, under the preſent miniſters, it would appear to us attended with the utmoſt danger, as the real expences of the year have generally exceeded, by nearly one-half, their calculations; and thus any regulations, for the equal diſtribution of the burdens which were adopted upon the firſt calculation, might be rendered ineffectual by ſubſequent and moſt extenſive demands.

Becauſe, if the bill is intended as a tax upon expenditure, its retroſpective operation is arbitrary and cruel in the extreme, and altogether repugnant to the uſages of our anceſtors, the faith of civilized governments, and the common dictates of humanity and juſtice. If it is intended as a tax upon income, in our opinion, the criterion propoſed is objectionable and inadequate; and, above all, as income is of various deſcriptions, ſometimes ariſing from permanent and diſpoſable capital, ſometimes from precarious or temporary poſſeſſions, and ſometimes from labour, talents, or induſtry, we deem any attempt to proportion the burden to the income, in itſelf unjuſt, unequal, and impolitic. If it is intended as a tax upon property, neither in the original criterion, viz. the aſſeſſed taxes of 1795, nor in the propoſed relief, do we recognize any juſt principles of taxation, or percieve any fair or adequate method ſuggeſted for the impartial diſtribution of the burden.

Becauſe the relief propoſed in the bill, to thoſe who may, by the increaſe of their aſſeſſed taxes, be liable to pay more than the tenth of their income, requires a diſcloſure

ſure of their pecuniary circumſtances, which is contrary to the cuſtoms and prejudices of Engliſhmen, and repugnant to the principles of the conſtitution; and which, to perſons engaged in commerce or trade, muſt be attended with yet greater inconveniencies than the payment of more than the tenth of their income. Farthermore, this regulation appears to us an indirect breach of the faith ſo often and ſo ſacredly pledged to the ſtockholder; for, ſhould the whole of the income, of any individual claiming this relief, conſiſt in a dividend upon ſtock, a tenth of that income is immediately ſacrificed, and the dividend, in violation of the faith of the parliament and the nation, diminiſhed one-tenth by the intervention of government.

Becauſe the operation of this bill is not confined to a definite period of time, but, by the moſt wanton violation of juſtice, remains in force till a certain ſum is produced; thus exacting, from the honeſt, the deficiencies which may have been occaſioned by accidental circumſtances, by the deſigns or the diſtreſs of individuals, by the favour or the neglect of the collectors.

(Signed) Holland.
Oxford.

Proviſional Treaty between his Majeſty the King of Great Britain and his Majeſty the Emperor of all the Ruſſias. Done at St. Peterſburgh, the 29th (18th) of December, 1798.

In the name of the moſt holy and indiviſible trinity.

HIS majeſty the king of Great Britain, and his majeſty the emperor of all the Ruſſias, in conſequence of the alliance and friendſhip ſubſiſting between them, being deſirous to enter into a concert of meaſures, ſuch as may contribute in the moſt efficacious manner to oppoſe the ſucceſſes of the French arms and the extenſion of the principles of anarchy, and to bring about a ſolid peace, together with the re-eſtabliſhment of the balance of Europe, have judged it worthy their moſt ſerious conſideration and earneſt ſolicitude, to endeavour, if poſſible, to reduce France within its former limits, as they ſubſiſted before the revolution. They have, in conſequence, agreed to conclude a proviſional treaty; and, for this purpoſe, they have named as their plenipotentiaries, namely, his majeſty the king of Great Britain, ſir Chas. Whitworth, K. B. his envoy-extraordinary and miniſter-plenipotentiary at the imperial court of Ruſſia; and his majeſty the emperor of all the Ruſſias, the chancellor prince Beſborodko, a privy-counſellor, director-general of the poſts, ſenator, and knight of the orders of St. Andrew, of St. Alexander Neſſky, of St. Anne, and grand croſs of thoſe of St. John of Jeruſalem and of St. Vladimir, of the firſt claſs; the ſieur Korſchouby, vice-chancellor, privy-counſellor, and chamberlain, knight of the order of St. Alexander Neſſky, and grand croſs of that of St. Vladimir, of the ſecond claſs; the ſieur Roſtopchin, a privy-counſellor, member of the college for foreign affairs, knight of the order of St. Alexander Neſſky, and of that of St. Anne, of the firſt claſs; who, after having reciprocally communicated their full powers, have concluded and agreed upon the following articles:—

Article I. The two contracting powers, in the intention of inducing the

the king of Pruſſia to take an active part in the war againſt the common enemy, propoſe to employ all their endeavours to obtain that end. Immediately on his Pruſſian majeſty's conſenting to this meaſure, his imperial majeſty of all the Ruſſias is ready to afford him a ſuccour of land-forces, and he deſtines, for that purpoſe, 45,000 men, infantry and cavalry, with the neceſſary artillery, upon the following conditions:

II. This body of troops ſhall be put in motion as ſoon as the high contracting parties ſhall be aſſured of the determination of his Pruſſian majeſty being conformable to what has been before ſtated.

With regard to the farther movements of this corps, and its combined operations with the Pruſſian troops, his majeſty the emperor of all the Ruſſias will arrange them with his majeſty the king of Pruſſia; and communication ſhall alſo be made of them to his Britannic majeſty, in order that, by ſuch a concert between the high allies, the military operations againſt the enemy may be made with the greater ſucceſs, and that the object which is propoſed may the more eaſily be aſcertained.

III. In order to facilitate to his majeſty the emperor of all the Ruſſias, the means to take ſuch an active part in the preſent war againſt the French, his Britannic majeſty engages to furniſh the pecuniary ſuccours herein-after ſpecified; his imperial majeſty of all the Ruſſias nevertheleſs reſerving to himſelf the right to recal the aforeſaid body of troops into his own territories, if, by any unforeſeen event, the whole of this pecuniary ſuccour ſhould not be furniſhed him.

IV. The amount and the nature of theſe pecuniary ſuccours have been fixed and regulated upon the following footing:

1ſt, In order to enable his imperial majeſty of all the Ruſſias to expedite, as ſoon as poſſible, and in the moſt convenient manner, the troops deſtined to be employed in favour of the good cauſe, his majeſty the king of Great Britain engages, as ſoon as he ſhall receive advice that the Ruſſian troops, in conſequence of the determination of his majeſty the king of Pruſſia, are to march, in order to co-operate with thoſe of his ſaid majeſty, to pay for the firſt and the moſt urgent expences, 225,000*l.* ſterling, dividing the payments in ſuch manner, as that 75,000*l.* ſterling ſhould be paid as ſoon as the troops ſhall have paſſed the Ruſſian frontiers; that the ſecond payment, amounting to the ſame ſum, ſhould be made on the expiration of the firſt three months, and on the commencement of the fourth; and that the third payment, completing the ſum total, ſhould be made in like manner, after three months and on the beginning of the ſeventh.

2d, His majeſty the king of Great Britain engages alſo to furniſh to his majeſty the emperor of all the Ruſſias a ſubſidy of 75,000*l.* ſterling per month, to be computed from the day on which the corps of troops above-mentioned ſhall paſs the Ruſſian frontiers. This ſubſidy ſhall be paid at the commencement of each month, and being deſtined for the appointments and maintenance of the troops, it ſhall be continued during the ſpace of twelve months, unleſs peace ſhould be made ſooner.

3d, The two high contracting parties, beſides, ſhall come to an underſtanding before the expiration of the

the term of a year above ſpecified, whether, in caſe the war ſhould not be terminated, the ſubſidy above-mentioned ſhall be continued.

V. The two high contracting parties engage not to make either peace or armiſtice without including each other, and without concerting with each other; but if, through any unforeſeen events, his Britannic majeſty ſhould be under the neceſſity of terminating the war, and thereby of diſcontinuing the payment of the ſubſidy, before the expiration of the twelve months above ſtipulated, he engages, in that caſe, to pay three months advance of the ſubſidy agreed upon of 75,000*l.* ſterling, reckoning from the day on which the information ſhall be received by the general commanding the Ruſſian troops.

VI. In like manner, if any aggreſſion on Ruſſia ſhould take place, by which his majeſty, the emperor, ſhould be obliged to recall his army into his own dominions, the above-mentioned ſubſidy ſhall, in ſuch caſe only, be paid up to the day on which the army ſhall re-enter the Ruſſian frontiers.

VII. His majeſty, the emperor of all the Ruſſias, ſhall come to an underſtanding with his ally, his majeſty the king of Pruſſia, reſpecting all the other expences which this corps of troops and its operations may require. His Britannic majeſty ſhall take no farther ſhare in thoſe expences than the ſum of 37,500*l.* ſterling per month, during all the time that the above-mentioned troops ſhall be employed, by virtue of this treaty, for the common cauſe. That ſum ſhall be advanced by his majeſty the emperor of all the Ruſſias; but his Britannic majeſty acknowledges it as a debt due by Great Britain to Ruſſia, which he will diſcharge after the concluſion of a peace made by mutual agreement.

The mode and dates of the payment ſhall then be ſettled by mutual concert, according to the reciprocal convenience of the two allied powers.

VIII. The above-mentioned ſubſidies ſhall, in this manner, be conſidered as a ſufficient ſuccour for all expences, including thoſe which may be neceſſary for the return of the Ruſſian army.

IX. This treaty ſhall be conſidered as proviſional; and its execution, as it has been ſtated above, ſhall not take place until his majeſty, the king of Pruſſia, ſhall be determined to turn his forces againſt the common enemy; but, in caſe he ſhould not do ſo, the two high contracting parties reſerve to themſelves the right and the power to take, for the good of their affairs, and the ſucceſs of the ſalutary end they may have in view, other meaſures analogous to the times and circumſtances, and to agree then upon thoſe which, in ſuch a caſe, they ſhall judge to be moſt neceſſary, adopting always, as a baſis, (in as much as it ſhall be compatible) the ſtipulations of the preſent treaty. His imperial majeſty of all the Ruſſias, in order, nevertheleſs, to give a ſtill more ſtriking proof of his ſincere diſpoſitions, and of his deſire to be as much as poſſible uſeful to his allies, promiſes to put, during the courſe of the negociation with his Pruſſian majeſty, and even previous to its termination, the above-mentioned corps of 45,000 men upon ſuch a footing that they may immediately be employed wherever, according to a previous concert

amongſt the allies, the utility of the common cauſe ſhall require.

X. The preſent proviſional treaty ſhall be ratified by his Britanic majeſty and his imperial majeſty of all the Ruſſias; and the ratifications ſhall be exchanged here in the ſpace of two months, to be computed from the day of the ſignature, or ſooner, if it can be done.

In witneſs whereof, we the underſigned, furniſhed with the full powers of his majeſty the king of Great Britain and the emperor of all the Ruſſias, have, in their names, ſigned the preſent treaty, and have affixed the ſeals of our arms thereto.

Done at St. Peterſburgh, the 29th (18th) of December, 1798.

(L. S.) A. P. de Beſberodko.
(L. S.) Koſchoubey.
(L. S.) Roſtopſchin.
(L. S.) Charles Whitworth.

Explanatory Article, ſigned at London, the 15th of March, 1798, to be added to the Treaty of Amity, Commerce, and Navigation, between his Britannic Majeſty and the United States of America, ſigned at London, the 19th of November, 1794.

WHEREAS, by the twenty-eighth article of the treaty of amity, commerce, and navigation, between his Britannic majeſty and the United States, ſigned at London, on the 19th of November, 1794, it was agreed, that the contracting parties would, from time to time, readily treat of, and concerning ſuch farther articles as might be propoſed; that they would ſincerely endeavour ſo to form ſuch articles, as that they might conduce to mutual convenience, and tend to promote mutual ſatisfaction and friendſhip; and that ſuch articles, after having been duly ratified, ſhould be added to, and make a part of that treaty: and whereas difficulties have ariſen, with reſpect to the execution of ſo much of the fifth article of the ſaid treaty, as requires, that the commiſſioners appointed under the ſame ſhould, in their deſcription, particulariſe the latitude and longitude of the ſource of the river, which may be found to be the one truly intended in the treaty of peace between his Britannic majeſty and the United States, under the name of the river St. Croix, by reaſon whereof it is expedient that the ſaid commiſſioners ſhould be releaſed from the obligation of conforming to the proviſions of the ſaid article in this reſpect: the underſigned being reſpectively named by his Britannic majeſty and the United States of America their plenipotentiaries for the purpoſe of treating and concluding ſuch articles as may be proper to be added to the ſaid treaty in conforming to the above-mentioned ſtipulation, and having communicated to each other their reſpective full powers, have agreed and concluded, and do hereby declare, in the name of his Britannic majeſty and of the United States of America, that the commiſſioners appointed under the fifth article of the ſaid treaty, ſhall not be obliged to particulariſe in their deſcription the latitude and longitude of the ſource of the river, which may be found to be the one truly intended in the aforeſaid treaty of peace, under the name of the river St. Croix, but they ſhall be at liberty to deſcribe the ſaid river in

ſuch

such other manner as they may judge expedient, which description shall be considered as a complete execution of the duty required of the said commissioners in this respect by the article aforesaid. And to the end that no uncertainty may hereafter exist on this subject, it is farther agreed, that, as soon as may be, after the decision of the said commissioners, measures shall be concerted between the government of the United States and his Britannic majesty's governors or lieutenant-governors in America, in order to erect and keep in repair a suitable monument at the place ascertained and described to be the source of the said river, St. Croix, which measures shall immediately thereupon, and as often afterwards as may be requisite, be duly executed on both sides with punctuality and good faith.

This explanatory article, when the same shall have been ratified by his majesty, and by the president of the United States, by and with the advice and consent of their senate, and the respective ratifications mutually exchanged, shall be added to, and make a part of, the treaty of amity, commerce, and navigation, between his majesty and the United States, signed at London on the 19th day of November, 1794, and shall be permanently binding upon his majesty and the United States.

In witness whereof, We, the said undersigned plenipotentiaries of his Britannic majesty and the United States of America have signed this present article, and have caused to be affixed thereto the seal of our arms. Done at London, this 15th day of March, 1795.

Grenville, (L. S.) Rufus King.

Protest entered upon the Journals of the House of Lords against a Bill, intituled, "An Act empowering his Majesty for a Time, and to an extent to be limited, to accept the Services of such Parts of his Militia Forces in this Kingdom, as may voluntarily offer themselves to be employed in Ireland," passing into a Law.

Dissentient,

BECAUSE, convinced that the very existence of the militia, as a constitutional force, depends upon strictly adhering to that great and fundamental principle on which it was originally established, namely, the internal defence of the kingdom.

Because, any departure (under whatever circumstances) from conditions hitherto considered as sacred, and on which every engagement respecting the militia service has hitherto proceeded, must create distrust with regard to its future destination, and hereafter render it extremely difficult to find persons of property and independence disposed to serve as officers.

Because, however laudable the offers lately made by certain militia corps to serve in Ireland undoubtedly are, it does not appear that those offers can be accepted without manifestly risking great and serious inconvenience to this country; and highly important as it is to crush, as soon as possible, the rebellion now unhappily raging in the sister kingdom, the proposed measure still appears highly exceptionable; nor can it be too much lamented if, from an unfortunate distribution of the forces of the empire at large, tranquillity cannot be restored to Ireland but at the expence of the constitution of Great Britain. Leeds.

Proteſt entered, by the Duke of Norfolk, upon the Journals of the Houſe of Lords, againſt a Bill, intituled "An Act empowering his Majeſty for a Time, and to an extent to be limited, to accept the Services of ſuch Parts of his Militia Forces in this Kingdom as may voluntarily offer themſelves to be employed in Ireland," paſſing into a Law.

Diſſentient,

1ſt. BECAUSE the militia being the only permanent armed force that can be lawfully maintained, and by its inſtitution intended ſolely for the defence of this kingdom, an offer to carry it out of the kingdom could not be made conſiſtent with the principles of the conſtitution, and ought not to receive the ſanction of parliament.

2d. Becauſe no communication relating to Ireland having been made to this houſe, or the advice of parliament taken on the ſtate of that kingdom, it can have no means of judging of the propriety of any meaſures to be taken: and the only ſource of information being private accounts and unauthenticated publications, which aſſert that ſcourges and tortures have in numerous inſtances been inflicted to extort confeſſions and accuſations, which illegal acts (being generally believed, and not having been contradicted by the lords in his majeſty's councils when called upon to do it) might greatly tend to excite thoſe inſurrections which the application of this force is intended to ſuppreſs.

3d. Becauſe this bill has been paſſed with a haſte and precipitancy incompatible with the cool deliberation requiſite for a matter of ſuch importance, and contrary to the wiſe regulations and orders of this houſe.

Norfolk, E. M.

Speech of his Excellency Earl Camden, Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, from the Throne, 16th Jan. 1798, at the Meeting of Parliament.

My lords and gentlemen,

I HAVE his majeſty's commands to aſſemble you in parliament at this important period, and to reſort to your deliberation and advice.

When I reflect on the tranquillity which attended the late general election, I have juſt ground to believe that the wiſdom and firmneſs which were manifeſted by the late parliament were felt and approved by the nation at large, and that your conduct will be actuated by ſimilar principles in defence of our happy conſtitution.

It muſt have given you great concern to learn that his majeſty's endeavours to reſtore the bleſſings of peace have been again fruſtrated by the deſperate ambition of the French government. I have his majeſty's commands to lay before you his royal declaration, and the various papers which paſſed in the courſe of the late negociation, in which the magnanimity and moderation of his majeſty were ſo eminently diſplayed, as to leave no pretext or colour for the inſidious conduct and fallacious ſtatements of the enemy.

His majeſty relies with confidence on the ſpirit of his people of Ireland, who are ſenſible of their duty to their God, their ſovereign, and their country. He knows they are incapable of being intimidated by any threats, or deluded by any offers;

ſers; and he implicitly depends on the valour of his regular and militia forces, the active loyalty of the diſtrict corps, the courage of the nation, and the proweſs of his fleets and armies, for defeating every hoſtile attempt which may be made on this kingdom.

The late ſignal victory of admiral lord Duncan, over the Dutch ſquadron, achieved on their own coaſts, with ſuch profeſſional ſkill and heroic gallantry, has not only added freſh luſtre to the glory of his majeſty's navy, but has given new ſtrength and ſecurity to all his majeſty's dominions.

Gentlemen of the houſe of commons,

I have ordered the public accounts and the eſtimates for the enſuing year to be laid before you. I lament that additional burdens are ſtill neceſſary, in order to maintain the honour and ſecurity of the empire in the preſent exigency; and although, from the ſtate of preparation in which this kingdom ſtands, ſome of the demands of former periods will not recur, yet I fear the general expence of the enſuing year will not admit of any conſiderable reduction. When you reflect on all you have to preſerve, and all you have to expect from the enemy you have to combat with, I doubt not the ſupplies will be cheerfully granted. I ſhall endeavour, on my part, that they ſhall be faithfully applied.

My lords and gentlemen,

In conſequence of the addreſſes of the houſes of lords and commons, in May laſt, I directed immediate and vigorous meaſures to be taken for repreſſing diſaffection in the northern parts of the kingdom, and for reſtoring ſecurity and confidence to the loyal and well-diſpoſed; the effect of which has been manifeſted in the return of ſubordination and induſtry in that quarter. Other attempts have ſince been made by the leaders of the diſaffected in ſome parts of the midland and ſouthern diſtricts, with too much ſucceſs, and emiſſaries have been employed, and publications have been circulated, by them, to revive religious animoſities, and to open proſpects of plunder, by which means the lower claſſes have been excited to commit acts of the moſt horrid outrage and barbarity. I have to lament that the diligence and activity of the magiſtrates, though aſſiſted by the troops which have been ordered into that part of the kingdom, have not yet been able entirely to put a ſtop to thoſe diſturbances. Conſtant vigilance and unremitting exertions continue to be neceſſary when all means are tried to excite the people to rebellion and revolt; when a ſyſtematic plan of aſſaſſination is adopted and encouraged; and when the moſt audacious attempts are made to impede and prevent the adminiſtration of juſtice.

Amidſt your exertions for the defence of the kingdom, I muſt not omit to recommend to you not to relax your attention to its commerce, its agriculture, and its manufactures, and eſpecially to that of the linen; nor will your liberality be leſs conſpicuous in continuing that protection to the proteſtant charter ſchools, and the other charitable inſtitutions, under which they have ſo long flouriſhed.

His majeſty has commanded me to declare to you, that his firm reſolution is taken in the preſent ar-

duous conteſt. He will not be wanting to his people, but with them will ſtand or fall in the defence of their religion, and in the preſervation of the independence, laws, and liberties, of his kingdoms.

It will be a ſource of infinite ſatisfaction to my mind, if, in the execution of my duty, I can contribute to ſupport the generous determination of my ſovereign, and maintain the ſafety and proſperity of his people. I rely upon your advice and co-operation, and, aided by them, I look forward with confidence to a happy iſſue of the conteſt in which we are engaged.

Meſſage from his Excellency, the Lord-Lieutenant, to the Houſe of Commons, 22d May, 1798.

Camden.

I Am to acquaint the houſe of commons, that, in conſequence of the diſorders which have taken place in the neighbouring counties, and of the preparations which appeared to be making by the diſaffected in this metropolis and its vicinity, the magiſtrates thought it proper to apply to the lord-lieutenant and privy council, to place the city under the proviſions of the act paſſed in the thirty-ſixth year of his majeſty's reign, more effectually to ſuppreſs inſurrections and prevent the diſturbance of the public peace: this application has been complied with; and I am now, with the utmoſt concern, to inform the houſe of commons, that I have received informations that the diſaffected have been daring enough to form a plan for the purpoſe of poſſeſſing themſelves, in the courſe of the preſent month, of the metropolis, of ſeizing the ſeat of government, and thoſe in authority within the city. In conſequence of this information, I have directed every military precaution to be taken which ſeemed expedient. I have made full communication to the magiſtracy for the direction of their efforts, and I have no doubt that, by the meaſures which will be purſued, the deſigns of the rebellious will be effectually and entirely cruſhed.

I have taken the earlieſt opportunity of making this communication, and have the fulleſt confidence that I ſhall be ſupported by the commons in ſuch meaſures as ſhall be neceſſary finally to ſuppreſs the rebellious conſpiracy which exiſts in this kingdom.

C.

Proclamation by the Lord-Lieutenant and Council of Ireland.

Camden.

HIS excellency, the lord-lieutenant, by and with the advice of the privy-council, has iſſued orders, to all the general officers commanding his majeſty's forces, to puniſh all perſons acting, aiding, or, in any manner, aſſiſting in the rebellion which now exiſts within this kingdom, and has broken out in the moſt daring and violent attacks upon his majeſty's forces, according to martial law, either by death or otherwiſe, as to them ſhall ſeem right and expedient, for the puniſhment and ſuppreſſion of all rebels in their ſeveral diſtricts: of which

which all his majeſty's ſubjects are hereby required to take notice.

Given at the council chamber in Dublin, the 24th day of May, 1798.

God ſave the King.

Meſſage from the Lord-Lieutenant to the Houſe of Commons, 17th June.

Cornwallis.

I Have received the king's commands to acquaint the houſe of commons, that his majeſty, notwithſtanding his juſt abhorrence of the unnatural and unprovoked rebellion which has broken out in this kingdom, yet, being ever diſpoſed to exert, as far as poſſible, his royal prerogative of mercy, and to receive again, under his royal protection, thoſe who, by the arts of wicked and deſigning men, have been ſeduced from their allegiance, has ſignified his gracious intention of granting his general and free pardon for all offences committed on or before a certain day, upon ſuch conditions, and with ſuch exceptions, as may be compatible with the public ſafety; for carrying which benevolent purpoſe into execution, his majeſty has ſignified his gracious intention of ſanctioning, in the uſual form, by his royal ſignature, a bill for that purpoſe, previous to its being ſubmitted for the concurrence of parliament.

His majeſty has alſo directed me to lay before you ſeveral important papers, which may aſſiſt you in unfolding the nature and extent of the conſpiracy which has long prevailed in this kingdom; not doubting that whilſt your endeavours are directed to give effect to the gracious intentions of his majeſty, that you will feel it your indiſpenſable duty to conſider of, and adopt, ſuch meaſures of ſalutary precaution as may tend to ſecure the ſtate hereafter againſt the machinations of the diſaffected.

In your deliberations, the ſufferings of his majeſty's loyal ſubjects will naturally receive your attention; and I recommend to you the framing of effectual meaſures for aſcertaining their loſſes, and bringing their claims under the conſideration of parliament.

The numerous and continued advantages of his majeſty's forces over the rebels, afford me juſt ground to believe, that as their hopes of ſucceſs muſt have failed, ſo the obſtinacy of their reſiſtance will ſpeedily ceaſe. The generals under my command have received, and ſhall continue to receive, the moſt poſitive orders to proceed againſt them with unceaſing activity and vigour: and I ſhall not ſuffer their exertions to relax, ſo long as any body of them whatever ſhall remain in arms againſt his majeſty's peace.

C.

Speech of his Excellency Marquis Cornwallis, Lord-lieutenant of Ireland, to both Houſes, on the 6th of October, 1798, on proroguing the Parliament.

My lords and gentlemen,

I Have the ſatisfaction of acquainting you, that I have received the king's commands to releaſe you from your long and fatiguing attendance in parliament; and I am ordered to thank you, in his majeſty's name, for the unſhaken firmneſs and magnanimity with which you have met the moſt trying difficulties,

ficulties, and with which the meaſures have been planned, which you have adopted for the preſervation of your country.

I offer you my moſt ſincere congratulations on the glorious victory which has been obtained by his majeſty's ſquadron under the command of ſir Horatio Nelſon, over the French fleet in the Mediterranean, which not only reflects the higheſt honour on the officers and ſeamen by whom it has been achieved, but affords a proſpect of the moſt beneficial conſequences to the future intereſts of the Britiſh empire.

Gentlemen of the houſe of commons,

I am commanded to convey to you his majeſty's particular thanks for the ſupplies which you have ſo liberally granted, and by which you have manifeſted both the extent of the reſources which this kingdom poſſeſſes, and the ſpirit with which they are employed by the commons of Ireland for the preſervation of the ſtate.

His majeſty laments the neceſſity which calls for the impoſition of freſh burdens on his majeſty's ſubjects; but he truſts that they will ſee how much their preſent ſafety, and their future happineſs, depend on their exertions in the arduous conteſt in which they are engaged; and he aſſures his faithful commons, that the aids which they have afforded ſhall be carefully applied to the great object of maintaining the honour, and promoting the intereſt of their country.

My lords and gentlemen,

The circumſtances which have taken place ſince its commencement, muſt render this ſeſſion very memorable.

The foulеſt and darkeſt conſpiracy was formed, and long carried on by the implacable enemy of theſe realms, for the total extinction of the conſtitution, and for the ſeparation of his majeſty's kingdom of Ireland from Great Britain. By the unremitting vigilance of my predeceſſor in this government the treaſon had been detected; the apprehenſion of the principal conſpirators, and the ſalutary meaſures wiſely adopted, checked its progreſs; and through your ſagacious diligence it has been developed in all its parts, and traced to all its ſources.

A dangerous and wicked rebellion, the conſequence of that conſpiracy, has been, in a great meaſure, ſubdued; and the attempt of our inveterate enemy, to rekindle the flame of civil diſcord, by ſending a force into this country, has terminated in defeat.

Religion, the greateſt comfort and ſupport of mankind, has been moſt wickedly perverted to the purpoſe of inflaming the worſt of paſſions; and the vileſt arts have been uſed to perſuade the ignorant and unwary, that in a reign which has been marked by a ſeries of indulgences to all ſects of Chriſtians, it is the intention of his majeſty's government to oppreſs, and even to extirpate, that deſcription of his majeſty's ſubjects who have received repeated and recent marks of his favour and protection.

The Catholics of Ireland cannot but have obſerved what has been the conduct of thoſe who affect to be their friends towards the rites and the characters which they vene-

rate,

rate, and under whoſe auſpices the perſecuted paſtors of their church have found an aſylum.

Amongſt a number of offenders ſome moſt active characters have neceſſarily been ſelected as objects of public juſtice; but in every period of this dangerous conſpiracy the lenity of government, and of parliament, has been conſpicuous; and a general act of pardon has recently iſſued from the royal mercy, for the purpoſe of affording ſecurity to the repentant, and encouraging the deluded to return to their duty.

The vigour and power of his majeſty's arms, the loyalty, ſpirit, and activity of his regular, militia, and yeomanry forces, together with the prompt and cordial aſſiſtance of the militia and fencibles of Great Britain, have abundantly proved how vain every attempt muſt be, either by treachery within, or by force from abroad, to undermine, or overturn, our civil and religious eſtabliſhments.

From the dangers which have ſurrounded you, and which you have overcome, you muſt be ſenſible that your ſecurity can only be preſerved by perſevering vigilance and increaſing energy. You will not ſuffer your efforts to relax, and you may be aſſured of my zealous endeavours to ſecond your exertions. Our hopes and our objects are the ſame, that the deluded may ſee their error, and the diſaffected be reclaimed; but if an endeavour ſhall be made to abuſe the royal mercy, and to form freſh conſpiracies in the proſpect of impunity, offended juſtice will then be compelled to extend to the obdurate criminal the full meaſure of his puniſhment.

Amidſt your meaſures, either of power, of juſtice, or of clemency, you have not forgotten to afford conſolation and encouragement to the loyal. The means which were adopted for their temporary relief, and the plan which has been deviſed for the farther remuneration of their loſſes, are highly honourable to your feelings, and muſt, in every loyal breaſt, excite emotions of love and gratitude to his country.

Since my arrival in this kingdom I have received the moſt flattering aſſurances of your regard and approbation, which command my warmeſt acknowledgements; and whilſt I feel myſelf thus encouraged and ſupported, and reflect on the loyalty which is ſo generally diſplayed, and on the force which is entruſted to my direction, I cannot allow myſelf to doubt of the ſucceſs of our united endeavours for the welfare of this country.

Proclamation by the Lord-Lieutenant and Council of Ireland.

Camden,

WHEREAS a traitorous conſpiracy, exiſting within this kingdom, for the ſubverſion of the authority of his majeſty and the parliament, and for the deſtruction of the eſtabliſhed conſtitution and government, hath conſiderably extended itſelf, and hath broken out into acts of open violence and rebellion:

We have therefore, by and with the advice of his majeſty's privy council, iſſued the moſt direct and poſitive orders to the officers commanding

manding his majeſty's forces, to employ them with the utmoſt vigour and deciſion for the immediate ſuppreſſion thereof, and alſo to recover the arms which have been traitorouſly forced from his majeſty's peaceable and loyal ſubjects, and to diſarm the rebels, and all perſons diſaffected to his majeſty's government, by the moſt ſummary and effectual meaſures.

And we do hereby ſtrictly charge, and command, all his majeſty's peaceable and loyal ſubjects, on their allegiance, to aid and aſſiſt, to the utmoſt of their power, his majeſty's forces in the execution of their duty, to whom we have given it ſtrictly in command to afford full protection to them from all acts of violence which ſhall be attempted againſt their perſons or properties.

Given at the council chamber in Dublin, the 30th day of March, 1798.

God ſave the King.

Proclamation iſſued by the High Sheriff of the County of Tipperary.

WHEREAS, by my oath as ſheriff, I am bound to maintain the law and conſtitution of this realm, and to enforce due obedience to, and execution of, the ſame, and to do equal juſtice to the poor as to the rich:

And whereas, in diſtricts proclaimed, it is lawful for, and the duty of, the ſheriff, or other chief magiſtrate, to poſt a notice on the dwelling-houſe, of any inhabitant who has fled from the ſame, enjoining him to return thereto within the ſpace of twenty-four hours, under the penalties of the laws, in that caſe provided:

And whereas, many of his majeſty's ſubjects, either through fear or ſome worſe cauſe, have abandoned their dwelling-houſes, and retired into towns, whereby great injury has ariſen to his majeſty's loyal and brave ſubjects, by weakening and extending their line of defence; and the inhabitants of the towns have been grievouſly oppreſſed, and his majeſty's troops ſtinted in their quarters; and whereby a daſtardly and evil example has been ſet to his majeſty's ſubjects:

And whereas many unfortunate people, not meeting with that manly and ſpirited reſiſtance from their ſuperiors, which, from their ſituations, they were bound to make, but encouraged, from want of oppoſition, to commit acts of violence and outrage in the firſt inſtance, and, at laſt, to commit acts of open rebellion, to the great diſgrace of this country and the diſhonour of his majeſty's government, and to the ruin of the families of the ſeveral victims of the violated laws, and who have in the moſt ſolemn manner, in their laſt moments, declared, they would never have proceeded to ſuch exceſſes, but for the flight and cowardice of their ſuperiors:

Now, in order to remedy theſe evils, the high ſheriff commands all emigants to return forthwith to their houſes, to defend the ſame, and to provide quarters for his majeſty's troops.

And he hereby commands all mayors, bailiffs headboroughs, and other peace-officers, to ſee theſe his orders duly executed, and to compel ſuch emigrants to quit their towns within forty-eight hours from this

his

his proclamation, and to return to their reſpective homes. And he hereby commands all officers aforeſaid, forthwith to notify to him the names and places of abode of ſuch emigrants as neglect or refuſe to comply with theſe his orders.

N. B. The high ſheriff thinks it his duty to return his warmeſt thanks to Mrs. Bunbury, who, with the aſſiſtance of two men-ſervants, ſo gallantly defended her houſe, and compelled the rebels to retire, though they had broken into the houſe, and were in poſſeſſion of the hall: and he hopes that ſuch heroic conduct, in a lady of ſuch high diſtinction, eminent for beauty and elegance of manners, will raiſe the crimſon bluſh of ſhame on the pallid cheeks of thoſe heroes who ſo diſgracefully and cowardly ſurrendered large quantities of well-loaded arms to the rebels, on their firſt approach, without having ſpunk enough to fire even a ſingle ſhot.

Done at Liſheen, April 20, 1798.

Copy of a Paper found at Caſtlebar, by Lieutenant-Colonel Crauford, among the Archives of the proviſional Government which the French elected for the Province of Connaught.

Liberty. *Equality.*

Army of Ireland.

At the Head-Quarters at Caſtlebar, the 14th Fructidor, in the 6th Year of the French Republic, one and indiviſible.

GENERAL Humbert, commander-in-chief of the army of Ireland, wiſhing to organize, as ſoon as poſſible, an adminiſtrative power for the province of Connaught, orders as follows:

1. The government of the province of Connaught ſhall reſide at Caſtlebar till farther orders.

2. The government ſhall be compoſed of twelve members, who will be nominated by the commander-in-chief of the French army.

3. Citizen John Moore is appointed preſident of the province of Connaught. He is particularly charged with the nomination and union of the members of the government.

4. The government ſhall immediately direct its attention to the organization of the militia of the province of Connaught, and to ſecuring the proviſions neceſſary for the French and Iriſh armies.

5. There ſhall be formed eight regiments of infantry, each of twelve hundred men; and four of cavalry, each of ſix hundred men.

6. The government will declare rebels and traitors to their country, all thoſe who, having received arms and clothing, ſhall not join the army within twenty-four hours.

7. Every individual, from ſixteen to forty, incluſively, is called upon, in the name of the Iriſh republic, to repair immediately to the French camp, to march in a maſs againſt the common enemy, the government of Ireland—the Engliſh; whoſe deſtruction alone can ſecure the independence and happineſs of ancient Hibernia.

The general commanding in chief,

(Signed) Humbert.

A Proclamation by General Nugent, at Belfaſt.

WHEREAS the ſtate-priſoners, in the ſeveral priſons in Dublin,

Dublin, have propoſed to his excellency the lord-lieutenant "to give every information in their power of the whole of the internal tranſactions of the united Iriſhmen; and that each of them would give detailed information of every tranſaction that has paſſed between the united Iriſhmen and foreign ſtates, without, however, naming or deſcribing, ſo as to implicate any perſon whatever; and that they were ready to emigrate to ſuch country as ſhould be agreed upon between them and government, giving ſecurity not to return to this country without the permiſſion of government, and not to paſs into an enemy's country, if, on their ſo doing, they ſhould be freed from proſecution; and that Mr. Oliver Bond was to be permitted to take the benefit of the ſaid propoſal; and that the ſtate-priſoners alſo hoped, that the benefit of the ſaid propoſal would be extended to ſuch perſons in cuſtody, or not in cuſtody, as might chooſe to take the benefit of it:" which propoſal is ſigned by Arthur O'Connor, Thomas Addis Emmet, William M'Nevin, Samuel Neilſon, Henry Jackſon, John Sweetman, and by upwards of ſeventy other priſoners:

And whereas his excellency the lord-lieutenant has been graciouſly pleaſed to accept of the ſaid propoſal, and has agreed to the terms thereby offered; in conſequence whereof, the ſaid ſtate-priſoners have been examined before the ſecret committee of the two houſes of parliament, and have given full information of the tranſactions of the united Iriſhmen:

Now, I do, by this my proclamation, make known to the ſeveral ſtate-priſoners within this diſtrict, and to others whom it may concern, the terms and conditions upon which the ſtate-priſoners in Dublin have obtained his majeſty's pardon, in order that thoſe who think fit may entitle themſelves to an equal diſtribution of the king's moſt merciful and gracious intentions; and I do hereby require, thoſe whom it may concern, within this diſtrict, forthwith to ſignify to me, whether they are ready to ſubſcribe to ſimilar terms and conditions, and thereby entitle themſelves to the like meaſure of his majeſty's mercy; and in order that all perſons now in cuſtody may have a full opportunity of ſignifying their intentions herein, I will ſend proper perſons to each priſon within this diſtrict, for the purpoſe of receiving their reſpective determinations.

G. Nugent, maj.-gen. commanding northern diſtrict.

Belfaſt, Aug. 23, 1798.

Proclamation by the Lord-Lieutenant-General and General-Governor of Ireland.

Cornwallis,

WHEREAS it appears, that, during the late invaſion, many of the inhabitants of the county of Mayo, and counties adjacent, did join the French forces, and did receive from them arms and ammunition; and whereas it may be expedient to admit ſuch perſons to mercy, who may have been inſtigated thereto by deſigning men; we do hereby promiſe his majeſty's pardon to any perſon who has joined the enemy, provided he ſurrenders himſelf to any of his majeſty's juſtices of the peace, or to any of his majeſty's

majeſty's officers, and delivers up a French firelock and bayonet, and all the ammunition in his poſſeſſion; and provided he has not ſerved in any higher capacity than that of a private.

This proclamation to be in force for thirty days from the date hereof.

Given at his majeſty's caſtle of Dublin, this 11th day of September, 1798.

By the lord-lieutenant's command,
Caſtlereagh.

Proclamation of the Emperor of Ruſſia.

Peterſburg, May 15.

BE it hereby known to all whom it may concern, to all Europe, and the whole world, that his Imperial Ruſſian majeſty, Paul I. has ordered the following proclamation to be iſſued by me, prince Alexander Beſborodko, firſt miniſter and chancellor of his Imperial majeſty:

In conſequence of the notification of the executive directory of the French republic, of the 23d of Nivoſe, in the 6th year, importing, "That if any ſhip be ſuffered to paſs through the Sound with Engliſh commodities, of whatever nation it may be, it ſhall be conſidered as a formal declaration of war againſt the French nation;" his Imperial majeſty, Paul I. has been graciouſly pleaſed to order twenty-two ſhips of the line, and two hundred and fifty gallies, under the command of admiral Kruſe, and M. de Litta, knight of Malta, to proceed to the Sound, to protect trade in general againſt the manifeſt oppreſſion of the directory, as ſuch a proceeding is evidently contrary to the rights of nations. His Ruſſian majeſty gives his Imperial word to protect the freedom of trade, with all his power, both by ſea and land, which he hereby requires the diplomatic corps to make known and proclaim.

Treaty of Alliance between the Empires of Ruſſia and Turkey.

In the name of God omnipotent.

HIS majeſty the emperor of the Ottomans, and his majeſty the emperor of all the Ruſſias, equally animated with a ſincere deſire not only to maintain, for the good of their reſpective ſtates and ſubjects, the peace, friendſhip, and good underſtanding which happily ſubſiſt between them, but farther, to make them contribute to the reeſtabliſhment and ſecurity of the general tranquillity, ſo ſalutary for humanity, and at preſent ſo much diſturbed, have reſolved to draw ſtill more cloſe the bonds which unite them, by the concluſion of a treaty of defenſive alliance. Accordingly, their majeſties have choſen and nominated for their plenipotentiaries, that is to ſay, his majeſty the emperor of the Ottomans, Eſſaid Ibrahim-Ihmed Bey, with the title of Cadileſkier of Romelie, heretofore Iſtamboul-Effendi, and Achmed Aſif, Reis-Effendi; and his majeſty the emperor of Ruſſia, the noble Vaſſili Tamara, his privy counſellor and ambaſſardor-extraordinary at the Ottoman porte; who, after having exchanged their full powers in due and proper form, have agreed upon the following articles:

I. There ſhall be always peace, friendſhip, and good underſtanding, between

between his majeſty the emperor of the Ottomans and the emperor of all the Ruſſias, their empires, and ſubjects, as well by land as by ſea, in ſuch manner as that, by this defenſive alliance, there ſhall be eſtabliſhed between them an union ſo intimate that they ſhall, in future, have the ſame friends and the ſame enemies; in conſequence, their majeſties promiſ to open their minds, without reſerve, the one to the other, upon all ſubjects which concern their reſpective tranquillity and ſafety, and to take all neceſſary meaſures to oppoſe themſelves to every hoſtile enterpriſe that might prove injurious to them, and for the re-eſtabliſhment of general tranquillity.

II. The treaty of peace concluded at Jaſſy, December 29, 1791, of the Hegira, 1206, the 15th of the moon of Gemaziel Coxel, as well as all other treaties compriſed in it, are hereby confirmed in their full tenour and extent, as if they had been inſerted word for word in the preſent treaty of defenſive alliance.

III. To give to this alliance full and complete effect, the high contracting powers reciprocally guarantee their poſſeſſions. His majeſty the emperor of all the Ruſſias guarantees to the Sublime Porte all its poſſeſſions, without exception, ſuch as they exiſted before the invaſion of Egypt: and his majeſty the emperor of the Ottomans guarantees all the poſſeſſions of the court of Ruſſia as they at preſent exiſt, without exception.

IV. Although the two parties reſerve to themſelves the right of entering into negociations with other powers, and of concluding with them all treaties that their intereſts may require, they bind themſelves, however, one to the other, in the moſt formal manner, to inſert nothing in ſuch treaties that may be able to cauſe the leaſt prejudice, injury, or loſs, to either of the two, or affect the integrity of their ſtates. On the contrary, they bind themſelves reciprocally to do every thing which may tend to preſerve and maintain the honour, ſecurity, and advantage, of both the one and the other.

V. If there ſhould be formed any plan or enterpriſe hurtful to the two powers, or one of them, and that the forces, which may be employed to baffle ſuch hoſtile enterpriſes, ſhall not be found ſufficient, then the one party ſhall be bound to aſſiſt the other, by land or by ſea, either to act in concert or to make a diverſion, or it ſhall aſſiſt with money according as the common intereſt of the allies and their ſecurity ſhall require. In ſuch caſe they ſhall previouſly communicate to each other with frankneſs, they ſhall make all neceſſary diſpoſitions with the greateſt poſſible promptitude, and ſhall immediately fulfil their obligation with fidelity.

VI. The choice of ſuch aſſiſtance, whether it conſiſts in auxil ary troops or money, ſhall depend on the party attacked; and in caſe that it requires the former, they ſhall be furniſhed within three months after demand made. If it preſers ſubſidies in money, they ſhall be paid, year by year, at fixed periods, from the day of the declaration of war, by the aggreſſor, on the commencement of hoſtilities.

VII. The two high contracting parties, thus making common cauſe, whether with all their forces or only with ſtipulated ſuccours, neither of the two ſhall conclude a

treaty

treaty of peace or armiſtice without compriſing in it the other, and providing for its ſecurity; and in caſe there ſhould be formed any enterpriſe or attack againſt the party called upon, in contempt of the alliance concluded, on the ſuccours lent, the other party ſhall be obliged to fulfil, with fidelity and punctuality, the ſame obligations for the defence of the former.

VIII. In caſe where the two high allied powers are called upon to act in concert with all their forces, or a ſtipulated aid, they promiſe to communicate reciprocally to each other, with frankneſs and without reſerve, the plan of their military operations, to facilitate, as much as poſſible, their execution, to communicate their intentions relative to the duration of war and the conditions of peace, and to underſtand themſelves on this ſubject as guided by pacific and moderate principles.

IX. The auxiliary troops ſhall be provided by their ſovereign, in proportion to their number, with artillery, ammunition, and other neceſſaries. They ſhall be alſo paid and kept by him. The party requiring them ſhall furniſh them with proviſions and forage, in kind, or money, according to certain prices to be fixed and agreed upon, from the date of the day on which they ſhall quit their frontiers. The party requiring them ſhall procure them quarters and other accommodations, ſuch as his own troops enjoy, or ſuch as thoſe of the country called upon have been uſed to in time of peace.

X. The party requiring ſhall furniſh the auxiliary ſquadron with all proviſions that it ſhall want, on certain terms which ſhall have been agreed upon, to commence from the day of its arrival, and during all the time it ſhall be employed againſt the common enemy. The party requiring ſhall furniſh, without heſitation, from its arſenals and magazines, at the ordinary prices, every thing neceſſary for the ſquadron, ſhould it ſtand in need of repairs. The ſhips of war and tranſports of the two allied courts ſhall have, during the whole time of the continuance of the common war, free entrance into their ports, either to winter there or repair.

XI. All trophies taken from the enemy, and all the prizes, ſhall belong to the troops which ſhall acquire them.

XII. Their majeſties, the emperor of the Ottomans and the emperor of all the Ruſſias, having no views of conqueſt, by the preſent treaty of defenſive alliance, but only to maintain the integrity of their reſpective poſſeſſions, for the ſecurity of their ſubjects; and alſo to ſupport the other powers in the reſpectable ſituation in which they are at preſent placed, and according to which they may form a political counterpoiſe, if neceſſary, for the maintenance of the general tranquillity, their majeſties will not fail to invite his majeſty the emperor, king of Bohemia and Hungary, the kings of Great Britain and Pruſſia, and alſo all other potentates, to accede to this treaty, the object of which is ſo juſt and ſo ſalutary.

XIII. However ſincerely the two high contracting powers may intend to maintain this engagement to the moſt remote period of time, yet as it may happen that circumſtances ſhould hereafter require ſome changes to be made in it, it is agreed

greed to limit its duration to eight years, from the date of the day of the exchange of the Imperial ratifications. The two parties, before the expiration of that term, shall concert, according to the state of affairs at that period, on the renewal of the said treaty.

XIV. The present treaty of defensive alliance shall be ratified by his majesty the emperor of the Ottomans and by his majesty the emperor of all the Russias, and the ratifications shall be exchanged at Constantinople, within the term of two months, and even sooner if possible,

In faith of which, we, the undersigned, by virtue of our full powers, have signed the present treaty of defensive alliance, and have hereunto put our seal.

(Signed) Esseid-Ibrahim-Ismet, with the title of kadileskier of Romelia.
Achmed-Atif, reis-effendi.
Vassili Tamara, privy-counsellor.

Constantinople, Dec. 23, 1798.

Proclamation to the Batavian People.

Liberty, Equality, Fraternity.

Batavians,

SINCE it is but too manifest that the revolution, which the victorious arms of the French effected in the year 1795, has been either openly counteracted, or secretly undermined, by those whom you have chosen to support and confirm it; since the unity and indivisibility of the sovereignty of the people, the consolidations of the debts of the provinces, the equality of the civic rights and duties, the abolition, in this respect, of all distinction between ranks and stations, and lastly, the entire separation of the church from the state, have been continually, some in a more, and others in a less open manner, the apples of discord in the present times; since the voice of truth, and the welfare of the whole people, have been obliged to yield to error, and provisional or personal self-interest; and since, lastly, the constant clashing of opposite and contradictory principles, has enfeebled all the branches of political administration, and threatens to render perpetual the unsettled and uncertain state of revolution; it must certainly be the wish of all, that a powerful, steady, and well-adjusted authority, should at length put an end to all these uncertainties, divisions, and contradictory principles, prevent their destructive consequences, and establish a wise form of government, founded on the acknowledgement of the great truths above-mentioned, and confirmed by justice and prudence.

You flattered yourselves that these principles would be restored on the 22d of January last, and in whatever light you might, at first, view the events of that day, you were willing to excuse the irregularity of the proceeding, from the state of affairs, and the necessity of the circumstances, and to support the authority of the new intermediary administration, the constituent assembly representing the Batavian republic. You only required proof that the events of that day were not the acts of a faction, but the triumph of true principles, tending to promote the welfare of the people.

Under

Under these conditions you were willing to place unlimited confidence in the intermediary administration, and transmit the names of your patriots with unbounded gratitude to the latest posterity.

Such, Batavians, was your generous and noble conduct; but soon it appeared that the spirit of the new intermediary administration had no tendency to render all former differences forgotten, by just and generous measures. Soon it appeared, that, instead of a restoration of principles, you had obtained a change of persons, by a revolution similar, in that respect, to all the former which your commonwealth had suffered, during more than two centuries, but much more dangerous than them all, since, by the precipitation and ignorance of the authors of it, every thing was overturned, and the country rendered a prey to anarchy and tyranny, in a manner of which its history affords no example. Not merely were the heads of the federative aristocratic administration excluded from the direction of affairs, but ignorance and disguised self-interest contrived to render suspected almost every person of abilities and merit in the country. Worthy men, and even such as had continually declared themselves the friends of the principles now established, and who had been constantly devoted to the interests of the people, but who had shewn too much spirit to be slaves of a faction, or idolize individuals, were excluded both from the provincial and general administrations, which were filled with men whose conduct had rendered them contemptible in the eyes of the nation, or who, at least, had no other merit than that of being the blind supporters of a faction.

There is not a more certain sign of the approaching fall of a state, than when justice is publicly violated. Exiles returned secretly into the country—sentences which had been pronounced against offences, and prosecutions against persons accused, were annulled. At the same time the seekers after offices, a race of men destructive to every nation, thrust from their places a great number of upright and able men throughout the whole country; and the order to remove those who were unfit to remain in their posts and employments, was enforced in the most arbitrary manner.

Such, Batavians, were the proceedings of some anarchists, who every where flocked together, and who were favoured by the majority of the members of the constituted assembly, and by the executive power, either because these latter were weak enough to promise themselves a durable support from them, or because they had not sufficient strength to oppose them; they so far extended their influence, that many of those who had been members of the last national assembly, and who had shewn themselves devoted to the principles of the revolution, whose only offences were, that they would not, without your previous assent, annul the federative government sanctioned by the national assembly, were declared to have lost the confidence of the people, and to be deprived of their right of voting.

The measures of safety, as they were called, should have had for their object the annihilation of all

factions, without diſtinction: but they were, for the moſt part, carried into execution in ſo partial and arbitrary a manner, that the whole nation was rendered adverſe to the order of things. All freedom of ſpeech was taken away, and many reſolutions too evidently flowed from the corrupt ſources of revenge and private intereſt. The motto of unity and indiviſibility ſhould have united the whole nation, and excited all to combine and ſacrifice their individual advantage for the general good of the country; but in ſuch a manner were theſe terms employed, as to transform them into a perfect tyranny; and the tranſaction of the 22d of January, by the ignorance and precipitation with which it was conducted, became the object of general contempt, averſion, and ridicule.

At length, Batavians, the conſtituent aſſembly preſented to you the plan of a conſtitution for your acceptance, and from that time began an avowed diſregard of the eſtabliſhed principles; the ſpirit of the intermediary adminiſtration was no longer diſguiſed, and your grievances reached their utmoſt height.

Faithful Batavians! the principles themſelves had not been in danger, had the new executive directory, eſtabliſhed by the conſtitution, been choſen as that conſtitution preſcribes. Would the conſtitution have been leſs freely accepted, had the meeting of the primary aſſemblies not been ſo long delayed? Was it neceſſay that emiſſaries, ſuch as the men before-mentioned, ſhould be employed on this occaſion? Was it neceſſary to entruſt to them the dangerous power of depriving citizens of the right of voting? Was not this a violent attack on the ſovereignty of the people, not juſtified by the urgent neceſſity pleaded in ſome other caſes?

And as if all this were not ſufficient, the injury offered to the inſulted ſovereignty of the people, on the 4th of May laſt, was ſtill greater. Then, after the acceptance of the conſtitution, and when the will of the people had been expreſsly declared, with reſpect to the manner in which their repreſentatives in their legiſlative body ſhould be choſen, the majority of the members of the conſtituent aſſembly, by their own authority alone, declared themſelves the legiſlative body of the Batavian people, leaving no other free election to the people, but merely to fill the vacancies in that body. At that moment a flagrant breach of the conſtitution was committed, and a direct violation of the inalienable rights of the people perpetrated.

No diſgraceful pretexts, no contemptible perverſion of the words of the conſtitution, will ever be found ſufficient to juſtify this act of violence in the opinion of any nation in Europe.

Theſe things, Batavians, you have all ſeen; they could eſcape the obſervation of no perſon. But we, whoſe different ſituations have placed us around the intermediary adminiſtration, have been able to view the whole of theſe tranſactions, and diſcover their motives and conſequences. Numerous complaints of the inhabitants, which would not have exiſted, had it not been for the violent event of of the 22d of January, have inceſſantly diverted the attention of the intermediary adminiſtration from the great intereſts of the country, and

and fixed it on matters of leſs importance. The negligence of the ruling powers has ſpread from commune to commune through the country; and had not we, and ſome others, exerted ourſelves to ſtem the torrent, a general liſtleſſneſs and inactivity muſt have pervaded the whole land, and diſaffection and alarm ſeized on all.

And will you then, Batavians, any longer ſuffer in ſilence the injuſtice done you? Do you not feel, like your anceſtors, the value of civil freedom? Can you not diſtinguiſh reality from appearance, and the ſubſtance from the name? Have you not long wiſhed and expected that we, who have ſworn fidelity to our country, who, from our ſituation, muſt be moſt capable to deliver you, ſhould attempt your deliverance? The reſiſtance of the people muſt be fatal to oppreſſion, and each Batavian who feels his worth, muſt at this moment be transformed into another Brutus. Batavians! you have wreſted the authority from your tyrants, who have ſtolen it from you under the pretence of being your friends.

But think not, Batavians, that we will never reſtore to you that which is your inalienable property, or that, in the mean time, we will deliver it into unworthy hands. We here declare, that we are reſponſible for it to you, and each of you, to our own conſciences, and to the eternal cauſe of all things.

The event will ſhew whether we have delivered you from uſurpation, or ſeized the authority as uſurpers ourſelves. Let the firſt conſtitutional legiſlative body that ſhall meet, decide upon this fact; and, as we have already obſerved, ſince the majority of our former repreſentatives, legally elected, who, on the 22d of January laſt, formed themſelves into a conſtituent aſſembly, and now have declared themſelves a conſtitutional legiſlative body, by which they have been guilty of an open attack on your ſovereign power; and as your other repreſentatives, who acted as the heads of the federative or ariſtocratic adminiſtration, now annulled, have ſcrupled to take their ſeats in the aſſembly: we, compelled by the urgency of circumſtances, and obſerving what is directed in the 31ſt article of the regulation annexed to the conſtitution, in caſe of a vacancy in the executive directory, have decreed, and hereby do decree,

1. That all ſuch legiſlative authority of the Batavian people as ſhall require to be exerciſed for the daily and neceſſary intereſts of the country, ſhall, as ſoon as poſſible, be committed to citizens whoſe honour and integrity cannot be ſuſpected.

2. That the late intermediary adminiſtration of the Batavian republic ſhall be required, as bound by their reſponſibility, to carry into effect the conſtitution of the Batavian people, in a ſpeedy and regular manner, for the reſtoration and eſtabliſhment of the conſtitutional legiſlative body.

3. That all authority of legiſlation, or in general of ſovereignty, exerciſed by the intermediary adminiſtration, ſhall, immediately after the eſtabliſhment of the legiſlative body of the Batavian people, paſs to that body; and after the election by the latter of a legal executive directory of the Batavian republic, all the executive authority

which we now neceſſarily exert, for the deliverance of our country, ſhall be reſigned to that directory.

4. That we engage to be anſwerable for the juſt and faithful uſe of our authority, and the reſignation of it at the time we have mentioned, to the legiſlative body that ſhall be elected, or by delegation from it, to the high national tribunal hereafter to be choſen.

Perfectly convinced that what we have done will be approved by the majority and moſt enlightened of the Batavian people, we hereby command, in their name, all conſtitutional authorities, provincial adminiſtrations, or adminiſtrations of communes, all juſtices of peace, civil officers, and commanders of the military, and all and each of the inhabitants of the Batavian republic, to obey our commands, and acknowledge no other authority than ours, until the intermediary adminiſtration ſhall have met; which notification ſhall be made public, and be affixed up in ſuch places as ſimilar notices uſually are.

Done at the Hague the 12th of June, the 4th year of Batavian freedom.

J. Spoors, agent of marine.
G. J. Pyman, agent for the war-department.
J. G. A. Gozel, miniſter of finance.
R. W. Tadamar, miniſter of juſtice.
A. J. La Pierre, miniſter of the interior.

Treaty of Campo Formio.

Secret Articles, and additional Convention, of the Treaty of Campo-Formio, of the 20th Vendemiaire, 6th Year (October 17, 1798.)

Article I.

HIS majeſty the emperor, king of Hungary and Bohemia, conſents that the boundaries of the French republic ſhall extend to the under-mentioned line, and engages to uſe his influence, that the French republic ſhall, by the peace to be concluded with the German empire, retain the ſame line as its boundary: namely, the left bank of the Rhine from the confines of Switzerland, below Baſle, to the branching off of the Nette, above Andrenach; including the head of the bridge at Manheim, the town and fortreſs of Mentz, and both banks of the Nette, from where it falls into the Rhine, to its ſource near Bruch. From thence, the line paſſes by Kenſcherade and Borley to Kerpen, and thence to Luderſdorf, Blantenheim, Marmagen, Coll, and Gemund, with all the circles and territory of theſe places, along both banks of the Olff, to where it falls into the Roer, and along both banks of the Roer; including Heimbach, Nideggen, Durin, and Juliers, with their circles and territory; as alſo the places on the banks, to Linnig, included. Hence the line extends by Hoffern and Kylenſdalen, Papelernod, Lutersforſt, Rodenberg, Haverſtoo, Anderſcheid, Kaldekuchen, Vampach, Herrigen, and Groſberg, including the town of Venloo and its territory. And if, notwithſtanding the mediation of his imperial majeſty, the German empire ſhall refuſe to conſent to the above-mentioned boundary line of the republic, his imperial majeſty hereby formally engages to furniſh to the empire no more than his contingent, which ſhall not be employed in any fortified place, or it ſhall be conſidered as a rupture of the peace and

and friendſhip which are reſtored between his majeſty and the republic.

II. His imperial majeſty will employ his good offices in the negociation of the peace of the empire, to obtain, 1, That the navigation of the Rhine, from Hunningen to the territory of Holland, ſhall be free both to the French republic and the ſtates of the empire, on the right bank: 2, That the poſſeſſors of territory, near the mouth of the Moſelle, ſhall never, and on no pretence, attempt to interrupt the free navigation and paſſage of ſhips and other veſſels, from the Moſelle into the Rhine: 3, The French republic ſhall have the free navigation of the Meuſe; and the tolls and other impoſts, from Venloo to Holland, ſhall be aboliſhed.

III. His imperial majeſty renounces, for himſelf and his ſucceſſors, the ſovereignty and poſſeſſion of the county of Falkenſtein and its dependencies.

IV. The countries which his imperial majeſty takes poſſeſſion of, in conſequence of the 6th article of the public definitive treaty, this day ſigned, ſhall be conſidered as an indemnification for the territory given up by the 7th article of the public treaty, and the foregoing article.—This renunciation ſhall only be in force, when the troops of his imperial majeſty ſhall have taken poſſeſſion of the countries ceded by the ſaid articles.

V. The French republic will employ its influence, that his majeſty the emperor ſhall receive the archbiſhopric of Saltzburg, and that part of the circle of Bavaria, which lies between the archbiſhopric of Saltzburg, the river Inn, Salza, and Tyrol; including the town of Waſſerburg, on the right bank of the Inn, with an arrondiſſement of 3000 toiſes.

VI. His imperial majeſty, at the concluſion of the peace with the empire, will give up to the French republic the ſovereignty and poſſeſſion of the Frickthal, and all the territory belonging to the houſe of Auſtria, on the left bank of the Rhine, between Zurgach and Baſle, provided his majeſty, at the concluſion of the ſaid peace, receives a proportionate indemnification. The French republic, in conſequence of particular arragements to be made, ſhall unite the above-mentioned territory with the Helvetic republic, without farther interference on the part of his imperial majeſty or the empire.

VII. The two contracting powers agree, that when, in the enſuing peace with the German empire, the French republic ſhall make an acquiſition in Germany, his imperial majeſty ſhall receive an equivalent; and, if his imperial majeſty ſhall make ſuch an acquiſition, the French republic ſhall, in like manner, receive an equivalent.

VIII. The prince of Naſſau Dietz, late ſtadtholder of Holland, ſhall receive a territorial indemification; but neither in the vicinity of the Auſtrian poſſeſſions, nor in the vicinity of the Batavian republic.

IX. The French republic makes no difficulty to reſtore to the king of Pruſſia his poſſeſſions on the left bank of the Rhine. No new acquiſition ſhall, however, be propoſed for the king of Pruſſia. This the two contracting powers mutually guarantee.

X. Should the king of Pruſſia be willing to cede to the French and Batavian republics ſome ſmall parts

of his territory on the left bank of the Meuſe, as Sevenger, and other poſſeſſions towards the Yſſel, his imperial majeſty will uſe his influence that ſuch ceſſions ſhall be accepted and made valid by the empire.

XI. His imperial majeſty will not object to the manner in which the imperial fiefs have been diſpoſed of by the French republic, in favour of the Ligurian republic. His imperial majeſty will uſe his influence, together with the French republic, that the German empire will renounce all feudal ſovereignty over the countries which make a part of the Ciſalpine and Ligurian republics; as alſo the imperial fiefs, ſuch as Laniguiana, and thoſe which lie between Tuſcany and the ſtates of Parma, the Ligurian and Luccheſe republics, and the late territory of Modena, which fiefs make a part of the Ciſalpine republic.

XII. His imperial majeſty and the French republic will, in concert, employ their influence, in the courſe of concluding the peace of the empire, that the princes and ſtates of the empire, who, in conſequence of the ſtipulations of the preſent treaty of peace, or in conſequence of the treaty to be concluded with the empire, ſhall ſuffer any loſs in territory or rights (particularly the electors of Mentz, Treves, and Cologne, the elector palatine of Bavaria, the duke of Wirtemberg and Teck, the Margrave of Baden, the duke of Deux Ponts, the landgrave of Heſſe Caſſel and Darmſtadt, the princes of Naſſau Saarbruck, Salm, Coburg, Lowenſtein, Weſtheim, and Wied-Runckel, and the Count de Leyn), ſhall receive proportionable indemnifications in Germany, which ſhall be ſettled by mutual agreement with the French republic.

XIII. The troops of his imperial majeſty, twenty days after the ratifications of the preſent treaties, ſhall evacuate the towns and fortreſſes of Mentz, Ehrenbreitſtein, Philipſburg, Manheim, Kunigſtein, Ulm, and Ingolſtadt, as alſo the whole territory appertaining to the German empire, to the boundaries of the hereditary ſtates.

XIV. The preſent ſecret articles ſhall have the ſame force as if they were inſerted word for word in the public treaty of peace this day ſigned, and ſhall in like manner be ratified, at the ſame time, by the two contracting powers; which ratifications ſhall be exchanged, in due form, at Raſtadt.

Done and ſigned at Campo Formio, the 17th of October, 1797, 16th of Vendemiaire, in the 6th year of the French republic, one and indiviſible.

(Signed)
Buonaparte.
Marquis de Gallo.
Louis, Count Cobenzel.
Count Meerſeldt, maj. gen.
Count Degelmann.

Declaration of the Sovereign Council of Berne, on the 31ſt of January, 1798.

WE being aſſembled this day, upon oath, to deliberate upon the meaſures to be taken for the ſafety of the country, have perſonally bound ourſelves by a ſolemn oath, and have firmly reſolved to defend the country at the price of our property and our blood, to the laſt extremity, and with all our power, againſt any enemy whatever, and to employ to that end all the

the means dependent upon us, in concert with our dear and faithful burghers.

The Deputies of the Berneſe People to their Fellow-citizens.

WHEN, ſome days ago, we were called by your meetings to ſit in the midſt of the government, you juſtly hoped that great advantages would reſult from it, and that the cloſer union of the citizens of the ſtate would be the true means of protecting us ſucceſſfully againſt the dangers that were every moment increaſing, and more and more threatening our country. Your hope will not be diſappointed, dear fellow-citizens; and though, in ſo ſhort a time, it has not yet been poſſible for us to remove your fears upon the arrangements without, we have, nevertheleſs, taken a great ſtep towards the triumph which we ſhould deſire; that is, by having increaſed our ſtrength, by a union moſt wiſe and moſt neceſſary. As a thouſand little ſtreams, running by themſelves, and which, by a happy inclination, fall into one channel, form a powerful and majeſtic river, ſo are we going to become a ſtriking and formidable maſs, whoſe courage, and aſſurance of a good cauſe, cannot fail to obtain ſucceſs.

Man is deſigned to improve his ſtate; it is one of the great bleſſings attached to his nature. All the human diſpoſitions ſhould make a progreſs according to circumſtances;—but the moſt important of all, is the union of men under laws and government, which we call the ſtate. The edifice of our conſtitution, exiſting for ages—its very antiquity would be a reſpectable teſtimony in its favour, even if we had not a ſtill more perfect proof in the general proſperity which the nation has enjoyed, to the preſent time, under its influence. However, as nothing, which is the work of man, can be perfect, our government, perhaps, has need of ſome reforms; and the fathers of the country have been long occupied in the means of effecting them, without ſhocks, and without agitations; for, nothing is more dangerous than to touch, though ever ſo ſlightly, the conſtitutional laws of a ſtate. It ſeemed, therefore, that the preſent moment was not proper for this great work, and ſurely it might have produced much more valuable advantages, had it been poſſible to delay it till happier times. Nevertheleſs, confeſs it, dear fellow-citizens, a ſtrong deſire of innovation has appeared on your part. This wiſh was that of a ſmall number, it is true; but it was imprudent, if it came from yourſelves; it was incompatible with that noble pride which ought to animate a free people, if it was the reſult of a foreign impulſe.

It was to ſatisfy your views, that, as ſoon as we had taken our places in the aſſembly of the government, alterations were propoſed to us which appeared uſeful to the general good of the country, and ſuitable to circumſtances. We have ſupported thoſe propoſitions with firmneſs, as you entruſted to us the care of co-operating as we ſhould judge neceſſary for the ſafety of the country.

If it be true that our conſtitution was not exempt from abuſes, which human weakneſs renders almoſt inſeparable from governments, how many have already diſappeared,

through the wiſdom and prudence of the adminiſtration? Did we not poſſeſs, in the fulleſt extent we could have, the ſecurity of perſons and property, the two moſt precious advantages of civil ſociety? Can the adminiſtration be accuſed of a ſingle deviation from juſtice? Can the members of our government be reproached with the leaſt inclination that could look like corruption? Could the treaſures of the ſtate be adminiſtered with ſtricter reſponſibility, with greater economy? And if the fertility of a parched and rocky ſoil, if the proſperity of a loyal nation, that has preſerved the ancient purity of its manners, be the moſt certain proofs of the goodneſs of its government, is it not yourſelves who render this glorious teſtimony to the ſupreme power? Woe be to you, if ever you can forget it!

And, farthermore, the rights, which in future you will enjoy, have not been demanded, but freely granted: for, the wiſh of the majority had not yet appeared among you. It remains for you, dear fellow-citizens, to render yourſelves worthy of theſe bleſſings. If liberty be the greateſt bleſſing to the people, the baſis which ſecures it ought to be ſo much the more ſacred; there is nothing great or ſublime, which may not be yet effected under its auſpices; but a good conſtitution can only be the effect of profound diſcernment, and the reſult of tranquil labour, directed by wiſdom and experience. If, on the contrary, it be hurried by the heat of the paſſions, it is ſtifled in its birth. The elevation of ſuch an edifice is the work of time, by which alone every thing is matured. To begin by demoliſhing what gives us a ſure ſhelter, would be to expoſe ourſelves naked to the violence of a tempeſt. When a lowering ſtorm gathers on the horizon, the pilot, who has a ſenſe of his duty, ſtands more ſtoutly at the helm, but ſtill keeps his ſails ſpread, the ſooner to bring his ſhip to an anchor.

The welfare of your country, dear brothers, your own, and that of your children, is in your hands. Your wiſhes are now ſatisfied. All that could be granted, conſiſtently with the general good, has been granted. Whoever, at this time, ſhould dare to require more, could only do ſo from ſelfiſh views, and not for his country; his object could only be to deſtroy, not to preſerve it. We have but a choice between two things: either an intire obedience to the law and ſupreme power, which alone can ſave our threatened ſtate; or, the overflow of all the wild and ungovernable paſſions, the ruin of a flouriſhing country, the annihilation of public proſperity, the havoc occaſioned by the corruption of morals; in ſhort, a view of the moſt frightful diſaſters and misfortunes, for us and our generation. Who ſhould dare to doubt our reſolution? Yes, dear fellow-citizens! you have honoured us with your confidence; you have impoſed upon us the taſk, exceedingly grateful to our hearts, of ſupporting your deareſt rights and intereſts. It is for you, then, it is in your name, it is from the bottom of our hearts, that we ſwear to ſave the country; and you cannot belie us.

If this act of union, which we this day announce to you, were not enough to diſarm all our enemies, and annihilate their deſigns; if there be one yet remaining, who would impoſe laws upon us, violate the

ſanctuary

ſanctuary of our liberty, and, in ſine, render uſeleſs the wiſe reforms we have been making in our conſtitution; then the country will ſummon her children; they will aſſemble, they will preſs round her; and if you ſhould have the misfortune to be forced to fight, the thorough knowledge you have of your cauſe will ſupport your courage, while it enſures your ſucceſs. The ſolemn aſſurance of your rights will be the ſtandard round which you will form an impenetrable wall; it will be the banner you will carry againſt a powerful enemy, who thenceforth will no longer be to be feared by you: we will place ourſelves beſide you, and in the firſt ranks; it will wave, bleeding in the air, but we will never deſert it; we will bring it back with us, or never more return ourſelves; and, if puſhed to extremity, we are reſolved to die, but in ſuch a manner as to recall to the remembrance of poſterity the glorious name of our anceſtors. We will bury ourſelves under the ruins of our country, rather than bow our heads under an ignominious yoke. We may ceaſe to be, but our honour muſt never be annihilated.

Berne, Feb. 5th, 1798.

Proclamation of the General-in-Chief of the French Army in Helvetia, to the Helvetic Nation.

Head Quarters at Berne, July 8.

Brave Helvetians,

ONE of the moſt perfidious means which the enemies of our regeneration have employed to ſhut your hearts againſt confidence in us, and to ſpread around ſuſpicion and anxiety, is to aſcribe to the French republic the deſign of uniting the territory of the Helvetic republic to that of the French republic. Cowardly wretches! Finding they were unable to reſiſt thoſe victorious arms which broke aſunder the chains of the patriots, and delivered the victims of oligarchy, they wiſhed at leaſt to avenge their diſgrace, by exciting hatred and diſguſt againſt a government which foſtered among you the eſtabliſhment of an order of things to which itſelf owes its force and its luſtre—againſt an army which overwhelmed anarchy and fanaticiſm by turns, which, but for its valour, would have converted Switzerland into one vaſt tomb.

Brave Helvetians! to you, who have recovered thoſe rights of which a free conſtitution will ſecure the enjoyment—to you, who do not confound the tranſient criſis of a revolution with the bleſſings which muſt ſucceed to it—to you it will, doubtleſs, be ſufficient to point out this new ſtratagem of your enemies, to enſure its defeat, and to turn its effect againſt its authors themſelves.

Is not France already ſufficiently powerful — ſufficiently extenſive? Has ſhe added to her territory Holland, and the fine countries of Italy, which were conquered by the force of her arms? Are not the Batavian, Ciſalpine, Ligurian, and Roman republics, monuments of her reſpect for the independence of nations and the ſovereignty of every people? Have not yourſelves received the moſt unequivocal proofs of it?

No! Switzerland is not deſtined to augment the number of our departments. The country of William

liam Tell is worthy of ranking among free ſtates and repreſentative governments: ſhe will accompliſh that ſplendid deſtiny, and ſhe will find in the French republic a faithful ally and a ſincere friend, always ready to protect her againſt all her enemies.

(Signed)
Schauenbourg.

Felix Deſportes, Commiſſary of the Government, to the Executive Directory.

Geneva, 27 Germinal, (April 16.)

GENEVA is now happy; its union with the French republic has been unanimouſly proclaimed by the extraordinary commiſſion, after the ſovereign council which had been held in the morning. A ſolemn deputation, preceded by a crowd of citizens, who made the air reſound with cries of "Live the great nation! Live the Executive Directory!" came to announce this reſolution to me. I accepted, in your names, the wiſhes of the Geneveſe people. The moſt criminal and unparalleled intrigues were made uſe of to interrupt the deſigns of the ſovereign council. The hoſts of anarchiſts wiſhed to deſtroy the hopes of the people, they wiſhed to prevent the prolongation of the powers of the commiſſion. But the patriots of Geneva braved the vociferations and poniards of their tyrants, and out of 3197 voters, 2204 gave their ſuffrages for the prolongation, and 33 votes were declared null and void. The commiſſion then could no longer doubt of the voice of the citizens, and haſtened o ſatisfy their impatience. At this moment that committee is treating with me in negociating a treaty of union. After the ſitting of the ſovereign council under the expreſs demand of the Geneveſe, I put within their walls an armed force commanded by general Gerard, and only conſiſting of about 1200 men, merely ſufficient to ſuppreſs the fury of the brigands, who threatened to deſtroy the friends of the French. The half of this force returns this morning to its cantonments at Carrange and Ferney, the remaining part reſt in barracks at Geneva. Such is the wiſh of the Geneveſe people, and it is upon the promiſe of my keeping amongſt them the conquerors of the Rhine, that the friends of France have mounted the tri-coloured cockade. I will not ſpeak to you, citizen directors, of the enthuſiaſm with which our brave defenders were received by their new fellow-citizens; all their wants were anticipated; there was a general emulation to afford them every ſpecies of accommodation; nothing was heard on any ſide but ſongs which ſounded the praiſes of the French heroes; every heart ſeemed to be united in the bonds of fraternity! So flattering a reception, ſo real an attachment, ſhould prove to you, citizen directors, how much the twig of Geneva figures in the faſces of the great republic.

Decree of the Legiſlative Body of Helvetia.

Arau, 20th Sept. 1798.

THE legiſlative councils, conſidering that the legiſlators of the republic have ſacred duties to fulfil, after the ſad events in which they

they have ſeen on one ſide a portion of the children of Helvetia miſled by fanatical prieſts, and deceived by foreign and perfidious emiſſaries, riſe againſt the mother-country, abjure the conſtitution which they had accepted, and arm againſt their brethren; and on the other ſide, magiſtrates, equally courageous and wiſe, repreſſing revolt by the ſole force of the republic, that is to ſay, by the zeal of the good citizens who are animated by the love of liberty and the Helvetic union; that they have ſeen too the brave French army laviſhing their blood in the ſupport of their allies, and gaining a victory, afflicting without doubt, becauſe obtained over our miſled brethren; but glorious and ſalutary, inaſmuch as it overwhelms fanaticiſm, and eſtabliſhes the republic upon baſes not to be ſhaken:—conſidering that as faithful organs of the Helvetic people, the repreſentatives ought to expreſs the ſentiments as well as the will of the people, and that it belongs to them to decree in their name to the valiant defenders of the country the ſole recompenſe worthy of them, the expreſſions of the gratitude of a free people; to the rebels, and, above all, to the infamous authors of this parricidal plot, the penalty due to their crimes:—finally, to the unfortunate who have ſuffered the deſtructive ſcourge of war the ſuccours which they may expect from a mother-country:—the legiſlative councils taking into conſideration the meſſage of the directory of the 17th September, decree, after having declared urgency:

1. The legiſlative body declare ſolemnly, that the French army and the citizen general Schawenbourg have deſerved well of the Helvetic republic.

2. Honourable mention ſhall be made in the regiſter of the energetic conduct of citizen Bolt, prefect of the canton of Sentis, of the communes of the cantons that have riſen for the cauſe of liberty; of citizen Hoes, prefect of the canton of Linth; of the prefects of Lucerne and Wadſtatten; of the ſub-prefects; of the communes and citizens of Helvetia who have ſignalized themſelves for the maintenance of freedom and the conſtitution.

3. The rebels, and principally the authors and accomplices in the conſpiracy againſt the country, ſhall be proſecuted criminally, and tried according to the conſtitution, articles 93 and 94.

4. The orphans left by the patriots who periſhed on that occaſion ſhall be brought up at the expence of the republic.

Finally, there ſhall be made, throughout Helvetia, a voluntary collection in favour of the perſons burnt out in the diſtrict of Stantz, and of thoſe in the adjacent parts who may have ſuffered in conſequence of thoſe events: the amount of the collection ſhall be tranſmitted to the directory, who ſhall diſtribute it.

Treaty of Peace, and of Alliance offenſive and defenſive, concluded between the French and Helvetic Republics.

THE French and Helvetic republics being equally deſirous to make the moſt perfect peace and the

the ſtricteſt friendſhip ſucceed to a war which an oligarchy had provoked, and which, for a time, had cauſed a diviſion between the two nations, have reſolved to unite themſelves together by an alliance grounded on the real intereſts of the two countries: the reſpective governments have accordingly appointed, on the part of the French directory, citizen C. M. Talleyrand, miniſter of foreign affairs, and on the part of the executive directory of the Helvetic republic, citizens P. J. Zeltner and Amedee Jenner, who, after a mutual exchange of their full powers, agreed to the following articles:

I. There ſhall be, for a perpetuity, peace, friendſhip, and good underſtanding, between the French and Helvetic republics.

II. There exiſts, from the preſent moment, between the two republics, an alliance offenſive and defenſive. The general reſult of this alliance is, that each of the republics may, in caſe of war, claim the co-operation of its ally. The power claiming this co-operation ſhall then ſpecify againſt whom the co-operation is required, and, in conſequence of that ſpecial requiſition, the power called upon enters into war againſt the power or powers deſignated; but it remains in a ſtate of neutrality with reſpect to ſuch powers as may be at war with the claiming power, and whom it may not have particularly deſignated. It is acknowledged that the effect of the requiſition, on the part of the French republic ſhall never be to ſend the Swiſs troops beyond the ſea. The troops called for ſhall be paid and maintained by the power calling for them; and in caſe of ſuch requiſition, neither of the two republics ſhall ſeparately conclude any treaty of armiſtice or of peace. The particular effects of the alliance, when on either ſide a requiſition ſhall take place, the nature and the quantity of the ſuccours to be mutually afforded, ſhall be amicably determined by ſpecial conventions, grounded on the principles contained in this artiele.

III. The French republic accordingly guarantees to the Helvetic republic its independence and the unity of its government; and, in caſe the oligarchy ſhould attempt to overturn the preſent Helvetic conſtitution, the French republic binds itſelf to grant to the Helvetic republic, upon its requiſition, ſuch ſuccours as it may ſtand in need of, in order to triumph over ſuch internal or external attack as may be made againſt it. It promiſes its good offices to the Helvetic republic that may inſure it the enjoyment of all its rights with regard to other powers; and, in order to furniſh it with the means of ſpeedily re-eſtabliſhing its military ſtrength, on the moſt important footing, the French republic conſents to reſtore the artillery that has been taken from it during the preſent war, and which may be ſtill at the diſpoſal of the French government at the moment of ſigning the preſent treaty, provided the Helvetic republic will ſend for ſuch pieces of artillery, and carry them back into its own territory.

IV. The frontiers between France and Helvetia ſhall be determined by a particular convention, the baſis of which ſhall be, that every thing which formed part of the *ci-devant* biſhopric of Baſil, and the principality of Porentruy, ſhall remain definitively

finitively united to the French territory, as well as the interſection of the Swiſs territory comprehended in the department of the Upper Rhine and Mont Terrible; with reſervation of the counter-ceſſions and exchanges, which may be judged indiſpenſible for rendering theſe frontiers perfectly ſtraight from Baſil to Geneva, and which ſhall not affect the unions which have already been definitively made to the French territory.

V. In order to ſecure the communications of the French republic with the ſouth of Germany and Italy, there ſhall be granted to the ſaid republic the free and perpetual uſe of two commercial and military roads, the firſt of which ſhall paſs the north of Helvetia up the Rhine, along the weſt and ſouthern banks of the lake of Conſtance; the ſecond, beginning at Geneva, and traverſing the department of Mont Blanc, ſhall go through the Valais, running into the territory of the Ciſalpine republic by a courſe to be fixed; and it is determined that each ſtate ſhall, within its own territories, execute the works neceſſary for the conſtruction of theſe two roads.

VI. It is likewiſe ſtipulated, that, in order to give to the internal navigation of the two republics all the beneficial improvements of which it is ſuſceptible, each of them reſpectively ſhall, within its own territories, execute the works of art which ſhall be neceſſary for the eſtabliſhment of a communication by water from the lake of Geneva to the Rhine, and from Geneva to that part of the Rhone which is navigable.

VII. The French republic binds itſelf to furniſh to the Helvetic republic all the ſalt which it may ſtand in need of, from the ſalt-pits of La Meurthe, of Jura, and of Mont Blanc. The prices of the ſaid ſalt, the expences of carriage, the places and the periods of delivery, ſhall be regulated at leaſt every ten years between citizens charged by the French government with the preparing of the ſalt, and the officers of the Helvetic government, without ever permitting the price of the ſaid ſalt to exceed that paid by the French citizens, and without the ſubjects of the Helvetic government being ever ſubjected to paying the taxes which in France may be laid upon that commodity.

VIII. According to the latter article, the Helvetic republic expreſſly renounces all the drawbacks on ſalt which it might be entitled to claim in virtue of ancient treaties which exiſted between France and the cantons; and it binds itſelf to take annually, from the ſalt-pits, at leaſt two hundred and fifty thouſand quintals of ſalt.

IX. The citizens of the French republic may go and come to Helvetia, furniſhed with regular paſſports: they ſhall be at liberty to form all manner of eſtabliſhments there, to exerciſe every kind of induſtry which the law permits and protects; their perſons and property ſhall be ſubject to the laws and uſages of the country. The citizens of the Helvetic republic ſhall enjoy in France, and in all the dominions of the French republic, the ſame rights, on the ſame conditions.

X. In all litigated points reſpecting individuals, which cannot be ſettled by reference, or by the deciſion of the courts, the plaintiff ſhall be obliged to follow up his action

action before the natural judges of the defendant, unleſs the parties be preſent on the very ſpot where the bargain had been contracted, or have agreed upon the choice of the judges to whoſe deciſion they would leave the matter in diſpute. In litigated points, having for object landed property, the ſuit ſhall be carried on before a tribunal or a magiſtrate of the place, where the property is ſituated. The litigations that may ariſe between the heirs of a Frenchman who dies in Switzerland, with regard to his ſucceſſion, ſhall be transferred before the judge of the reſidence which the Frenchman poſſeſſed in France; and the ſame ſhall be obſerved with regard to the ſucceſſion of a Swiſs who may die in France.

XI. The definitive judgement in civil cauſes, that are regarded as ſettled points, and that have been pronounced by French tribunals, ſhall be executed in Switzerland, and *vice verſa*, after they ſhall have been ſanctioned by the reſpective miniſters.

XII. In caſe of the failure or bankruptcy of a Frenchman poſſeſſed of property in France, if there are Swiſs creditors and French creditors, the Swiſs creditors, who ſhall have conformed to the French laws for the ſecurity of their hypothetic, ſhall be paid, according to the order of their hypothetic, on the footing of French creditors: and *vice verſa*, if Swiſs, poſſeſſing property in the Helvetic republic, ſhall have both French and Swiſs creditors, the French creditors, who ſhall have employed the requiſite formalities to ſecure an hypothetic, in Switzerland, ſhall be arranged with Swiſs creditors, according to the order of their hypothetic. With regard to ſimple creditors, they ſhall be treated in the ſame manner, without reſpect to which of the two countries they belong.

XIII. In all criminal proceedings for heinous offences, inſtituted either before Swiſs or French courts, witneſſes ſhall be mutually bound to attend from either country in perſon, under the penalties to be fixed by the two countries. The neceſſary paſſports ſhall, in this caſe, be granted, by the government of the party requiring, according to diſtance, &c.

XIV. The two republics ſhall mutually engage to grant no aſylum to the emigrants or perſons baniſhed from the other. They likewiſe bind themſelves, to exile, on the firſt requiſition, the perſons of either nation who ſhall judicially have been declared guilty of conſpiracy againſt the intereſt or external ſecurity of the ſtate, of murder, poiſoning, fire-raiſing, forgery, violence, theft, and robbery, or perſons accuſed of theſe crimes; and the property ſtolen in either country, and taken to the other, ſhall be reſtored.

XV. There ſhall immediately be concluded, between the two republics, a treaty of commerce, founded upon the moſt complete reciprocity of advantage. In the mean time, the ſubjects of both nations ſhall be treated upon the footing of thoſe of the moſt favoured nations.

Concluded and ſigned at Paris, 2d Fructidor (Auguſt 19), of the French republic, one and indiviſible, 6 (1798).

(Signed) Ch. M. Talleyrand,
P. J. Zeltner.
H. A. Jenner.

Proclamation

Proclamation of A. J. H. Mallartie, General-in-Chief, Governor-General of the Iſle of France and of the Re-union, and Commandant-General of the French Eſtabliſhments to the Eaſt of the Cape of Good Hope.

Citizens,

KNOWING, for many years, your zeal and attachment for the intereſt and glory of our republic, we are very impatient, and conſider it a duty to make known to you the propoſitions that we have received from Tippoo Sultaun, by two ambaſſadors which he had ſent to us. This prince has written particular letters to the colonial aſſembly, and to all the generals employed in that government: he has likewiſe addreſſed to us a packet for the executive directory.

Firſt. He demands to make an alliance, offenſive and defenſive, with the French, propoſing to maintain, at his charge, as long as the war ſhall continue in India, the troops they can ſend him.

Second. He promiſes to furniſh every neceſſary for that war, except wine and brandy, of which he finds himſelf abſolutely deſtitute.

Third. That all preparations are made ready to receive the ſuccours which they ſhall give to him; and on the arrival of the troops, the chiefs and officers ſhall find every thing neceſſary to carry on a war that Europeans are little accuſtomed to.

Fourth. Finally, he only waits the moment when the French ſhall come to his aid, to declare war againſt the Engliſh, ardently wiſhing to drive them from India.

As it is impoſſible for us to reduce the number of the 107th and 108th regiments, and *de la garde ſoldée du port de la Fraternité*, on account of the aſſiſtance we have ſent our allies, the Dutch, we invite the citizens voluntarily to embody themſelves in their reſpective municipalities, to ſerve under the colours of Tippoo. This prince deſires alſo to have the citizens of colour, freemen; and we invite all thoſe who wiſh to ſerve under his banners to enrol themſelves.

We can aſſure all the citizens who wiſh to enrol themſelves, that Tippoo will make advantageous treaties, which will continue with his ambaſſadors who may engage for themſelves, beſides in the name of their ſovereign, in ſuch way, that the French, who ſhall have taken part in his armies, ſhall not be retained when they wiſh to return back to their country.

Done this 10th Pluvioſe (29th Jan.), the ſixth year of the French republic.

(Signed)
Mallartie.

Meſſage from the Executive Directory to the Council of Elders, of the 24th May.

Citizens Repreſentatives,

ENGLAND has hazarded a new expedition, which has ended only in its diſgrace.

On the morning of the 19th of May, an Engliſh fleet appeared before Oſtend, and bombarded that city violently. Protected by the fire of the fleet, their boats diſembarked 4000 men, who took poſſeſſion of the ſhore, threw up batteries there, and attempted to blow up

up the ſluices of the Sas de Sleyken, and the gates of Oſtend. The enemy ſummoned the place to ſurrender within half an hour. The garriſon conſiſted only of 30 men. "You ſhall never become maſters of the port which is entruſted to me," ſaid the brave commander, Muſcar, "until my garriſon and I ſhall be buried in the ruins." Republicans are unable to confine themſelves to defenſive operations. On the 20th, at break of day, 300 men only of the 46th and 94th demi-brigades, conducted by Keller, commandant of the ſquare of Bruges, marched to the Engliſh column. They attacked with an ardour and an intrepidity which partook of the nature of a prodigy:—the courage of republicans always increaſes in proportion to the number of their enemies. The entrenchment thrown up againſt them ſoon gave way; and, after two hours fighting, the Engliſh, being entirely routed, threw down their arms. The bombardment, which had recommenced, ceaſed; from 1500 to 1800 priſoners were taken: eight pieces of cannon, two howitzers, and a great number of muſkets of the enemy, remain in our power. The reſt of the enemy re-embarked with precipitation, having loſt a great number of men, who were drowned in their attempting to eſcape.

The commandant of the Britiſh artillery was killed: one of their major-generals had his thigh taken off; another, together with 800 officers, as well ſuperior as inferior, are priſoners. In ſhort, the troops who had been diſembarked were, according to the accounts of the priſoners themſelves, the flower of the Engliſh army; they had been ſelected for the occaſion; and among them were four companies of the guards, and the whole regiment of the prince of Wales.

You will hardly repreſs your indignation, citizen repreſentatives, at learning that the plans of the enemy were ſeconded by traitors at Oſtend. The cries of "Long live king George! Brave Engliſh!" were heard there; the national cockade was inſulted, and the arms of the volunteers employed in manning the batteries, for want of artillery men, were broken by ſome traitors. Theſe atrocious acts ſhall not remain unpuniſhed; but it cannot be denied, that the ſlow progreſs of the ordinary tribunals is inſufficient to the puniſhment of thoſe who ſhould be ſtruck down with the rapidity of the thunderbolt. You will conſider, citizen repreſentatives, of the propriety of declaring, by a law, that the traitors who by any means give encouragement, during an attack, to the enemies of the republic, ſhall be tried by a military commiſſion.

The directory invites you to take this meſſage into your earlieſt conſideration.

(Signed)
Merlin, preſident.

Meſſage from the Executive Directory to the Council of Five Hundred, ſent on the 1ſt July, 1798.

FOR a long time, the government of Malta has ſhewn itſelf hoſtile to France. It afforded protection to emigrants, as alſo to the ſoldiers of Condé's army. Her conſtitution ought to have obliged her to obſerve a ſtrict neutrality, but ſhe always acted in favour of the enemies

mies of France. The French, who were friends to liberty, at Malta, were ill treated and confined. In a manifeſto, of the 10th of October, 1793, the grand maſter declared, that the ports of the iſland ſhould be ſhut againſt French veſſels, and that he ſhould recogniſe the ambaſſador but as a chargé d'affaires of the king, without ſaying any thing of the republic; he declared, he could not, nor would not, recogniſe it. On the 9th of June, of the preſent year, a requeſt was made, by the French general, for water, which was refuſed by the grand maſter, who declared ironically, that he could admit but two ſhips into the port. Dared he thus inſult a French army, commanded by Buonaparte? The 10th of June, the French were on ſhore early in the morning, and Malta was inveſted, and the town cannonaded on all ſides. The beſieged made a ſally, in which general Marmont, at the head of the 19th brigade, took the ſtandard of the order. On the 11th, the knights ſurrendered the town and port, and renounced their property in the iſland to the French republic. We found, at Malta, two veſſels, one frigate, four gallies, 1200 pieces of cannon, 40,000 muſkets, 1,500,000 rounds of powder and other ammunition, of which the directory have not received the particular details.

Order of the Executive Directory of the French Republic, in Conſequence of the Refuſal of the Council of Elders of the Ciſalpine Republic, on the 15th March, 1798, to accede to the Treaty of Alliance and Commerce, between the French and Ciſalpine Republics.

THE directory, conſidering that their refuſal is the effect of the manœuvres of the enemies of the two countries, and that it gives the French republic a title to reſume all thoſe rights which it was before willing to wave, has ordered — Firſt, that a contribution ſhall be raiſed, to defray the expences of maintaining the troops of the French republic in Italy; and, ſecond, that twenty-one citizens, named by the commander-in-chief, members of the council of elders of the Ciſalpine republic, ſhall be ſuperſeded and arreſted.

Meſſage to the Council of Five Hundred, on the 28th Fructidor (September 14).

THE executive directory is deſirous to inform you, that the French troops have entered Egypt. The French nation, the Ottoman Porte itſelf, and the oppreſſed people of that fine but unfortunate country, are at laſt avenged.

This memorable event had been long foreſeen, by a ſmall number of men to whom glorious and uſeful ideas are familiar; but it was too much the cuſtom to rank it among chimerical projects. It was reſerved for the French republic to realize this new prodigy.

The cauſes which prepared and inſured its ſucceſs, are now to be retraced.

For nearly forty years, the beys, with their mamelucks, thoſe domineering ſlaves of Egypt, practiſed the moſt ſhameful vexations on the French, ſettled in thoſe countries on the faith of our treaties with the Porte. From the period of the domination of Ali Bey, about 1760,

we may particularly date the exceſs of thoſe outrages. That audacious uſurper, after having thrown off the yoke of the grand ſeignior, by ignominiouſly expelling his pacha, refuſing to pay tribute, and arrogating the right of making money of his own coin, inſulted our conſuls, menaced our dragomans with the moſt infamous puniſhments, and practiſed numerous impoſitions on our merchants. His ſucceſſors, Kraliil Bey, and Mohamed Bey, partly deſerve ſimilar reproaches; but their vexations were more moderate. Mourad Bey, and Ibraham Bey, who reigned after them, ſurpaſſed (the firſt particularly) all their predeceſſors in extortion and plunder. Indignant at the conduct of theſe oppreſſors, the Ottoman Porte appeared, in 1786, to wiſh to take vengeance upon them. With the aid of the forces commanded by Haſſan Pacha, ſhe compelled them to fly, and placed a ſucceſſor; but ſhe did not know how to ſecure her authority; and theſe two beys, in 1791, at the death of Iſmael Bey, who had replaced them, recovered their power without obſtacle, and conſequently aſſumed their former domination.

From that inſtant, but particularly ſince France has been conſtituted a republic, the French have experienced, in Egypt, vexations a thouſand times more revolting. It was eaſy to recogniſe the influence and the fury of the Britiſh cabinet. The extortions of all ſorts multiplied, often without the pretext of neceſſity; — and all remonſtrances were vain.

In the ſecond year of the republic, the conſul wiſhed to make juſt repreſentations to Mourad Bey, on the ſubject of the extraordinary exactions, ordered by that uſurper, from the French merchants. The bey, far from ſhewing a diſpoſition to acquieſce in his requeſt, confined him inſtantly to his own houſe, by an armed force, till all the produce of that odious extortion had been intirely paid him.

Towards the end of that ſame year, the vexations aroſe to ſuch a pitch, that the French ſettled at Cairo, deſirous to put their perſons, and the remainder of their fortunes, out of imminent danger, decided to remove their eſtabliſhments to Alexandria: but Mourad Bey took offence at this reſolution: he ordered them to be purſued in their flight: ſuch as remained, were treated as vile criminals, and redoubled his rage againſt them all, after he knew one of the fugitives was brother to a member of the national convention, againſt which he vomited forth his implacable hatred.

Thus his tyranny knew no bounds, and the French nation found itſelf a priſoner in Egypt. The bey, tormented every inſtant with the apprehenſions that ſome attempt might be made to eſcape his vigilance, dared to tell our conſul, that if a ſingle Frenchman ſhould engage in ſuch an undertaking, all, even the conſul himſelf, ſhould forfeit their heads for his eſcape. Such audacity and madneſs can ſcarcely be conceived: but he ſoon perceived that this exceſſive tyranny would not long continue profitable. He returned, on the demand of the grand vizir, not the ſums that had been extorted, but their liberty to the French; and even as the price of that, which was regarded as a favour, he impoſed new pecuniary ſacrifices. The French then were afraid to ſettle, in the third year, at Alexandria; but there, as at Roſetta

ſetta and other places on the coaſt of the Mediterranean, they were expoſed to the rapacity of all ſubaltern agents. Theſe agents of the bey, more baſe and felonious even than himſelf, violently ſeized upon the French merchandiſes as they arrived in port. They fixed their own prices on the goods, and even ſettled the mode of payment. Should they meet the leaſt reſiſtance, even of the moſt lawful kind, force was immediately employed to repel it. At Roſetta, the gates of our vice-conſul were forced, his windows broken, and even weapons raiſed againſt him, becauſe he refuſed to ſubmit to a contribution, from which even Mourad Bey himſelf had ordered the French to be exempted. Notwithſtanding this order of the bey, the conſul was obliged to yield to force. Finally, on the 10th of January laſt, Coram, a cuſtom-houſe officer of Mourad Bey, at Alexandria, aſſembled all the dragomans, and declared to them, that the ſlighteſt violation, of what he called the rights of his maſter, ſhould be puniſhed with five hundred ſtrokes of the baſtinado, without regard to the conſular character. A few days before, he threatened a dragoman to cut off his head, and ſend it to his conſul.

Thus all the rights of nations were violated in the perſons of the French, with the moſt audacious impudence; all our treaties with the Porte, all our agreements diſregarded by the beys, and by the meaneſt of their agents, under the pretext, as they ſay, of not having been parties to them; the character of our conſul diſowned, outraged; the liberty and lives of the French compromiſed every moment, and their properties given up to pillage. The French republic could not ſuffer much longer thoſe numerous aggreſſions, evidently inſtigated by England, to remain unpuniſhed. Its patience has been extreme. The audacity of its oppreſſors had attained its full growth. How, then, was the French government to procure redreſs for ſuch complicated injuries? Several times, through the medium of its envoy, it addreſſed its complaints to the Porte; but, if we except the expedition of Haſſan Pacha, in 1786, who merely chaſtiſed two beys, without making compenſation for the paſt, or proviſion for the future, every thing the porte thought proper to be done, was, to write in our favour ſome letters to the pacha of Egypt, who could do nothing, and to the two beys, who had power, but were firmly reſolved to grant nothing, on this recommendation, but a deceitful ſubmiſſion. And thus, in the fourth year, the French ambaſſador at the Porte having ſent into Egypt an agent, accredited with letters from the grand vizir, this agent obtained not real reparation, not a reſtitution of the immenſe ſums extorted from the French, but ſome illuſory ſtipulations reſpecting a reduction of the duties upon certain merchandiſes, conformable to ancient treaties; but, ſcarcely had he turned his back, when Mourad Bey gave orders, which were punctually obeyed, to place the duties on preciſely the ſame footing they ſtood before his arrival.

The effort of the Ottoman empire to protect the French, was, therefore, evidently without weight or energy; and how could it be expected to produce a durable effect in our favour, when the Porte was reduced to that ſtate in which it

was not able to protect itself against the beys; when it felt itself obliged to suffer three millions of Egyptians, whom it called its subjects, to become the miserable victims of foreign tyranny; when its pacha was treated in Egypt as the baseſt of ſlaves; when the grand ſeignior was inſenſibly ſtripped of his rights; and, finally, when they no longer paid the contributions reſerved on the conqueſt of Egypt by Selim the Second? All this proves, beyond a doubt, that the ſovereignty of the Porte, in this country, was but an empty title; and, after its fruitleſs efforts in our favour, it would be to little purpoſe to expect from it a degree of intereſt for us, which it is neither able, nor dares to manifeſt for itſelf. Nothing, then, remains for us, but to do juſtice to ourſelves, and by our armies to make thoſe baſe uſurpers, ſupported by the cabinet of St. James's, expiate thoſe crimes which they have committed againſt us.

The French army preſented itſelf the 1ſt of July. It was received at Alexandria, at Roſetta, and, on the 23d of July it entered Cairo. Thus theſe odious uſurpers will no more oppreſs this ancient and fruitful land, which time cannot exhauſt; which annually recruits itſelf by a kind of prodigy; where vegetation is of aſtoniſhing activity, and almoſt ſpontaneous; and where the richeſt productions of the four quarters of the globe may be found together. But it may be ſaid, no declaration of war preceded this expedition. Againſt whom could it have been made? Againſt the Ottoman Porte? We were far from being willing to attack this ancient ally of France, and imputing to it an oppreſſion, of which it was firſt the victim itſelf. Is it, then, againſt the iſolated government of the beys? Such an authority does not exiſt, and could not be recogniſed. When we chaſtiſe robbers, we do not declare war againſt them. And thus, in attacking the beys, it was, in fact, only England we were going to combat. It is, therefore, with a ſuperabundance of right, that the French republic is put into a ſituation for ſpeedily obtaining the immenſe reparations due from the uſurpers of Egypt. But it did not wiſh to conquer for itſelf alone. Egypt was oppreſſed by theſe rapacious plunderers. The people of Egypt ſhall be avenged, and the cultivator of theſe fruitful countries ſhall at length enjoy the fruit of his labours, which has been torn from him with the moſt ſtupid barbarity. The authority of the Porte was totally diſowned. It will receive, from the hands of the victorious French, the immenſe advantages of which it has been long deprived. Finally, for the good of the whole world, Egypt will become the country, in the whole univerſe, richeſt in productions, the centre of immenſe trade, and, above all, a moſt formidable poſt againſt the odious power of the Engliſh in India, and their uſurped commerce.

(Signed) Treilhard, preſident.
Lagarde, ſec. gen.

Arrêté of the Executive Directory, on the 8th Brumaire (Oct. 29).

THE executive directory, in conſequence of the report of the miniſter of foreign relations, obſerving that the ſquadrons, privateers, and ſhips, both of England and of Ruſſia, are in a great meaſure equipped

ped by foreigners; ſeeing, moreover, that this violation is a manifeſt abuſe of the law of nations, and that the European powers have taken no ſteps to check it, decrees:

Art. I. That every perſon, either native or originally from the countries in amity or alliance with France, or in a ſtate of neutrality, who is bearer of a commiſſion granted by the enemies of France, or who compoſes a part of the crews of the ſhips of war, or others, belonging to the enemy, ſhall, by virtue of this act alone, be declared a traitor, and treated as ſuch, without his being permitted, in any caſe whatever, to plead that he was compelled into ſuch ſervice by force, threats, or otherwiſe.

Art. II. The executive directors of the Batavian, Ligurian, Ciſalpine, and Roman republics, ſhall be informed of ſuch threat.

Art. III. The proviſions contained in the firſt article ſhall be notified to neutral, and to the powers allied with the French republic.

Art. IV. The miniſter of foreign relations is charged with the execution of the preſent arrêté, which ſhall be publiſhed in the bulletin of the laws.

(Signed) Treilhard, preſident.
Lagarde, ſec. gen.

Meſſage from the Directory to the Council of Five Hundred, December 5.

Citizens repreſentatives,

THE court of Naples has crowned its perfidies: you ſee, by the letters of generals Joubert and Championet, and by the copy of a letter from the Neapolitan general, Mack, to general Championet, that the French troops in the Roman republic have been attacked by the Neapolitan troops. Thus the moderation of the French republic only ſerves to increaſe the audacity of its enemies. The details which will be ſent you, will convince you, that both the one and the other have been carried to their height.

Now the firſt care of the government will be to take meaſures to repel the inſolent attack of a perjured court.

The executive directory has likewiſe to declare to you, that the court of Turin, equally perfidious, makes common cauſe with our enemies; and this crowns a long train of crimes againſt the French republic.

Citizens repreſentatives, the executive directory does not diſſemble that the danger is imminent; but republican energy is ſtill great; and if all differences of opinion now diſappear, and all wiſhes unite, and the legiſlative body will ſecond, by every means in its power, the efforts of government, the projects of the enemies of the republic will again be confounded, and the triumph of liberty will be for ever ſecured.

The executive directory propoſes to you formally to declare war againſt the king of Naples and the king of Sardinia.

Buonaparte to the Pacha of Egypt.

On board l'Orient, 12 Meſſidor (June 30.)

THE executive directory of the French republic have frequently applied to the ſublime Porte, to demand the puniſhment of the bey

of Egypt, who oppreſſed, with their vexations, the merchants of France.

But the ſublime Porte declared, that the beys, an avaricious and fickle race, refuſed to liſten to the principles of juſtice, and not only that the Porte did not authorize theſe inſults, but withdrew their protection from the perſons by whom they were committed.

The French republic has reſolved to ſend a powerful army, to put an end to the exactions of the beys of Egypt, in the ſame manner as it has been ſeveral times compelled, during the preſent century, to take theſe meaſures againſt the beys of Tunis and Algiers. You, who ought to be the maſter of the beys, and yet are kept at Cairo, without power or authority, you ought to regard my arrival with pleaſure. You are, doubtleſs, already appriſed that I come not to attempt any thing againſt the alcoran or the ſultan. You know that the French nation is the only ally which the ſultan has in Europe. Come, then, and meet me, and curſe, along with me, the impious race of the beys.

(Signed) Buonaparte.

Buonaparte, Commander-in-Chief, to the Commander of the Caravan.

On board l'Orient, 13 Meſſidor (July 1.)

THE beys have oppreſſed our merchants with vexation; I am come to demand reparation. To-morrow I ſhall be in Alexandria. You ought to feel no uneaſineſs; you belong to our grand friend, the ſultan; conduct yourſelf accordingly. But if you commit the leaſt hoſtility againſt the French army, I ſhall treat you as an enemy; and for this you muſt be accountable, as it is far from my heart and from my intentions.

(Signed) Buonaparte.

Buonaparte, General-in-Chief, to the People of Egypt.

FOR a long time the beys who govern Egypt, have inſulted the French nation, and oppreſſed the merchants with exactions.

For a long time this heap of ſlaves, purchaſed in the Caucaſus and Georgia, have tyrannized over the faireſt part of the world.

But God, upon whom all depends, has directed that their empire ſhould finiſh.

Inhabitants of Egypt, when the beys tell you I come to deſtroy your religion, believe them not. Anſwer them, that I come to reſcue the rights of the poor from the hands of their tyrants; and that the French reſpect, more than the mamelucks, God, his prophet, and the koran.

Tell them that all men are equal in the eyes of God. Underſtanding, ingenuity, and ſcience alone, make a difference between them; and what wiſdom, what talents, what virtues diſtinguiſh the mamelucks, that they ſhould have excluſively all that renders life ſweet and pleaſant?

Is there a beautiful woman? She belongs to the mamelucks. Is there a handſome ſlave, a fine horſe, a fine houſe? They belong to the mamelucks.

Is Egypt their farm? Let them ſhew the leaſe which God has given them. But God is juſt and merciful to all people. All the Egyptians are

are entitled to the poſſeſſion of all places. The wiſeſt, moſt enlightened, and moſt virtuous will govern, and the people will be happy. You had once great cities, large canals, much trade: who has deſtroyed them but the avarice, injuſtice, and tyranny of the mamelucks?

Cadis, cheiks, imans, tcherbadjies, tell the people that we are the friends of true muſſulmen. Did not we deſtroy the pope, who ſaw that it was neceſſary to make war againſt the muſſulmen? Did we not deſtroy the knights of Malta, becauſe thoſe fooliſh men thought that God wiſhed war to be carried on againſt the muſſulmen? Have not we been at all times the friends of the grand ſeignior, (may God accompliſh his wiſhes!) and the foe of his foes? The mamelucks, on the contrary, are not they ever revolting againſt the authority of the grand ſeignior, whom they ſtill refuſe to acknowledge?

Thrice happy thoſe who are with us! they ſhall proſper in their fortune and rank—happy thoſe who are neuter! they will have time to learn, to know us, and will be with us. But miſerable, thrice miſerable thoſe who ſhall arm for the mamelucks, and fight againſt us—there ſhall be no hope for them, they ſhall periſh!

Art. I. All places which ſhall be three leagues diſtant from the route of the French army, ſhall ſend one of their principal inhabitants to the general, to declare that they ſubmit, and will hoiſt the French flag, which is blue, white, and red.

II. Every village which ſhall arm againſt the French army, ſhall be burned to the ground.

III. Every village which ſhall ſubmit to the French, ſhall hoiſt the French flag, and that of the ſublime Porte, their ally.

IV. The cheiks ſhall ſeal up the houſes and effects of the mamelucks, and take care that not the ſmalleſt article ſhall be loſt.

V. The cheiks, cadis, and imans, ſhall continue to exerciſe their reſpective functions. Each inhabitant ſhall remain in his houſe, and prayers ſhall continue as uſual: every one ſhall return thanks to God for the deſtruction of the mamelucks. Glory to the ſultan, glory to the French army his friend! Curſes to the mamelucks, and happineſs to the people of Egypt!

(Signed) Buonaparte.

Declaration of the Mufti, and principal Cheiks of the City of Alexandria, in the Name of the Inhabitants.

GLORY to God, to whom all glory is due, and peace to the holy prophet Mahomet, his family, and the companions of his divine miſſion.

The following agreement has been concluded between us, the chief men of the city of Alexandria, whoſe names are hereunto ſubjoined, and the general-in-chief of the French army encamped in this city.

The underſigned chiefs ſhall continue to obſerve the law and ſacred inſtitutions. They ſhall determine all differences according to the pureſt juſtice, and carefully keep at a diſtance from the crooked path of iniquity. The cadi, to whoſe care the tribunal of juſtice is to be confided, ſhall be a man of the pureſt morals and the moſt irreproachable

conduct; but he ſhall not pronounce any ſentence without firſt conſulting the chiefs of the law, and his final judgement ſhall be regulated by their deciſion. The ſubſcribing Cheiks ſhall ſtudy the means of making righteouſneſs flouriſh, and direct all their efforts to that object, as if animated with the ſame ſpirit. They ſhall take no reſolution but what is adopted with one accord. They ſhall zealouſly labour for the good of the country, the happineſs of the people, and the deſtruction of the children of vice and iniquity. They farther promiſe never to betray, or attempt to enſnare the French army, to act contrary to its intereſts, nor enter into any conſpiracy that may be formed againſt it.

To all theſe promiſes they have bound themſelves by the moſt ſolemn oath, which they renew by this act in the ſincereſt and moſt religious manner.

The general-in-chief of the French army promiſes, on his part, that no one of the ſoldiers ſhall moleſt the inhabitants of Alexandria, by vexatious proceedings, rapine, or menaces; and thoſe who ſhall commit ſuch exceſſes, ſhall be puniſhed with the utmoſt rigour.

The general-in-chief has alſo moſt ſolemnly promiſed, that he ſhall never attempt to compel any of the inhabitants to change their religion, nor to make any innovation in their religious uſages; but, on the contrary, aſſures them, that his wiſh is, that they ſhall continue to profeſs their religion, and that he will continue to maintain their tranquillity and property by all the means in his power, as long as they ſhall abſtain from any attempt againſt his perſon, or the army which he commands.

The preſent convention was prepared and ſigned on the morning of Wedneſday, the 20th of the moon Muharem, 1213th year of the Hegira, correſponding to the 17th Meſſidor, 6th year of the French republic, one and indiviſible.

The ſignatures of the muſti and cheiks are as follow:

The poor Seuleiman, muſti of Maliki.
The poor Ibrahim el Bourgi, chief of the ſect Hamſte.
The poor Muhamed el Meſſira.
The poor Ahmed, &c.

Tranſlated by me, ſecretary-interpreter to the general-in-chief,

Venture.

Buonaparte, Commander-in-Chief, to the Cheiks and Notables of Cairo.

Head-quarters at Giza, 4th Thermidor, (July 20,) 6th year.

YOU will ſee, by the annexed proclamation, by what ſentiments I am animated. Yeſterday the mamelucks were, for the moſt part, killed, or taken priſoners, and I am now in purſuit of the few that remain. Send hither the boats which are on your banks of the river, and ſend alſo a deputation to make known to me your ſubmiſſion. Cauſe bread, meat, ſtraw, and barley, to be provided for my army, and be perfectly eaſy, for no one has a greater deſire than I to contribute to your happineſs.

(Signed) Buonaparte.

Buonaparte,

Buonaparte, Commander-in-Chief, to the People of Cairo.

Head-quarters at Giza, 4th Thermidor, 6th year.

PEOPLE of Cairo, I am ſatisfied with your conduct. You have done right not to take any part againſt me; I am come to deſtroy the race of the mamelucks, and to protect the trade and the natives of the country. Let all thoſe who are under any fear be compoſed; and let thoſe who have quitted their houſes return to them. Let prayers be offered up to-day as uſual, for I wiſh that they may be always continued. Entertain no fear for your families, your houſes, your property, and, above all, the religion of your prophet, whom I love. As it is abſolutely neceſſary that ſome perſons ſhould be immediately charged with the adminiſtration of the police, in order that tranquillity may not be interrupted, there ſhall be a divan, compoſed of ſeven perſons, who ſhall aſſemble at the moſque of Ver; and there ſhall always be two with the commandant of the place, and four ſhall be occupied in maintaining public tranquillity, and in watching over the police.

(Signed) Buonaparte.

Buonaparte, Commander-in-Chief, to the Pacha of Cairo.

Head-quarters at Cairo, 2d Fructidore, (Auguſt 19,) 6th year.

THE intention of the French republic in taking poſſeſſion of Egypt, is to drive out the mamelucks, who were both rebels to the Porte, and declared enemies to the French government. At preſent, when maſter of it by the ſignal victory which its army has gained, its intention is to preſerve to the pacha of the grand ſeignior his revenues and appointment. I beg then you will aſſure the Porte, that it will ſuffer no kind of loſs, and I will take care it ſhall continue to receive the tribute heretofore paid to it.

(Signed) Buonaparte.

Proclamation of Buonaparte to the Inhabitants of Cairo, dated Nivoſe (December 28th).

PERVERSE men had ſucceeded in miſleading a party amongſt you: they have periſhed. God has ordered me to be merciful towards the people, and I have been clement and merciful towards you: I have been incenſed againſt you on account of the revolt; I have deprived you for two months of your divan: but this day I reſtore it to you; your good conduct has effaced the ſtain of your rebellion. Sherifs, vimas, orators of the moſque, cauſe the people well to underſtand, that thoſe who, through any levity, ſhall become my enemies, ſhall find no refuge in this world or in the next. Shall there be a man ſo blind as not to ſee that all my operations are conducted by deſtiny? Can there be a man ſo incredulous as to doubt that every thing in this vaſt univerſe is ſubjected to the empire of deſtiny? Inſtruct the people, that ſince the world has exiſted it was written, that, after having deſtroyed the enemies of Iſlamiſm (Mahometaniſm), and deſtroyed the croſs, I ſhould come from the fartheſt part of the weſt to fulfill the taſk which was impoſed upon me.

Make

Make the people ſee that, in the ſecond book of the Koran, in more than twenty paſſages, that which has happened was foreſeen, and that which ſhall take place has alſo been explained: let thoſe then whom the fear of our arms alone prevents from pronouncing imprecations on us now change their diſpoſitions; for in offering prayers to heaven againſt us, they ſolicit their own condemnation: let the true believers then offer their vows to heaven for the ſucceſs of our arms. I could call to account each individual amongſt you for the moſt ſecret ſentiment of his heart; for I know every thing, even that which you never communicated to any perſon: but the day will come when all the world ſhall ſee it proved, that I am commanded by orders from above, and that all human efforts are of no avail againſt me. Happy thoſe who in good faith ſhall be the firſt to attach themſelves to me.

(Signed) Buonaparte.

Note, preſented by the Turkiſh Ambaſſador to the French Executive Directory, reſpecting the Occupancy of Dalmatia and Iſtria by the Imperial Troops.

Citizen directors,

THE unexpected occupancy, by the Auſtrian troops, of Iſtria and Dalmatia, the reports circulated that his imperial majeſty propoſes to maintain himſelf in the poſſeſſion of theſe provinces, will not ſuffer the Ottoman Porte to remain indifferent as to the future ſtate of a country ſo near to its dominions, and belonging to an ancient republic, its faithful friend and ally. The ambaſſador of the Ottoman Porte finds himſelf obliged to explain to the directory his ſentiments on an object which the intereſts of his court, and the friendſhip ſubſiſting between it and the French republic, require to be taken into ſerious conſideration. The ambaſſador is far from believing, that the above-mentioned occupancy could have been made by the ſilent or explicit conſent of the general-in-chief, Buonaparte; and he is firmly perſuaded, that that illuſtrious general muſt have ſeen with diſpleaſure a proceeding ſo arbitrary, and ſo contrary to the intereſts of the Ottoman Porte, as well as to thoſe of the French nation, in whoſe name he commands the armies of Italy. The ambaſſador knew how to appreciate, as highly as he ought, the loyalty of the French nation. He knows that, conſtant to the principles of real friendſhip, it could not fail to remark the firmneſs which the Porte has ſhewn, ſince the firſt moments of the political regeneration of France, to remain its faithful ally, and how much the influence of its ſovereign on the powers of Barbary has contributed towards proviſioning the French ſouthern provinces, in circumſtances the moſt critical. The French nation is too dear to its heart for it to believe, that in the moment of negociation for peace, and when it is about to reſtore tranquillity to Europe, the French government would conſent that the above provinces ſhould remain under the power of Auſtria. The ambaſſador cannot think but the executive directory will employ all means, and even the force of arms, to oblige the emperor to relinquiſh them.

The

The ties of ſtrict amity and alliance which unite the Ottoman Porte to the French nation require that the directory ſhould uſe all its efforts to that effect. This affair is of ſuch importance, that the utmoſt precautions are neceſſary to prevent the grievous conſequences that might reſult from the contrary. It is a common intereſt. If Iſtria and Dalmatia be granted to the emperor, there can be no doubt but, having become maſter of thoſe naval forces which belonged to a peaceful republic, he will riſe to the rank of a maritime power, and acquire means terrible and perfectly diſaſtrous to the Ottoman empire. This alliance with Ruſſia and England, whoſe known deſigns are to drive the Sublime Porte, if poſſible, from the European provinces, will acquire a ſtrength to which it will not be eaſy to oppoſe ſufficient obſtacles. The Black ſea will be open to the Ruſſian fleets, and the Adriatic ſea to thoſe of the emperor. If he remains maſter of Dalmatia, to which will neceſſarily be united the republic of Raguſa and Albania, Boſnia will be intirely uncovered, and muſt yield to the firſt ſhock, becauſe it is deſtitute of fortreſſes, and would be ſurrounded every where, but on the eaſt, by the Auſtrian countries. Epirus, Macedonia, and the other countries as far as the Morea, would run the ſame riſk. The commerce of the French would be annihilated in the Levant, ſince the productions and merchandizes of Hungary, Dalmatia, and Germany, could be more eaſily and ſpeedily embarked and conveyed, by a ſhorter paſſage, than thoſe coming from the Mediterranean. This ſhort expoſition will, no doubt, offer ample materials for the reflections of the directory, and it will have no difficulty to convince itſelf, that the glory and intereſts of France require them to take deciſive and efficacious meaſures. The French republic will ſhew the ſame loyalty and conſtancy that it has always done towards its ally the grand ſeignior. Firm in its ſentiments, it will not ſuffer itſelf to be the cauſe of injury to a ſtate, which, on all occaſions, and in moments of the greateſt embarraſment, knew how to reſiſt the intrigues and inſinuations of its enemies. The ambaſſador, fully convinced that ſuch are the ſentiments which guide the executive directory, expects ſhortly to ſee the happy effects of them: it will be to him the higheſt ſatisfaction to be able to tranſmit to the Sublime Porte aſſurances to that purpoſe.

Memorial delivered by the Porte to all the foreign Miniſters.

THE Porte, as all Europe knows, has long continued at peace with France, and on terms of the ſtricteſt amity and good underſtanding, which good underſtanding it has done every thing in its power to maintain. With the utmoſt ſurpriſe, therefore, has it ſeen the Turkiſh territories abruptly, and in a moſt extraordinary manner, attacked by the French arms. A man of the name of Buonoparte, giving himſelf out to be a French general, has made war on the Turkiſh province of Egypt. It is impoſſible for the Porte to believe that ſuch a proceeding, ſo contrary to the rights of all nations, can ever be countenanced, much leſs commanded, by the French executive directory. A conſiderable force has, however, been

been ſent to Egypt, to ſtop the progreſs of the invaders. Some of the emiſſaries of Buonaparte have pretended to perſuade the people of Egypt, that they have been ſent by Mahomet to give them perfect liberty and happineſs, and render their religion the ſovereign religion on earth; but the people have anſwered, that Mahomet authorizes no injuſtice, and that they can place no faith in ſuch promiſes from thoſe who have denied their God, and renounced their own prophet.

Conſtantinople, Sept. 2.

Manifeſto of the Sublime Porte, communicated to our eſteemed Friend the Miniſter Plenipotentiary of the Court of Great Britain, at Conſtantinople, the 11th of September, 1798.

Tranſlation.

IT is notorious that the peace and good harmony which, ſince time immemorial, have exiſted between the Sublime Porte and the court of France, have never been interrupted by enmity and miſunderſtanding, but that, on the contrary, until this period, the Sublime Porte has made it her uniform and conſtant ſtudy, ſcrupulouſly to maintain the treaties, to fulfil the duties of amity with care, and, upon every occaſion, to give proofs of her ſincerity and friendſhip.

At the time when the revolution firſt broke out in France, ſix years ago, when moſt of the powers in Europe confederated againſt that country, the Sublime Porte, although a witneſs to the improper proceedings of thoſe who held the reins of government by uſurpation, choſe rather, in obſervance of her ancient amity with the French nation, to remain neutral: and though ſhe had been ſeveral times invited by the allied courts to join with them, and to break with France; although the troubles of that country had become more and more violent, at that particular period, when an army had reached near Paris; whilſt, ſoon after, the fortreſſes of Valenciennes, Condé, and Queſnoy, the keys of France on the northern ſide, were taken by the Auſtrian arms; Toulon, the only arſenal of the French in the Mediterranean, had fallen into the hands of the Engliſh, with the ſhips of war which were in it; and, by an increaſed party of royaliſts in their provinces, the ſituation of the government had become more critical, and perplexity and diſtreſs prevailed on every ſide; yet the Sublime Porte, notwithſtanding that it depended only upon herſelf to join with the other powers, nevertheleſs, giving way to her known principles of juſtice, did no ways conſent to deviate from the line of a neutral conduct.

On the contrary, conſidering that if, under the circumſtances of a ſtrong famine, by which France, blocked up by ſea and land, was afflicted, the Sublime Porte had alſo broken off her connection, their diſtreſſed ſituation would have been ſuch as to throw the inhabitants into total deſolation and deſpair; ſhe abſtained from that meaſure: and ſhe hereby aſks, whether it be not a fact, that the liberality which ſhe has ſhewn to them, from time to time, has brought complaints againſt her from other powers?

The extenſive advantages which the French have reaped from the Sublime Porte's remaining neutral, during the courſe of the war, be-

come clear and evident, by a moment's glance at the events of the war, and the public tranſactions during that period. Whilſt, therefore, in conſideration of the uniform acts of condeſcenſion thus obſerved towards them by the Sublime Porte, they, on their ſide, ought alſo to have been ſteady in preſerving peace; yet, thoſe among them who found the means of aſſuming to themſelves the reins of government, by favour of the revolution, began to deviſe various pretences, and under an illuſive idea of liberty—a liberty ſo called in word, but which in reality knows no other laws but the ſubverſion of every eſtabliſhed government (after the example of France), the aboliſhment of all religions, the deſtruction of every country, the plunder of property, and the diſſolution of all human ſociety; to occupy themſelves in nothing but in miſleading and impoſing upon the ignorant amongſt the people, pretending to reduce mankind to the ſtate of the brute creation; and this to favour their own private intereſts, and render the government permanent in their own hands.

Actuated by ſuch principles, they made it their maxim to ſtir up and corrupt, indiſcriminately, the ſubjects of every power, whether diſtant or near, either in peace or at war, and to excite them to revolt againſt their natural ſovereigns and government.

Whilſt, on one hand, their miniſter at Conſtantinople, purſuant to that ſyſtem of duplicity and deceit which is their cuſtom every where, made profeſſions of friendſhip for the Ottoman empire, endeavouring to make the Sublime Porte the dupe of their inſidious projects, and to forward their objects of exciting her againſt other friendly powers; the commanders and generals of their army in Italy, upon the other hand, were engaged in the heinous attempt of perverting the ſubjects of his majeſty the grand ſeignior, by ſending agents (perſons notorious for their intriguing practices) into Anatolia, Morea, and the iſlands of the Archipelago, and by ſpreading manifeſtoes of the moſt inſidious tenour, among which, the one addreſſed by Buonaparte to the people of Macrio, with ſeveral others, diſtributed by the ſame, are ſufficiently known to the public.

Upon the Sublime Porte's complaining to the directory, of this conduct of their commanders and generals, their anſwer was, that, all proceedings, on the part of their officers, contrary to friendſhip, were not with the conſent of the directory, and the ſame ſhould be prevented, and their officers warned againſt it; the wiſh of the French government being to ſtrengthen more and more the ancient friendſhip ſubſiſting with the Sublime Porte.

In conſequence of this anſwer, delivered officially on their part, it was expected that the ſaid generals would have left off their ſeditious purſuits. But, nevertheleſs, no change appearing in their conduct, and their perſeverance in ſuch inſidious practices being greater than ever, it became obvious that the anſwers of the directory were only fictitious and deceitful; that the intriguing attempts of their agents could not but be dictated by the inſtructions which were given them, and conſequently that any farther complaint would be of no avail whatever.

Not-

Notwithſtanding theſe tranſactions, however, the Sublime Porte, in the hopes of the directory altering its ſyſtem of conduct, and laying aſide the ſenſeleſs purſuit of wiſhing to overturn the univerſe; in expectation of ſeeing things in France, from the harraſſed ſituation of that country, at length take a different turn, by the people refuſing to bear any longer thoſe intolerable evils and diſaſters which have been brought upon them, from the perſonal views of a few upſtart individuals, ſince the commencement of the revolution, and with the view of preventing ſecret enmity from producing an open rupture, ſhe did not alter her courſe, but preferred keeping ſilence.

In the beginning of the war with the other powers, the French government had declared, that their intention was not to acquire new territory, but, on the contrary, to reſtore every ſuch conqueſt as might have been made by their arms during the conteſt: contrary to which, they not only have kept poſſeſſion of various extenſive provinces, ſnatched by them from the Belligerent powers; but, not content with this, profiting of the changes which had prevailed among the allied courts through their intrigues, have put off the maſk intirely, and, developing their ſecret views, without reaſon or juſtice, have fallen upon ſeveral free and independent republics and ſtates who had held themſelves neutral, like the Sublime Porte; invading their territories when leaſt provided with the means of defence, and ſubjecting them to their will by open force and hoſtility.

Thus, no one being left to controul them, they tore the veil of all decorum at once, and unmindful of the obligations of treaties, and to convince the world that friendſhip and enmity are the ſame thing in their eyes, contrary to the rights of nations, and in violation of the ties ſubſiſting between the two courts, they came, in a manner altogether unprecedented, like a ſet of pirates, and made a ſudden invaſion in Egypt, the moſt precious among the provinces of the Ottoman Porte, of which they took forcible poſſeſſion, at a time when they had experienced nothing from this court but demonſtrations of friendſhip.

Upon the firſt ſurmiſe of the French project to invade that province, Ruffin, their chargé d'affaires at this reſidence, was invited to a conference, where he was queſtioned officially about this buſineſs: he firſt declared he had no intelligence whatever reſpecting it, but he gave it as a ſpeculation of his own, that, if ſuch an enterprize ever proved true, it probably muſt be to take revenge of the beys, and to annoy and attack the Engliſh ſettlements in the Eaſt Indies.

In anſwer to this, it was circumſtantially ſtated to him, that the ſmalleſt attempt on the part of the French upon Cairo, on whatever pretext it might be founded, would be taken as a declaration of war, and thereby the friendſhip ſubſiſting between the two courts, ſince the moſt ancient times, would, both in a legal and political ſenſe, be converted into enmity; that the Ottoman empire would not ſuffer the loſs of a handful of ſand of the Egyptian territory; that the whole Ottoman ſect would ſet itſelf in motion for the deliverance of thoſe bleſſed lands; and that if the chaſtiſement

tiſement of the beys of Egygt was neceſſary, it behoved the Sublime Porte to inflict it on them as her dependents; that the interference of the French in this buſineſs was inconſiſtent with the rights of nations; that the court of Great Britain, being the deareſt friend of the Ottoman empire, the Sublime Porte would never conſent to the paſſage of French troops through her territory to act againſt their ſettlements; that, in ſhort, ſhould even their expedition to Egypt have no other object but this, it would be equally conſtrued into a declaration of war, of all which he was charged to make the earlieſt communication to the directory in this very language.

Diſpatches, bearing inſtructions to the ſame effect, were, at the ſame time, written to Ali Effendi, the Sublime Porte's ambaſſador, at Paris, who was moreover directed to demand officially an explanation of the matter upon the ſpot.

Before the communications ſent by Ruffin to the directory, and the diſpatches tranſmitted by the Sublime Porte to her ambaſſador before named, a letter of an old date was received, by the ſaid Ruffin, expreſſing that Buonaparte's expedition to Egypt was true, but that the object was, to ſecure ſome commercial advantages, by bringing the beys to an account, and to hurt Great Britain; that an ambaſſador had been appointed to prefer ſeveral propoſitions favourable to the intereſts of the Ottoman Porte, and to adjuſt the affair in queſtion; with this farther ridiculous hint, that, were the Porte to declare war for this againſt the republic, both courts would lay themſelves open to an attack on the part of the emperor: all this the ſaid chargé d'affaires delivered officially, and he alſo preſented a copy of that letter.

Upon the other hand, in the anſwer received meanwhile from the Ottoman ambaſſador abovementioned, it was ſtated, that in conformity to his inſtructions, he had an interview with Talleyrand Perigord, the miniſter of external relations, in which he had produced his diſpatches, explained their purport, and demanded officially a categorical anſwer: that the ſaid miniſter (forgetting, as is to be ſuppoſed, the tenour of the letter which had been written to Ruffin ſome time before) poſitively diſavowed the expedition againſt Egypt, and ſaid that Buonaparte's commiſſion had no other object but the conqueſt of Malta; that the abolition of the order there being a meaſure conducive to the benefit of all the Turks, the Sublime Porte ought to feel even obliged by it; that the directory had nothing more at heart than to maintain the peace exiſting with the Porte ſince time immemorial, and more and more to ſtrengthen the ſame, thus barefacedly exhibiting a farce of the moſt artful duplicity: the wide contradiction between the above two communications being viſibly a freſh artifice by which to miſlead the Ottoman Porte with her eyes open, and to gain time until intelligence could be procured reſpecting the affair of Egypt, the reſult of which had not then come to their knowledge. Muſt not this moſt extraordinary event be taken as a palpable demonſtration, that the directors of the French government, to ſecond their own ambition and arrogance, have actually loſt all recollection of thoſe laws obſerved and maintained in every regular government, and

that no faith whatever is to be placed in their words and profeſſions?

From the tenour of their arbitrary proceedings and deſpotic conduct, as too well witneſſed from firſt to laſt, it is clear and evident that their project is no other but to baniſh every orderly inſtitution from the face of the world; to overſet human ſociety, and, by an alternate play of ſecret intrigue or open hoſtility, as beſt ſuits their end, to derange the conſtitution of every eſtabliſhed independent ſtate, by creating (as they have done in Italy) a number of ſmall republics, of which the French is to be the parent-mother, and thus to ſway and to conduct every thing after their own will every where.

Now Egypt being the portal of the two venerable cities (Mecca and Medina), and the preſent operations in that quarter being of a nature affecting all the Mahomedan ſect at large, the Sublime Porte, conſiſtently with her expreſs declarations to the above French chargé d'affaires, and, through her ambaſſador, to the directory, at Paris, feels compelled, by every law, to reſiſt the ſudden and unprovoked aggreſſions and hoſtilities committed by the French as above, and, with a full confidence in the aſſiſtance of the omnipotent God, to ſet about repelling and deſtroying the enemy by ſea and land. Thus, to wage war againſt France is become a precept of religion incumbent upon all Muſſulmen.

In conſequence whereof, the afore-named chargé d'affaires, together with the officers of that miſſion, have been ſent to the Seven Towers, to be detained there as hoſtages, until ſuch time as Ali Effendi, before-named, and thoſe of his retinue, be arrived from Paris: and the conſuls, merchants, and French properties, in Conſtantinople, and in other parts of the Ottoman empire, ſhall alſo be kept in depoſit; and as a ſecurity, until the merchants, dependents of the Sublime Porte, with their ſhipping and properties, as alſo the public ſhips, with their equipages, detained in the province of Egypt (priſoners of war excepted), be ſet at liberty.

To repel the perfidy of theſe uſurpers, who have raiſed the ſtandard of rebellion and trouble in France, is a meaſure in which not the ſafety and tranquillity of the Sublime Porte alone, but alſo that of all the powers in Europe, is concerned. Wherefore the beſt hopes are entertained of the cordial co-operation of all friendly courts, as well as of their diſpoſition to fulfil by every means in their power, their duties of friendſhip and of aſſiſtance in the preſent cauſe.

1 Rebuilakhir, 1213, (11 September, 1798.)

Imperial Decree, promulgated at the Porte, on Saturday, 1ſt Sept.

Tranſlation.

To you, Kaïmakam Paſha, theſe are addreſſed.

EVER ſince the ſupreme vizir, Izzed Mehemmed Paſha, came to that office, inſtructions were conſtantly given him to attend to the defence of the Ottoman dominions, and never to be off his guard againſt the plots of enemies. He however, from ſelfiſh motives, has attended to nothing but his own intereſt; ſo that

that in the dark himſelf, with reſpect to the evil deſigns of thoſe brutiſh * infidels, the French, from not procuring proper intelligence, he did not apprize the inhabitants of Egypt thereof in good time.

When the unhappy tidings from thence came to our imperial ear, a full month after that inſufferable event had come to paſs, ſuch were our grief and concern, that we take God to witneſs, it drew tears from our eyes, and deprived us of ſleep and reſt.

We have therefore immediately depoſed him from the office of grand vizir, and have appointed in his place Youſſouff Paſha, governor of Erzerum, until whoſe arrival, at our ſublime gate, we appoint and conſtitute you, Muſtafa Bey, to be Kaïmakam.

Now it being incumbent upon all true believers to combat thoſe faithleſs brutes, the French, and it being become a poſitive duty for our imperial perſon to deliver the bleſſed territories from their accurſed hands, and to revenge the inſult which they have offered to all true muſſulmen, no delay whatever is to take place for the arrival of the new vizir; but the moſt vigorous meaſures muſt be purſued to attack them by ſea and land.

Wherefore by a deliberation with the illuſtrious lawyers, miniſters, and chieftains, our ſubjects, you muſt (with a full confidence in God and his prophet) fix upon the effectual means of freeing the province of Egypt from the preſence of ſuch wretches. You will acquaint all the true believers in the reſpective quarters, that we are at war with the French; and, turning night into day, will apply your utmoſt efforts to take revenge of them.

You will adopt the moſt vigilant conduct towards defending the other Mahomedan provinces, and our imperial frontiers, from the plots and malice of the enemy, by the due reinforcement of every port and place with troops and military ſtores.

You will likewiſe direct your zealous attention towards the due ſupply of daily proviſions to the inhabitants of this our imperial reſidence; and will watch over the affairs of all perſons in general, until the ſupreme vizir do arrive.

We ſhall obſerve your exertions; and may the omnipotent God ordain his divine favour to attend our undertakings, and render us ſucceſsful in the vindication of our cauſe!

Manifeſto publiſhed by the King of Nuples.

San Germano, Nov. 22, 1798.

Dear, faithful, and beloved ſubjects,

AFTER having, for almoſt forty years, exerted every effort to render you happy, and to ſuccour you in all the calamities which it has pleaſed God to ſend you, I am now about to leave my beloved country, for the ſole purpoſe of defending our holy religion, almoſt overthrown; to reanimate the divine worſhip; and to ſecure to you, and to your children, the enjoyment of the bleſſings which the

* Original, ſwine.

Lord has given you. If I had been ſure of attaining that object by any other ſacrifice, believe me, I ſhould not have heſitated a moment to preſer that alternative; but what hopes could be entertained of ſucceſs after the many fatal examples with which you are well acquainted? I ſet out, therefore, at the head of the brave defenders of their country, full of confidence in the Lord of Hoſts, who will guide our ſteps and protect our operations. I go to brave all danger with the greateſt cheerfulneſs, becauſe I do it for my fellow-citizens, for my brothers, for my children, for ſuch I have ever conſidered you. Be always faithful to God, and to her whom I leave in my ſtead to conduct the government of theſe ſtates, my dear and well-beloved conſort. I recommend to you, then, your tender mother; I recommend to you my children, who are not more mine than they are yours. At all events, remember that you are Neapolitans; that thoſe are brave who are willing to exert their courage; and that it is better to die glorioufly for God and our country, than to live ſhamefully oppreſſed! Meanwhile, may God beſtow upon you all the bleſſings and the happineſs which is the wiſh of him, who is, and while he lives ſhall be, your moſt affectionate father and ſovereign,

Ferdinand.

Head-quarters, Turin, Dec. 9.

Act of Renunciation of the King of Sardinia.

THE commander-in-chief gives orders that the preſent act ſhall be printed in both languages, French and Italian, and made public.

Article 1. His majeſty declares, that he renounces the exereiſe of all power, and he eſpecially orders all his ſubjects whatever to obey the proviſional government which is about to be eſtabliſhed by the French general.

2. His majeſty orders the Piedmonteſe army to conſider itſelf as an integral part of the French army in Italy, and to obey the French commander-in-chief as their own.

3. His majeſty diſavows the publication of the proclamation circulated by his miniſters, and he gives orders to M. le chevalier Danigen to ſurrender the citadel of Turin, as a pledge that no reſiſtance whatever ſhall be attempted againſt the preſent act, which has emanated purely from his own will.

4. His majeſty iſſues orders to the governor of the city of Turin to receive and execute preciſely all orders which the French general commanding the citadel ſhall think proper to order for the maintenance of public tranquillity.

5. No change ſhall be made that can affect the catholic religion, or the ſafety or property of individuals.

The Piedmonteſe who are anxious to change their abodes ſhall have liberty to take with them their moveable effects, to ſell and liquidate their property, in order to export the value. The Piedmonteſe who are abſent are at liberty to return to Piedmont, and to enjoy the ſame rights there as other citizens, nor ſhall they, on any account, be queſtioned as to any actions or writings previous to this preſent act.

6. The king ſhall be at liberty to repair to . . . . . [Sardinia was

was afterwards determined upon as the place]. In the mean time, no arrangement shall be made that can effect the security of his person. Until the moment of his departure his palaces and country-houses shall not be taken possession of by the French troops, nor shall any property be carried off, and the guard shall be kept by those who have hitherto been employed in that service.

7. The passports and necessary orders shall be given, that his majesty and all his family may arrive in safety at the place of their retreat. They shall be accompanied by an equal force of French and Piedmontese.

9. In case the prince de Carignan shall remain at Piedmont, he shall enjoy his property there, and shall be at liberty to leave it, as provided for the other subjects of Piedmont.

9. The state of the public archives, chests, &c. shall be immediately given in, and the seal shall be placed on the chests.

10. The ships of powers at war with the French republic shall not be received in the ports of the island of Sardinia.

Done at Turin, this 9th day of December, 1798.

(Signed) Clauvel, adj.-gen.
C. Emmanuel.

Consented to and approved by me,
Raimond de St. Germain,
chamberlain.

I undertake that I will throw no impediment in the way of the execution of this treaty.

Victor Emmanuel.

Approved and accepted,
Joubert, commander-in-chief.

Concluding Passages of the Manifesto of the Grand Priory of Malta.

IT is to be remarked, that, in the infamous treaty, which yielded up Malta to the French, the interests of the grand master were alone attended to, and nothing was stipulated in favour of the order. The fact is explained by only this simple reflection. Ferdinand Hompesch and his agents have sold Malta, and they alone have received the price; in fact, care was taken not to summon to the council which decided on the surrender, the sixteen elders of the complete council, nor the Baillis Tignie, Gourjão, Clagny, Tillet, Bellemont, Loras, La Tour Saint Quintin, La Tour du Pin, &c. &c. which would have constituted more than half the council, and without whose consent no decision could properly have been taken. But they were very sure that those brave knights would have rejected with horror the dishonourable treaty which they were anxious to conclude, and it was found more expedient to give them up than to consult them. Equally inaccessible to the unjust prejudice which sees crimes every where, and to the culpable indulgence that tolerates them, we have been guided in our researches into the events at Malta by those principles only which honour avows and which equity prescribes. We have not advanced a fact without the proof before our eyes. Throughout the whole, truth has demonstrated to us that Ferdinand Hompesch is attainted and convicted of improvidence, cowardice, and perfidy; upon which considerations, we, the knights of the grand priory of Russia, and others present at St. Petersburgh, regard Ferdinand Hempesch as deposed

from the rank to which we elevated him; and, by virtue of our own laws, we hold ourſelves abſolved from the obedience which we ſhould owe him as our chief, and we invite our brothers of the other grand priories to unite with us in a proceeding which honour has rendered indiſpenſable, and from which we could not abſtain, without participating in the opprobrium which Ferdinand Hompeſch, Ranſijeat, St. Tropes, and others, have ſo juſtly deſerved. — We throw ourſelves into the arms of our auguſt and ſovereign protector, Paul I. emperor of all the Ruſſias, for his protection.

Proteſtation of the Grand Priory of Ruſſia.

We, the baillies, grand croſs, commanders, knights of the grand priory of Ruſſia, and other knights of St. John of Jeruſalem, at an extraordinary aſſembly at the priorial palace of the order, in the imperial reſidence of St. Peterſburgh, obliged to turn our attention towards Malta, what profound grief muſt we not feel in beholding that ancient and noble theatre of our glory treacherouſly ſold by a convention, as null in its principles as it was infamous in its effects? — With what indignation muſt we not be tranſported in reflecting, that, after an inſignificant attack of ſome hours, the cowards who bore the name of knights ſurrendered that bulwark of Chriſtianity, which the example of their predeceſſors, and the ſacred laws of honour, enjoined them to defend to the laſt drop of their blood, to banditti, a hundred times more infidel than thoſe againſt whom the duties of their profeſſion armed them.—In the courſe of a war of ſeven centuries, the knights of St. John of Jeruſalem experienced, more than once, the viciſſitudes of fortune; more than once the alarmed Chriſtians beheld the ſhield, if we may ſo call it, of the faith broken between each of their defenders, and the entire order preſerving no other refuge but in the hearts of its knights. But the moſt noble always ſignalized their different ſucceſſes, and their glory was as reſpected in the moſt diſaſtrous reverſes as it was ſplendid in their moſt brilliant exploits. Since its origin, the name of one traitor alone ſullied the annals of the order of St. John of Jeruſalem: by what fatality do we now ſee it precipitated into the abyſs of of diſgrace and ignominy, by thoſe very perſons who enjoined them to preſerve it? If the ſpeedy puniſhment of Amaret did not remedy the evils which his perfidy occaſioned, it at leaſt teſtified the ſeverity of the principles of that illuſtrious corps, and equitable poſterity has poured with equal meaſure, Glory! Glory! upon Villiers de l'Iſle Adam, and opprobrium upon his infamous adverſary. If it depends upon us at the preſent moment to waſh off, in the blood of traitors, the crimes they committed, in ſhameſully barter-ing the ancient and ſuperb inheritance of honour, which our anceſtors tranſmitted, let us at leaſt ſhew with energy the juſt reſentment, hatred, and contempt, with which their felony inſpires us; let us reject with horror the vile treaty which will diſhonour them for ever, and devote them irrevocably

bly to that remorſe and infamy which will for ever be their portion. For ourſelves, united under the glorious auſpices of Paul I. the auguſt emperor of all the Ruſſias and the protector of our order, we proteſt, in the face of God, and in the preſence of all thoſe with whom honour and fidelity are ſtill regarded as virtues, againſt every thing that perfidy has permitted to the detriment of our order. We ſolemnly diſavow every proceeding contrary to the ſacred laws of our conſtitution. We regard as degraded from their rank and dignities all thoſe who drew up, accepted, or conſented to the infamous treaty that ſurrendered Malta, as well as all thoſe who ſhall be convicted of having co-operated, directly or indirectly, in that work of iniquity. We renounce, from this time, all ſort of connection with thoſe unworthy, infected, and corrupted members. In fine, we will never acknowledge for our brethren, but thoſe who ſhall manifeſt the conformity of their principles with ours, by adhering to the preſent proteſtation, which we reſerve to ourſelves the power of extending or renewing, according to the exigency of the caſe. In the faith of which, we have propoſed the preſent act, we have unanimouſly accepted and ſtamped it with the ſeal of the grand priory of Ruſſia.

Dated at St. Peterſburgh, this day, Thurſday, 26th of Auguſt, 1798.

Declaration of the Emperor of Ruſſia, in Anſwer:

Having attentively examined the acts preſented to us by the baillies, knights of the grand croſs, the commanders, and knights of the grand priory of Ruſſia, as well as the other knights of the illuſtrious order of St. John of Jeruſalem, aſſembled in the palace of the ſaid priory in our capital, acts which contain, 1ſt, a proteſtation againſt the prejudicial conduct of the ci-devant grand maſter of the order, Ferdinand Hompeſch, and others, knights, who have violated their engagements in ſurrendering, without any defence, their principal city, and their whole ſtate, and made a diſhonourable capitulation with the chief of the French who attacked the iſland of Malta, ſtipulating only for the perſonal advantage of the grand maſter and his adherents. 2dly, the confidence of the members of that order in us as its protector, marked by the deſire that we ſhould attend to its preſervation, and an expreſſion of readineſs to ſubmit to any arrangements which we might think neceſſary to make for its benefit.—We confirm the ſaid acts in their full force, and, teſtifying our acknowledgements for the zeal of the members of the illuſtrious order of St. John of Jeruſalem, we take all the well-diſpoſed of the corps under our ſupreme direction. We promiſe, upon our imperial word, not only to maintain it in all its inſtitutions, privileges, and honours, but alſo to employ all means in our power for its re-eſtabliſhment in the reſpectable ſtate which it held, and in which it contributed to the advantage of Chriſtianity in general, and of every well-governed ſtate in particular.

Meſſage from the Preſident of the United States, to the Houſe of Repreſentatives, on the 19th March.

Gentlemen of the ſenate, and gentlemen of the houſe of repreſentatives.

THE diſpatches from the envoys extraordinary of the United ſtates to the French republic, which were mentioned in my meſſage to both houſes of congreſs, have been examined and maturely conſidered.

While I feel a ſatisfaction in informing you, that their exertions for the adjuſtment of the differences between the two nations have been ſincere and unremitted, it is incumbent on me to declare, that I perceive no ground of expectation that the objects of their miſſion can be accompliſhed on terms compatible with the ſafety, honour, or the eſſential intereſts of the nation.

The reſult cannot, with juſtice, be attributed to any want of moderation on the part of this government, or to any indiſpoſition to forego ſecondary intereſts for the preſervation of peace. Knowing it to be my duty, and believing it to be your wiſh, as well as that of the great body of the people, to avoid, by all reaſonable conceſſions, any participation in the contentions of Europe, the powers veſted in our envoys were commenſurate with a liberal and pacific policy, and that high confidence which might juſtly be repoſed in the abilities, patriotiſm, and integrity, of the characters to whom the negociation was committed. After a careful review of the whole ſubject, with the aid of all the information I have received, I can diſcern nothing which could have inſured or contributed to ſucceſs, that has been omitted on my part, and nothing farther which can be attempted, conſiſtently with maxims for which our country has contended, at every hazard, and which conſtitute the baſis of our national ſovereignty.

Under theſe circumſtances, I cannot forbear to reiterate the recommendations which have been formerly made, and to exhort you to adopt, with promptitude, deciſion, and unanimity, ſuch meaſures as the ample reſources of the country afford, for the protection of our ſeafaring and commercial citizens; for the defence of any expoſed portions of our territory; for repleniſhing our arſenals, eſtabliſhing founderies and military manufactures; and to provide ſuch efficient revenue as will be neceſſary to defray extraordinary expences, and ſupply the deficiences which may be occaſioned by depredations on our commerce.

The preſent ſtate of things is ſo eſſentially different from that in which inſtructions were given to collectors to reſtrain veſſels of the United States from ſailing in an armed condition, that the principle on which thoſe orders were iſſued, has ceaſed to exiſt. I therefore deem it proper to inform congreſs, that I no longer conceive myſelf juſtifiable in continuing them, unleſs in particular caſes, where there may be reaſonable ground of ſuſpicion that ſuch veſſels are intended to be employed contrary to law.

In all your proceedings it will be important to manifeſt a zeal, vigour, and concert, in defence of the national rights, proportioned to the danger with which they are threatened.

John Adams.

United States, 19th March, 1798.

Meſſage

Meſſage of the Preſident of the United States to both Houſes of Congreſs, April 3, 1798.

Gentlemen of the ſenate, and gentlemen of the houſe of repreſentatives,

IN compliance with the requeſt of the houſe of repreſentatives, expreſſed in their reſolution of the ſecond of this month, I tranſmit to both houſes thoſe inſtructions to and diſpatches from the envoys extraordinary of the United States to the French republic, which were mentioned in my meſſage of the 19th of March laſt, omitting only ſome names, and a few expreſſions, deſcriptive of the perſons.

I requeſt that they may be conſidered in confidence, until the members of congreſs are fully poſſeſſed of their contents, and ſhall have had opportunity to deliberate on the conſequences of their publication; after which time I ſubmit them to your wiſdom.

Copies of Diſpatches from the Envoys of the United States to the Preſident.

Department of State, April 3, 1798.

THE names deſignated by the letters W. X. Y. Z. in the following copies of letters from the envoys of the United States to the French republic, are, in the originals, written at full length, in cyphers. For the ſame reaſon that ſingle letters are thus taken to deſignate certain perſons named in the letters, other words deſcriptive of them are omitted.

Timothy Pickering.

No. I.

Paris, October 22, 1797.

Dear Sir,

ALL of us having arrived at Paris on the evening of the 4th inſtant, on the next day we verbally and unofficially informed the miniſter of foreign affairs thereof, and deſired to know when he would be at leiſure to receive one of our ſecretaries with the official notification. He appointed the next day at two o'clock; when major Rutledge waited on him with the following letter:

"Citizen miniſter,

"The United States of America being deſirous of terminating all differences between them and the French republic, and of reſtoring that harmony and good underſtanding, and that commercial and friendly intercourſe, which, from the common cement of their political connection, until lately, have ſo happily ſubſiſted, the preſident has nominated, and by and with the advice of the ſenate, has appointed us, the underſigned, jointly and ſeverally, envoys extraordinary and miniſters plenipotentiary to the French republic, for the purpoſe of accompliſhing theſe great objects. In purſuance of ſuch nomination and appointment, and with ſuch view, having come to Paris, we wiſh, citizen miniſter, to wait on you at any hour you will be pleaſed to appoint, to preſent the copy of our letters of credence; and whilſt we evince our ſincere and ardent deſire for the ſpeedy reſtoration of friendſhip and harmony between the two republics, we flatter ourſelves with your concurrence in the accompliſhment of this deſirable event. We requeſt you will accept the aſſurance

of our perfect eſteem and conſideration.

"Paris, Oct. 6th, in 21ſt year of American independance.

(Signed)

"Charles Coteſworth Pinckney.

"John Marſhall.

"Elbridge Gerry."

To this letter the miniſter gave a verbal anſwer, that he would ſee us the day after the morrow (the 8th) at one o'clock. Accordingly at that hour and day we waited on the miniſter at his houſe, where his office is held, when, being informed he was not at home, the ſecretary-general of the department told major Rutledge, that the miniſter was obliged to wait on the directory, and requeſted we would ſuſpend our viſit till three o'clock; at which hour we called. The miniſter we found was then engaged with the Portugueſe miniſter, who retired in about ten minutes, when we were introduced, and produced the copy of our letters of credence, which the miniſter peruſed and kept. He informed us, "that the directory had required him to make a report relative to the ſituation of the United States with regard to France, which he was then about, and which would be finiſhed in a few days, when he would let us know what ſteps were to follow." We aſked if cards of hoſpitality were in the mean time neceſſary? He ſaid they were, and that they ſhould be delivered to us; and he immediately rung for his ſecretary, and directed him to make them out. The converſation was carried on by him in French, and by us in our own language.

The next day the cards of hoſpitality were ſent to us and our ſecretaries, in a ſtyle ſuitable to our official character.

On Saturday, the 14th, major Mountflorence informed general Pinckney, that he had a converſation with Mr. Oſmond, the private and confidential ſecretary of the miniſter of foreign affairs, who told him, that the directory were greatly exaſperated at ſome parts of the preſident's ſpeech, at the opening of the laſt ſeſſion of congreſs, and would require an explanation of them from us. The particular parts were not mentioned. In another converſation on the ſame day, the ſecretary informed the major, that the miniſter had told him, it was probable we ſhould not have a public audience of the directory till ſuch time as our negociation was finiſhed; that probably perſons might be appointed to treat with us; but they would report to him, and he would have the direction of the negociation. The major did not conceal from Mr. Oſmond his intention to communicate theſe converſations to us.

In the morning of October the 18th, Mr. W——, of the houſe of , called on general Pinckney, and informed him, that a Mr. X. who was in Paris, and whom the general had ſeen , was a gentleman of conſiderable credit and reputation , and that we might place great reliance on him.

In the evening of the ſame day, Mr. X. called on general Pinckney, and, after having ſat ſome time, , whiſpered him, that he had a meſſage from M. Talleyrand to communicate, when he was at leiſure. General Pinckney immediately withdrew with

with him into another room; and, when they were alone, Mr. X. ſaid, that he was charged with a buſineſs in which he was a novice; that he had been acquainted with M. Talleyrand , that he was ſure he had a great regard for [America] and its citizens; and was very deſirous that a reconciliation ſhould be brought about with France; that to effectuate that end, he was ready, if it was thought proper, to ſuggeſt a plan, confidentially, that M. Talleyrand expected would anſwer the purpoſe.

General Pinckney ſaid, he ſhould be glad to hear it. M. X. replied, that the directory, and particularly two of the members of it, were exceedingly irritated at ſome paſſages in the preſident's ſpeech, and deſired that they ſhould be ſoftened; and that this ſtep would be neceſſary previous to our reception: that beſides this, a ſum of money was required for the pocket of the directory and miniſters, which would be at the diſpoſal of M. Talleyrand; and that a loan would alſo be inſiſted on. M. X. ſaid, if we acceded to theſe meaſures, M. Talleyrand had no doubt that all our differences with France might be accommodated. On inquiry, M. X. could not point out the particular paſſages of the ſpeech that had given offence, nor the quantum of the loan; but mentioned that the douceur for the pocket was twelve hundred thouſand livres, about fifty thouſand pounds ſterling. General Pinckney told him, his colleagues and himſelf, from the time of their arrival here, had been treated with great ſlight and diſreſpect; that they earneſtly wiſhed for peace and reconciliation with France; and had been entruſted, by their country, with very great powers to obtain theſe ends, on honourable terms: that with regard to the propoſitions made, he could not even conſider of them before he had communicated them to his colleagues: that after he had done ſo, he ſhould hear from him. After a communication and conſultation had, it was agreed, that general Pinckney ſhould call on M. X. and requeſt him to make his propoſitions to us all; and, for fear of miſtakes or miſapprehenſion, that he ſhould be requeſted to reduce the heads into writing. Accordingly, on the morning of October the 19th, general Pinckney called on M. X. who conſented to ſee his colleagues in the evening, and to reduce his propoſitions to writing. He ſaid, his communication was not immediately with M. Talleyrand, but through another gentleman, in whom M. Talleyrand had great confidence. This proved afterwards to be M. Y.

At ſix in the evening M X. came, and left with us the firſt ſet of propoſitions; which, tranſlated from the French, are as follows: "A perſon who poſſeſſes the confidence of the directory, on what relates to the affairs of America, convinced of the mutual advantages which would reſult from the re-eſtabliſhment of the good underſtanding between the two nations, purpoſes to employ all of his influence to obtain this object. He will aſſiſt the commiſſioners of the United States in all the demands which they may have to make from the government of France, inaſmuch as they may not be contradictory to thoſe which he propoſes himſelf to make, and of which the principal will be communicated confidentially. It is deſired that in the official communications there

there ſhould be given a ſoftening turn to a part of the preſident's ſpeech to congreſs, which has cauſed much irritation. It is feared that in not ſatisfying certain individuals in this reſpect, they may give way to all their reſentment. The nomination of commiſſioners will be conſented to on the ſame footing as they have been named in the treaty with England, to decide on the reclamations which individuals of America may make on the government of France, or on French individuals. The payments which, agreeably to the deciſions of the commiſſioners, ſhall fall to the ſhare of the French government, are to be advanced by the American government itſelf. It is deſired that the funds, which by this means ſhall enter again into the American trade, ſhould be employed in new ſupplies for the French colonies. Engagements of this nature on the part of individuals reclaiming will always haſten, in all probability, the deciſions of the French commiſſioners; and perhaps it may be deſired that this clauſe ſhould make a part of the inſtructions which the government of the United States ſhould give to the commiſſioners they may chooſe.

"The French government deſires, beſides, to obtain a loan from the United States; but ſo that that ſhould not give any jealouſy to the Engliſh government, nor hurt the neutrality of the United States. This loan ſhall be maſked, by ſtipulating, that the government of the United States conſents to make the advances for the payment of the debts contracted by the agents of the French government with the citizens of the United States; and which are already acknowledged, and the payment ordered by the directory, but without having been yet effectuated. There ſhould be delivered a note to the amount of theſe debts. Probably this note may be accompanied by oſtenſible pieces, which will guarantee to the agents the reſponſibility of the United States, in caſe any umbrage ſhould cauſe an inquiry. There ſhall alſo be firſt taken from this loan certain ſums, for the purpoſe of making the cuſtomary diſtributions in diplomatic affairs."

The perſon of note, mentioned in the minutes, who had the confidence of the directory, he ſaid, before us all, was M. Talleyrand.—The amount of the loan he could not aſcertain preciſely, but underſtood it would be according to our ability to pay. The ſum which would be conſidered as proper, according to the diplomatic uſage, was about twelve hundred thouſand livres. He could not ſtate to us what parts of the preſident's ſpeech were excepted to, but ſaid he would inquire, and inform us. He agreed to breakfaſt with Mr. Gerry, the morning of the 21ſt, in order to make ſuch explanations as we had then requeſted, or ſhould think proper to requeſt: but, on the morning of the 20th, M. X. called and ſaid, that M. Y. the confidential friend of M. Talleyrand, inſtead of communicating with us through M. X. would ſee us himſelf, and make the neceſſary explanations. We appointed to meet him the evening of the 20th, at ſeven o'clock, in general Marſhall's room. At ſeven, M. Y. and M. X. entered; and the firſt-mentioned gentleman, being introduced to us as the confidential friend of M. Talleyrand, immediately ſtated to us the favourable

impreſſions

impreſſions of that gentleman towards our country, — impreſſions which were made by the kindneſs and civilities he had perſonally received in America: that, impreſſed by his ſolicitude to repay theſe kindneſſes, he was willing to aid us in the preſent nogociation by his good offices with the directory, who were, he ſaid, extremely irritated againſt the government of the United States, on account of ſome parts of the preſident's ſpeech, and who had neither acknowledged nor received us, and, conſequently, had not authorized M. Talleyrand to have any communications with us. The miniſter, therefore, could not ſee us himſelf, but had authorized his friend M. Y. to communicate to us certain propoſitions, and to receive our anſwers to them — and to promiſe, on his part, that if we would engage to conſider them as the baſis of the propoſed negociation, he would intercede with the directory to acknowledge us, and to give us a public audience. M. Y. ſtated to us, explicitly and repeatedly, that he was clothed with no authority; that he was not a diplomatic character; that he was not

he was only the friend of M. Talleyrand, and truſted by him; that, with regard to himſelf, he had

and that he earneſtly wiſhed well to the United States. He then took out of his pocket a French tranſlation of the preſident's ſpeech, the parts of which, objected to by the directory, were marked, agreeably to our requeſt to M. X. and are contained in the exhibit A. Then he made us the ſecond ſet of propoſitions, which were dictated by him, and written by M. X. in our preſence, and delivered to us, and which, tranſlated from the French, are as follows:

"There is demanded a formal diſavowal, in writing, declaring that the ſpeech of the citizen-preſident, Barras, did not contain any thing offenſive to the government of the United States, nor any thing which deſerved the epithets contained in the whole paragraph: ſecondly, reparation is demanded for the article by which it ſhall be declared, that the decree of the directory, there mentioned, did not contain any thing contrary to the treaty of 1778, and had none of thoſe fatal conſequences that the paragraph reproaches to it: thirdly, it is demanded, that there ſhould be an acknowledgement, in writing, of the depredations exerciſed on our trade by the Engliſh and French privateers: fourthly, the government of France, faithful to the profeſſion of public faith which it has made, not to intermeddle in the internal affairs of foreign governments with which it is at peace, would look upon this paragraph as an attack upon its loyalty, if this was intended by the preſident. It demands, in conſequence, a formal declaration, that it is not the government of France, nor its agents, that this paragraph meant to deſignate. In conſideration of theſe reparations, the French republic is diſpoſed to renew, with the United States of America, a treaty which ſhall place them reciprocally in the ſame ſtate that they were in 1778. By this new treaty, France ſhall be placed, with reſpect to the United States, exactly on the ſame footing as they ſtand with England, in virtue of the laſt treaty which has been concluded between them. A ſecret article of this new treaty

would

would be a loan to be made by the United States to the French republic; and, once agreed upon the amount of the loan, it would be endeavoured to conſult the convenience of the United States, with reſpect to the beſt method of preventing its publicity."

On reading the ſpeech, M. Y. dilated very much upon the keenneſs of the reſentment it had produced, and expatiated largely on the ſatisfaction he ſaid was indiſpenſably neceſſary as a preliminary to negociation. "But," ſaid he, "gentlemen, I will not diſguiſe from you, that, this ſatisfaction being made, the eſſential part of the treaty remains to be adjuſted:" *Il faut de l'argent — Il faut beaucoup d'argent:* "You muſt pay money; you muſt pay a great deal of money." He ſpoke much of the force, the honour, and the jealous republican pride of France; and repreſented to us ſtrongly the advantages which we ſhould derive from the neutrality thus to be purchaſed. He ſaid, that the receipt of the money might be ſo diſguiſed as to prevent its being conſidered as a breach of neutrality by England; and thus ſave us from being embroiled with that power. Concerning the twelve hundred thouſand livres, little was ſaid; that being completely underſtood, on all ſides, to be required for the officers of government, and therefore needing no farther explanation. Theſe propoſitions, he ſaid, being conſidered as the admitted baſis of the propoſed treaty, M. Talleyrand truſted, that, by his influence with the directory, he could prevail on the government to receive us. We aſked, whether we were to conſider it as certain, that, without a previous ſtipulation, to the effect required, we were not to be received? He anſwered, that M. Talleyrand himſelf was not authorized to ſpeak to us the will of the directory, and conſequently could not authorize him. The converſation continued till half after nine, when they left us, having engaged to breakfaſt with Mr. Gerry the next morning.

October 21ſt, M. X. came before nine o'clock; M. Y. did not come until ten; he had paſſed the morning with M. Talleyrand. After breakfaſt, the ſubject was immediately reſumed. He repreſented to us, that we were not yet acknowledged or received; that the directory were ſo exaſperated againſt the United States, as to have come to a determination to demand from us, previous to our reception, thoſe diſavowals, reparations, and explanations, which were ſtated at large laſt evening. He ſaid, that M. Talleyrand and himſelf were extremely ſenſible of the pain we muſt feel in complying with this demand; but that the directory would not diſpenſe with it: that, therefore, we muſt conſider it as the indiſpenſable preliminary to obtain our reception, unleſs we could find the means to change their determination in this particular: that if we ſatisfied the directory in theſe particulars, a letter would be written to us, to demand the extent of our powers, and to know whether we were authorized to place them preciſely on the ſame footing with England?—whether, he ſaid, our full powers were really and ſubſtantially full powers?—or, like thoſe of lord Malmeſbury, only illuſory powers? That, if to this demand our anſwer ſhould be affirmative, then

then France would conſent that commiſſioners ſhould be appointed to aſcertain the claims of the United States, in like manner as under our treaty with England; but from their juriſdiction muſt be withdrawn thoſe which were condemned for want of a *rôle d'equipage*, that being a point on which Merlin, while miniſter of juſtice, had written a treatiſe, and on which the directory were decided. There would, however, be no objection to our complaining of theſe captures, in the courſe of the negociation; and, if we could convince Merlin, by our reaſoning, the miniſter would himſelf be ſatisfied with our ſo doing. We required an explanation of that part of the converſation, in which M. Y. had hinted at our finding means to avert the demand concerning the preſident's ſpeech. He anſwered, that he was not authorized to ſtate thoſe means, but that we muſt ſearch for them, and propoſe them ourſelves. If, however, we aſked his opinion as a private individual, and would receive it as coming from him, he would ſuggeſt to us the means which, in his opinion, would ſucceed. On being aſked to ſuggeſt the means, he anſwered, money; that the directory were jealous of its own honour, and of the honour of the nation; that it inſiſted on receiving from us the ſame reſpect with which we had treated the king; that this honour muſt be maintained in the manner before required, unleſs we ſubſtituted, in the place of thoſe reparations, ſomething perhaps more valuable, that was, money. He ſaid, farther, that if we deſired him to point out the ſum which he believed would be ſatisfactory, he would do ſo. We requeſted him to proceed: and he ſaid, that there were thirty-two millions of florins of Dutch inſcriptions, worth ten ſhillings in the pound, which might be aſſigned to us at twenty ſhillings in the pound; and he proceeded to ſtate to us the certainty, that, after a peace, the Dutch government would repay us the money; ſo that we ſhould ultimately loſe nothing; and the only operation of the meaſure would be an advance from us, to France, of thirty-two millions on the credit of the government of Holland. We aſked him, whether the fifty thouſand pounds ſterling, as a *douceur* to the directory, muſt be in addition to this ſum? He anſwered us in the affirmative. We told him, that on the ſubject of the treaty we had no heſitation in ſaying, that our powers were ample: that, on the other points propoſed to us, we would retire into another room, and return in a few minutes with our anſwer.

We committed immediately to writing the anſwer we propoſed, in the following words: "Our powers reſpecting a treaty are ample; but the propoſition of a loan, in the form of Dutch inſcriptions, or in any other form, is not within the limits of our inſtructions; upon this point, therefore, the government muſt be conſulted: one of the American miniſters will, for the purpoſe, forthwith embark for America, provided the directory will ſuſpend all farther captures on American veſſels, and will ſuſpend proceedings on thoſe already captured, as well where they have been already condemned, as where the deciſions have not yet been rendered; and that where ſales have been made, but the money not yet received by the captors, it

ſhall

ſhall not be paid until the preliminary queſtions, propoſed to the miniſters of the United States be diſcuſſed and decided:" which was read as a verbal anſwer; and we told them, they might copy it, if they pleaſed. M. Y. refuſed to do ſo; his diſappointment was apparent; he ſaid, we treated the money part of the propoſition as if it had proceeded from the directory,—whereas, in fact, it did not proceed even from the miniſter, but was only a ſuggeſtion from himſelf, as a ſubſtitute to be propoſed by us, in order to avoid the painful acknowledgement that the directory had determined to demand of us. It was told him, that we underſtood that matter perfectly; that we knew the propoſition was in form to be ours, but that it came ſubſtantially from the miniſter. We aſked what had led to our preſent converſation? And general Pinckney then repeated the firſt communication from M. X. (to the whole of which that gentleman aſſented); and we obſerved, that thoſe gentlemen had brought no teſtimonials of their ſpeaking any thing from authority; but that, relying on the fair characters they bore, we had believed them when they ſaid they were from the miniſter, and had converſed with them in like manner as if we were converſing with M. Talleyrand himſelf; and that we could not conſider any ſuggeſtion M. Y. had made as not having been previouſly approved of; but yet, if he did not chooſe to take a memorandum, in writing, of our anſwer, we had no wiſh that he ſhould do ſo: and farther, if he choſe to give the anſwer to his propoſition the form of a propoſition from ourſelves, we could only tell him, that we had no other propoſition to make, relative to any advance of money on our part; that America had ſuſtained deep and heavy loſſes by French depredations on our commerce, and that France has alleged ſo many complaints againſt the United States, that on thoſe ſubjects we came fully prepared, and were not a little ſurprized to find France unwilling to hear us, and making demands upon us which could never have been ſuſpected by our government, and which had the appearance of our being the aggreſſing party. M. Y. expreſſed himſelf vehemently on the reſentment of France; and complained, that, inſtead of our propoſing ſome ſubſtitute for the reparations demanded of us, we were ſtipulating certain conditions to be performed by the directory itſelf; that he could not take charge of ſuch propoſitions; and that the directory would perſiſt in its demand of thoſe reparations which he had at firſt ſtated. We anſwered, that we could not help it: it was for the directory to determine what courſe its own honour and the intereſts of France required it to purſue: it was for us to guard the intereſts and honour of our country. M. Y, obſerved, that we had taken no notice of the firſt propoſition, which was, to know whether we were ready to make the diſavowal, reparations, and explanations, concerning the preſident's ſpeech. We told him, that we ſuppoſed it to be impoſſible that either he or the miniſter could imagine that ſuch a propoſition could require an anſwer; that we did not underſtand it as being ſeriouſly expected, but merely as introductory to the ſubjects of real conſideration. He ſpoke of the reſpect which the directory required, and repeated,

repeated, that it would exact as much as was paid to the ancient kings. We anſwered, that America had demonſtrated to the world, and eſpecially to France, a much greater reſpect for her preſent government than for her former monarchy; and that there was no evidence of this diſpoſition, which ought to be required, that we were not ready to give. He ſaid, that we ſhould certainly not be received, and ſeemed to ſhudder at the conſequences.—We told him, that America had made every poſſible effort to remain on friendly terms with France; that ſhe was ſtill making them: that if France would not hear us, but would make war on the United States, nothing remained for us but to regret the unavoidable neceſſity of defending ourſelves.

The ſubject of our powers was again mentioned; and we told him, that America was ſolicitous to have no more miſunderſtandings with any republic, but eſpecially with France; that ſhe wiſhed a permanent treaty, and was ſenſible that no treaty could be permanent, which did not comport with the intereſts of the parties; and, therefore, that he might be aſſured that our powers were ſuch as authorized us to place France on an equal ground with England, in any reſpects in which an inequality might be ſuppoſed to exiſt at preſent between them, to the diſadvantage of France. The ſubject of the *role d'equipage* was alſo mentioned; and we aſked what aſſurance we could have, if France inſiſted on the right of adding to the ſtipulations of our treaty, or of altering them by municipal regulations, that any future treaty we could make ſhould be obſerved. M. Y. ſaid, that he did not aſſert the principle of changing treaties by municipal regulations; but that the directory conſidered its regulation concerning the *role d'equipage* as comporting with the treaty. We obſerved to him, that none of our veſſels had what the French termed a *role d'equipage;* and that, if we were to ſurrender all the property which had been taken from our citizens, in caſes where their veſſels were not furniſhed with ſuch a roll, the government would be reſponſible to its citizens for the property ſo ſurrendered; ſince it would be impoſſible to undertake to aſſert, that there was any plauſibility in the allegation—that our treaty required a *role d'equipage*.

The ſubject of diſavowals, &c. concerning the preſident's ſpeech, was again mentioned; and it was obſerved, that the conſtitution of the United States authorized and required our preſident to communicate his ideas on the affairs of the nation; that, in obedience to the conſtitution, he had done ſo; that we had not power to confirm or invalidate any part of the preſident's ſpeech; that ſuch an attempt could produce no other effect than to make us ridiculous to the government, and to the citizens at large, of the United States, and to produce, on the part of the preſident, an immediate diſavowal and recal of us, as his agents; that, independent of this, all America was acquainted with the facts ſtated by the preſident, and our diſavowing them would not change the public ſentiment concerning them. — We parted with mutual profeſſions of perſonal reſpect, and with full indications, on the part of M. Y. of his expectation that we ſhould immediately receive the threatened letter.

The

The nature of the above communication will evince the neceſſity of ſecreſy; and we have promiſed Meſſrs. X. and Y. that their names ſhall in no event be made public.

We have the honour to be, with great reſpect and eſteem,

Your moſt obedient
Humble ſervants,
Charles Coteſworth Pinckney.
J. Marſhall.
E. Gerry.

P S. October 27, 1797.—The definitive articles of peace are ſigned between the French republic and the emperor; the particulars you will find in the public prints. The Portugueſe miniſter is ordered to quit France, as the treaty with Portugal has not been yet ratified by the queen. The treaty itſelf is declared by the directory to be void. Since our arrival at Paris, the tribunal of caſſation has rejected captain Scot's petition, complaining of the condemnation of his veſſel by the civil tribunal for the want of a *role d'equipage*. Mr. ——, in behalf of the owners of the American veſſels, who have appealed in the laſt reſort to the tribunal of caſſation, informs, that notwithſtanding the arguments —— —— to put off the hearing of the Roſanna, as a diplomatic caſe, till the iſſue of our negociation is known, that caſe is ſet down for hearing, and will come on the 29th or 30th inſtant. The ſame —— alſo ſays, that it is obvious that the tribunal have received inſtructions from the officers of government to haſten their deciſions, and that it was hardly worth while to —— for all our petitions in caſſation would be rejected. Our advocates —— decline giving their ſentiments on this ſubject —— under an apprehenſion of committing themſelves.

Colonel Pickering, ſecretary to the United States.

No. II.

Paris, November 8, 1797.

Dear Sir,

We now encloſe you, in thirty-ſix quarto pages of cipher, and in eight pages of ciphered exhibits, the ſequel to the details commenced in No. I. dated the 22d of laſt month; and have the honour to be

Your moſt obedient
Humble ſervants,
Charles Coteſworth Pinckney.
J. Marſhall.
E. Gerry.

Colonel Pickering.

Oct. 27, 1797.—About twelve we received another viſit from M. X. He immediately mentioned the great event announced in the papers, and then ſaid, that ſome propoſals from us had been expected on the ſubject on which we had before converſed; that the directory were becoming impatient, and would take a decided courſe with regard to America, if we could not ſoften them. We anſwered, that on that ſubject we had already ſpoken explicitly, and had nothing farther to add. He mentioned the change in the ſtate of things which had been produced by the peace with the emperor, as warranting an expectation of a change in our ſyſtem; to which we only replied, that this event had been expected by us, and would not, in any degree, affect our conduct. M. X. urged, that the directory had, ſince this peace, taken a higher and more decided tone with reſpect to us, and all other neutral nations, than had been before taken; that it

it had been determined, that all nations ſhould aid them, or be conſidered and treated as their enemies. We anſwered, that ſuch an effect had already been contemplated by us as probable, and had not been overlooked, when we gave to this propoſition our decided anſwer; and farther, that we had no powers to negociate for a loan of money; that our government had not contemplated ſuch a circumſtance in any degree whatever; that if we ſhould ſtipulate a loan, it would be a perfectly void thing, and would only deceive France, and expoſe ourſelves. M. X. again expatiated on the power and violence of France: he urged the dangers of our ſituation, and preſſed the policy of ſoftening them, and of thereby obtaining time. The preſent men, he ſaid, would very probably not continue long in power; and it would be very unfortunate, if thoſe who might ſucceed, with better diſpoſitions towards us, ſhould find the two nations in actual war. We anſwered, that if war ſhould be made on us by France, it would be ſo obviouſly forced on us, that, on a change of men, peace might be made with as much facility as the preſent differences could be accommodated: we added, that all America deprecated a war with France; but that our preſent ſituation was more ruinous to us than a declared war would be; that at preſent our commerce was plundered, unprotected; but that if war was declared, we ſhould ſeek the means of protection. M. X. ſaid, he hoped we ſhould not form a connection with Britain; and we anſwered, that we hoped ſo too; that we had all been engaged in our revolution war, and felt its injuries; that it had made the deepeſt impreſſion on us; but that if France ſhould attack us, we muſt ſeek the beſt means of ſelf-defence. M. X. again returned to the ſubject of money: ſaid he, gentlemen, you do not ſpeak to the point—it is money; it is expected that you will offer money. We ſaid, we had ſpoken to that point very explicitly; we had given an anſwer. No, ſaid he, you have not; What is your anſwer? We replied, It is, No; no; not a ſixpence. He again called our attention to the dangers which threatened our country, and aſked, if it would not be prudent, though we might not make a loan to the nation, to intereſt an influential friend in our favour? He ſaid, we ought to conſider what men we had to treat with; that they diſregarded the juſtice of our claims, and the reaſoning with which we might ſupport them; that they diſregarded their own colonies; and conſidered themſelves as perfectly invulnerable with reſpect to us; that we could only acquire an intereſt among them by a judicious application of money; and it was for us to conſider, whether the ſituation of our country did not require that theſe means ſhould be reſorted to. We obſerved, that the conduct of the French government was ſuch as to leave us much reaſon to fear, that, ſhould we give the money, it would effect no good purpoſe, and would not produce a juſt mode of thinking with reſpect to us. He ſaid, that when we employed a lawyer we gave him a fee, without knowing whether the cauſe could be gained or not; but it was neceſſary to have one, and we paid for his ſervices, whether thoſe ſervices were ſucceſsful or not:

not: ſo in the preſent ſtate of things, the money muſt be advanced for the good offices the individuals were to render, whatever might be the effect of thoſe good offices. We told him there was no parallel in the caſes; that a lawyer, not being to render the adjudgement, could not command ſucceſs: he could only endeavour to obtain it; and, conſequently, we could only pay him for his endeavours: but the directory could decide on the iſſue of our negociation. It had only to order that no more American veſſels ſhould be ſeized, and to direct thoſe now in cuſtody to be reſtored, and there could be no oppoſition to the order. He ſaid, that all the members of the directory were not diſpoſed to receive our money: that Merlin, for inſtance, was paid from another quarter, and would touch no part of the douceur which was to come from us. We replied, that we underſtood that Merlin was paid by the owners of the privateers; and he nodded an aſſent to the fact. He proceeded to preſs this ſubject with vaſt perſeverance. He told us that we paid money to obtain peace with the Algerines and with the Indians; and that it was doing no more to pay France for peace. To this it was anſwered, that when our government commenced a treaty with either Algiers or the Indian tribes, it was underſtood that money was to form the baſis of the treaty, and was its eſſential article; that the whole nation knew it, and was prepared to expect it as a thing of courſe; but that, in treating with France, our government had ſuppoſed that the propoſition, ſuch as he ſpoke of, would, if made by us, give mortal offence.

He aſked, if our government did not know that nothing was to be obtained here without money? We replied, that our government had not even ſuſpected ſuch a ſtate of things.—He appeared ſurprized at it, and ſaid, there was not an American in Paris who could not have given that information. We told him that the letters of our miniſter had indicated a very contrary temper in the government of France; and had repreſented it as acting entirely upon principle, and as feeling a very pure and diſintereſted affection for America. He looked ſomewhat ſurprized, and ſaid briſkly to general Pinckney, Well, ſir, you have been a long time in France and in Holland—what do you think of it? General Pinckney anſwered, that he conſidered M. X. and M. Y. as men of truth and of conſequence; he could but have one opinion on the ſubject.—He ſtated, that Hamburgh, and other ſtates of Europe, were obliged to buy a peace; and that it would be equally for our intereſt to do ſo. Once more he ſpoke on the danger of a breach with France, and of her power, which nothing could reſiſt. We told him, that it would be in vain for us to deny her power, or the ſolicitude we felt to avoid a conteſt with it; that no nation eſtimated her power more highly than America, or wiſhed more to be on amicable terms with her; but that one object was ſtill dearer to us than the friendſhip of France — which was our national independence: that America had taken a neutral ſtation; ſhe had a right to take it; no nation had a right to force us out

out of it; that to lend a ſum of money to a belligerent power, abounding in every thing requiſite for war but money, was to relinquiſh our neutrality, and take part in the war; to lend this money, under the laſh and coercion of France, was to relinquiſh the government of ourſelves, and to ſubmit to a foreign government, impoſed upon us by force; that we would make, at leaſt, one manly ſtruggle before we thus ſurrendered our national independence; that our caſe was different from that of ſome of the minor nations of Europe; they were unable to maintain their independence, and did not expect to do ſo: America was a great, and, ſo far as concerned her ſelf-defence, a powerful nation; ſhe was able to maintain her independence, and muſt deſerve to loſe it, if ſhe permitted it to be wreſted from her; that France and Britain had been at war for near fifty years of the laſt hundred, and might, probably, be at war for fifty years of the century to come; that America had no motives which could induce her to involve herſelf in thoſe wars; and that, if ſhe now preſerved her neutrality and her independence, it was moſt probable that ſhe would not, in future, be afraid, as ſhe had been for four years paſt; but if ſhe now ſurrendered her rights of ſelf-government to France, or permitted them to be torn from her, ſhe could not expect to recover them, or to remain neutral in any future war. He ſaid that France had lent us money during our revolution war, and only required that we ſhould now exhibit the ſame friendſhip for her. We anſwered, that the caſes were very different: that America ſolicited a loan from France, and left her at liberty to grant or refuſe it; but that France demanded it from America, and left us no choice on the ſubject. We alſo told him there was another difference in the caſes; that the money was lent by France for great national and French objects; it was lent to maim a rival, and an enemy whom ſhe hated; that the money, if lent by America, would not be for any American objects, but to enable France to extend ſtill farther her conqueſts. The converſation continued for nearly two hours; and the public and private advance of money was preſſed and repreſſed in a variety of forms. At length M. X. ſaid that he did not blame us; that our determination was certainly proper, if we could keep it; but he ſhowed, decidedly, his opinion to be, that we could not keep it. He ſaid that he would communicate, as nearly as he could, our converſation to the miniſter, or to M. Y. to be given by him to the miniſter; we are not certain which. We then ſeparated. On the 22d of October, M. Z. a French gentleman of reſpectable character, informed Mr. Gerry, that M. Talleyrand, miniſter of foreign relations, who profeſſed to be well-diſpoſed towards the United States, had expected to have ſeen the American miniſters frequently in their private capacities; and to have conferred with them individually on the objects of their miſſion; and had authorized M. Z. to make this communication to Mr. Gerry. The latter ſent for his colleagues, and a conference was held with M. Z. on the ſubject, in which general Pinckney and general Marſhall expreſſed their opinions, that, not being acquainted with M. Talleyrand,

they could not, with propriety, call on him; but that, according to the cuſtom of France, he might expect this of Mr. Gerry, from a previous acquaintance in America. This Mr. Gerry reluctantly complied with on the 23d, and with M. Z. called on M. Talleyrand, who, not being then at his office, appointed the 28th for the interview. After the firſt introduction, M. Talleyrand began the conference. He ſaid, that the directory had paſſed an arrête, which he offered for peruſal, in which they had demanded of the envoys an explanation of ſome parts, and a reparation for others, of the preſident's ſpeech to Congreſs of the 16th of May laſt: he was ſenſible, he ſaid, that difficulties would exiſt on the part of the envoys, relative to the demand; but that by their offering money he thought he could prevent the effect of the arrête. M. Z. at the requeſt of Mr. Gerry, having ſtated that the envoys had no ſuch power, M. Talleyrand replied, they can, in ſuch caſe, take a power on themſelves, and propoſed that they ſhould make a loan. Mr. Gerry then addreſſed M. Talleyrand diſtinctly in Engliſh, which he ſaid he underſtood, and ſtated, that the uneaſineſs of the directory, reſulting from the preſident's ſpeech, was a ſubject unconnected with the objects of the miſſion; that M. Barras, in his ſpeech to Mr. Monroe, on his recall, had expreſſed himſelf in a manner diſpleaſing to the government and citizens of the United States; that the preſident, as the envoys conceived, had made ſuch obſervations on M. Barras's ſpeech as were neceſſary to vindicate the honour of the United States; that this was not conſidered by our government as a ſubject of diſpute between the two nations; that having no inſtructions reſpecting it, we could not make any explanations or reparations relating to it; and that M. Talleyrand himſelf was ſufficiently acquainted with the conſtitution of the United States to be convinced of the truth of theſe obſervations.

Mr. Gerry farther ſtated, that the powers of the envoys, as they conceived, were adequate to the diſcuſſion and adjuſtment of all points of real difference between the two nations; that they could alter and amend the treaty, or, if neceſſary, form a new one; that the United States were anxiouſly deſirous of removing all cauſes of complaint between themſelves and France, and of renewing their former friendſhip and intercourſe on terms which would be mutually honourable and beneficial to the two nations, but not on any other terms; that as to a loan, we had no powers whatever to make one; that if we were to attempt it, we ſhould deceive himſelf and the directory likewiſe, which, as men of honour, we could not do; but that we could ſend one of our number for inſtructions on this propoſition, if deemed expedient, provided that the other objects of the negociation could be diſcuſſed and adjuſted; that as he had expreſſed a deſire to confer with the envoys individually, it was the wiſh of Mr. Gerry that ſuch a conference ſhould take place, and their opinions thus be aſcertained, which he conceived correſponded with his own in the particulars mentioned. M. Talleyrand, in anſwer, ſaid, he ſhould be glad to confer with the other envoys individually, but that this matter,

about

about the money, must be settled directly, without sending to America; that he would not communicate the arrête for a week; and that if we could adjust the difficulty respecting the speech, an application would, nevertheless, go to the United States for a loan. A courier arrived at this moment from Italy, and M. Talleyrand appearing impatient to read the letters, Mr. Gerry took leave of him immediately. He followed to the door, and desired M. Z. to repeat to Mr. Gerry what he, M. Talleyrand, had said to him. Mr. Gerry then returned to his quarters with M. Z. took down the particulars of this interview as before stated, sent for generals Pinckney and Marshall, and read it to them in the presence of M. Z. who confirmed it. Generals Pinckney and Marshall then desired M. Z. to inform M. Talleyrand that they had nothing to add to this conference, and did not wish that the arrête might be delayed on their account.

October 29th. M. X. again called on us. He said M. Talleyrand was extremely anxious to be of service to us, and had requested that one more effort should be made to induce us to enable him to be so. A great deal of the same conversation which had passed at our former interviews was repeated. The power and the haughtiness of France was again displayed to us. We were told that the destruction of England was inevitable; and that the wealth and arts of that nation would naturally pass over to America, if that event should find us in peace. To this observation we replied, that France would probably forbid America to receive them, in like manner as she had forbid to Switzerland to permit the residence in its country of a British minister. We told him, also, that we were sensible of the value of peace, and therefore sought it unremittingly, but that it was real peace we sought for, and real peace only which could be desirable.

The sum of his proposition was, that if we would pay, by way of fees, (that was his expression) the sum of money demanded for private use, the directory would not receive us; but would permit us to remain in Paris as we now were; and we should be received by M. Talleyrand, until one of us could go to America, and consult our government on the subject of the loan. These were the circumstances, he said, under which the minister of Portugal had treated. We asked him if, in the mean time, the directory would order the American property, not yet passed into the hands of the privateer's men, to be restored. He said, explicitly, that they would not. We asked him, whether they would suspend farther depredations on our commerce? he said they would not; but M. Talleyrand observed, that on this subject we could not sustain much additional injury, because the winter season was approaching, when few additional captures would be made. We told him that France had taken violently from America more than fifty millions of dollars, and treated us in every respect as enemies, in return for the friendship we had manifested for her; that we had come to endeavour to restore harmony to the two nations, and to obtain compensation for the injuries our countrymen sustained; and that, in lieu of this compensation, we were told

that if we would pay twelve hundred thouſand livres, we might be permitted to remain in Paris, which would only give us the benefit of ſeeing the plays and operas of Paris for the winter, that we might have time to aſk from our country to exhauſt her reſources for France, whoſe depredations would be continued. He again ſtated, that, by this procedure, we ſhould ſuſpend a war; and that, perhaps, in five or ſix months, power might change hands.

We told him that what we wiſhed to ſee in France was a temper ſincerely friendly to the United States, and really diſpoſed to do us juſtice; that if we could perceive this, we might not ſo much regard a little money, ſuch as he ſtated to be uſual, although we ſhould hazard ourſelves by giving it; but that we ſaw only evidences of the moſt extreme hoſtility towards us: war was made upon us ſo far as France could make it in the preſent ſtate of things; and it was not even propoſed, that, on receiving our money, this war ſhould ceaſe: we had no reaſon to believe that a poſſible benefit could reſult from it; and we deſired him to ſay, that we would not give a ſhilling, unleſs American property unjuſtly captured was previouſly reſtored, and farther hoſtilities ſuſpended; and that, unleſs this was done, we did not conceive that we could even conſult our government concerning a loan: that if the directory would receive us and commence negociations, and any thing occurred which rendered a conſultation of the government neceſſary, one of us would return to America for that purpoſe. He ſaid, that, without this money, we ſhould be obliged to quit Paris; and that we ought to conſider the conſequences: the property of the Americans would be confiſcated, and their veſſels in port embargoed. We told him, that, unleſs there was a hope of a reconciliation, theſe evils could not be prevented by us; and the little delay we might obtain would only increaſe them; that our miſſion had induced many of our countrymen to truſt their veſſels into the ports of France, and that, if we remained in Paris, that very circumſtance would increaſe the number; and, conſequently, the injury which our countrymen would ſuſtain, if France could permit herſelf ſo to violate her own engagements and the laws of nations. He expreſſed a wiſh that M. Y. ſhould ſee us once more. We told him, that a viſit from M. Y. as a private gentleman, would always be agreeable to us; but if he came only with the expectation that we ſhould ſtipulate advances of money, without previouſly eſtabliſhing a ſolid and permanent reconciliation, he might ſave himſelf the trouble of the application, becauſe it was a ſubject we had conſidered maturely, and on which we were immoveable. He parted with us, ſaying, if that was the caſe it would not be worth while for M. Y. to come. In the evening, while general Pinckney and general Marſhall were abſent, M. Y. and M. X. called, and were invited by Mr. Gerry to breakfaſt with us the next morning.

October 30. Immediately after breakfaſt the ſubject was reſumed. M. Y. ſpoke without interruption for near an hour. He ſaid that he was deſirous of making a laſt effort to ſerve us, by propoſing ſomething which might accommodate the differences between the two nations; that what he was now about to mention had not, by any means the appro-

approbation of the directory; nor could M. Talleyrand undertake farther than to make from us the propoſition to the directory; and uſe his influence for its ſucceſs; that, laſt week M. Talleyrand could not have ventured to have offered ſuch propoſitions; but that his ſituation had been very materially changed by the peace with the emperor. By that peace he had acquired, in a high degree, the confidence of the directory, and now poſſeſſed great influence with that body; that he was alſo cloſely connected with Buonaparte and the generals of the army in Italy, and was to be conſidered as firmly fixed in his poſt, at leaſt for five or ſix months; that, under theſe circumſtances, he could undertake to offer, in our behalf, propoſitions which before this increaſe of influence he could not have hazarded. M. Y. then called our attention to our own ſituation, and to the force France was capable of bringing to bear upon us. He ſaid that we were the beſt judges of our capacity to reſiſt, ſo far as depended on our own reſources, and ought not to deceive ourſelves on ſo intereſting a ſubject. The fate of Venice was one which might befal the United States. But he proceeded to obſerve, it was probable we might rely on forming a league with England. If we had ſuch a reliance, it would fail us. The ſituation of England was ſuch as to compel Pitt to make peace on the terms of France. A variety of cauſes were in operation, which made ſuch an effect abſolutely certain. To ſay nothing of the oppoſition in England to the miniſter and to the war, an oppoſition which the fears of the nation would increaſe; to ſay nothing of a war againſt England which was preparing in the north; an army of one hundred and fifty thouſand men, under the command of Buonaparte, ſpread upon the coaſt of France, and aided by all the vaſt reſources of his genius, would moſt probably be enabled to invade England: in which event their government would be overturned; but ſhould this invaſion not be abſolutely effected, yet, the alarm it would ſpread through the nation, the enormous expence it muſt produce, would infallibly ruin them, if it was to be continued, and would drive them to ſave themſelves by a peace; that, independent of this, France poſſeſſed means which would infallibly deſtroy their bank, and their whole paper ſyſtem. He ſaid, he knew very well it was generally conjectured that Buonaparte would leave Italy, and the army which had conquered under him, and which adored him; he aſſured us that nothing could be more unfounded than the conjecture; that Buonaparte had for more than ten days left Italy for Raſtadt, to preſide over the congreſs which was formed for adjuſting the affairs of the empire. He ſaid that Pitt himſelf was ſo confident of the abſolute neceſſity of peace, that, after the naval victory over the Dutch, he had ſignified his readineſs to treat on the ſame terms he had offered before that action; we could not then rely on the aſſiſtance of England. What, he aſked, would be our ſituation if peace ſhould be made with England before our diſference with France would be accommodated? but, he continued, if even England ſhould be able to continue the war, and America ſhould unite with her, it would not be in our power to injure France.

We might, indeed, wound her allies; but, if we did, it would be ſo much the worſe for us. After having ſtated the dangers attending us, if we ſhould engage in the war, he proceeded to the advantages we might derive from a neutral ſituation; and inſiſted at large on the wealth which would naturally flow into our country from the deſtruction of England.

He next proceeded to detail the propoſitions, which are in ſubſtance in the paper annexed, marked (A), except that he inſiſted that we ſhould engage to uſe our influence with our government for the loan. He ſtated, expreſſly, that the propoſitions were to be conſidered as made by us; that M. Talleyrand would not be reſponſible for the ſucceſs of any one of them; he would only undertake to uſe his influence with the directory in ſupport of them. The propoſition, he ſaid, concerning a ſuſpenſion of hoſtilities on the part of France, was one which proceeded entirely from himſelf; M. Talleyrand had not been conſulted upon it; and he could not undertake to ſay that that gentleman would conſent even to lay it before the directory. The propoſition for an advance to the government of France, of as much money as was due from it to our citizens on contract, and as might be determined to be due for veſſels improperly captured and condemned, was, he ſaid, indiſpenſable; unleſs we made that, it was unneceſſary to make any other; for the others would not be received.

He expatiated on the vaſt advantages we ſhould derive from delay; it was, he ſaid, abſolutely to gain our cauſe. He returned to the danger of our ſituation, and the policy of making with France any accommodation which France would aſſent to. Perhaps, ſaid he, you believe that in returning and expoſing to your countrymen the unreaſonableneſs of the demands of this government, you will unite them in their reſiſtance to thoſe demands; you are miſtaken—you ought to know that the diplomatic ſkill of France, and the means ſhe poſſeſſes in your country, are ſufficient to enable her, with the French party in America, to throw the blame which will attend the rupture of the negociations on the federaliſts, as you term yourſelves, but on the Britiſh party, as France terms you; and you may aſſure yourſelves this will be done. He concluded with declarations of being perfectly diſintereſted; and declared that his only motives for ſpeaking thus freely were his friendſhip for M. Talleyrand, and his wiſh to promote the intereſts and peace of the United States.

We told him that the freedom with which he had ſpoken, and which was agreeable to us, would induce us to ſpeak freely alſo; and for once to accompany our view of the preſent ſtate of things with a retroſpect of the paſt: that America was the only nation upon earth which felt and had exhibited a real friendſhip for the republic of France; that among the empires round her, which were compelled to bend beneath her power, and to obey her commands, there was not one which had voluntarily acknowledged her government, or manifeſted for it ſpontaneouſly any mark of regard. America alone had ſtepped forward, and given the moſt unequivocal proofs of a pure and ſincere friendſhip, at a time when almoſt

moſt the whole European world, when Auſtria, Germany, Pruſſia, Ruſſia, Spain, Sardinia, Holland, and Britain, were leagued againſt France: when her ſituation was in truth hazardous, and it was dangerous to hold even friendly intercourſe with her, America alone ſtood forward, and openly and boldly avowed her enthuſiaſm in favour of the republic, and her deep and ſincere intereſt in her fate.

From that time to the preſent, the government and people of the United States have uniformly manifeſted a ſincere and ardent friendſhip for France, and have, as they conceive, in no ſingle inſtance given to this republic juſt cauſe of umbrage: if they have done ſo, they wiſh it to be pointed out to them. After the determination of France to break off all regular intercourſe with them, they have ſent three envoys extraordinary to endeavour to make ſuch explanations as might produce reconciliation; theſe envoys are prepared to inveſtigate, and wiſh to inveſtigate any meaſures which may have given offence—and are perſuaded that they can entirely juſtify the conduct of their government.

To this diſtant, unoffending, friendly republic, what is the conduct and the language of France? Wherever our property can be found, ſhe ſeizes and takes it from us; unprovoked, ſhe determines to treat us as enemies, and our making no reſiſtance produces no diminution of hoſtilities againſt us. She abuſes and inſults our government, endeavours to weaken it in the eſtimation of the people, recalls her own miniſter, refuſes to receive ours; and, when extraordinary means are taken to make ſuch explanations as may do away miſunderſtandings, and ſuch alterations in the exiſting relations to the two countries, as may be mutually ſatisfactory, and may tend to produce harmony, the envoys who bear theſe powers are not received; they are not permitted to utter the amicable wiſhes of their country; but, in the haughty ſtyle of a maſter, they are told, that unleſs they will pay a ſum, to which their reſources ſcarcely extend, that they may expect the vengeance of France, and, like Venice, be eraſed from the liſt of nations: that France will annihilate the only free republic upon earth, and the only nation in the univerſe which has voluntarily manifeſted for her a cordial and real friendſhip. What impreſſion muſt this make upon the mind of America, if, without provocation, France was determined to make war upon us, unleſs we purchaſed peace? We could not eaſily believe that even our money would ſerve us—our independence would never ceaſe to give offence, and would always furniſh a pretext for freſh demands. On the advantages of neutrality it was unneceſſary to ſay any thing; all the efforts of our government were exerted to maintain it; and we would never willingly part with it. With reſpect to a political connection with Britain, we told him, that America had never contemplated it. Whether the danger that he repreſented that government to be in, was or was not real, we would not undertake to decide. Britain, we believed, had much reaſon to wiſh for peace; and France had much reaſon to wiſh for peace alſo: if

peace

peace already exiſted, it would not change the courſe America would purſue.

M. Y. manifeſted the moſt exceſſive impatience; he interrupted us, and ſaid, This eloquent diſſertation might be true; America might have manifeſted, and he believed had manifeſted great friendſhip for France, and had juſt complaints againſt her; but he did not come to liſten to thoſe complaints. The miniſter would, on our requeſt, make for us certain propoſitions to the directory; he had ſtated them to us; and all the anſwer he wiſhed was, Yes or no. Did we or did we not ſolicit the miniſter to make the propoſition for us? We told him, that, without going farther into the diſcuſſion, we choſe to remark one or two things; they were, that the exiſting treaties gave to France certain advantages, which were very eſſential; that eſpecially the American coaſt afforded a protection, near two thouſand miles in extent, to the prizes made by France on her enemies, and refuſed that protection to the prizes taken from her; that ſhe might be aſſured, that in caſe of war theſe advantages would be loſt for ever. We alſo told him, we were convinced that France miſcalculated on the parties in America; that the extreme injuſtice offered to our country would unite every man againſt her. M. X. informed us, that M. Talleyrand would not conſent even to lay this propoſition before the Directory without previouſly receiving the 50,000*l.* or the greater part of it.

M. Y. left in writing his propoſitions, and we returned the anſwer annexed, and marked B.

November 1ſt. It was at length agreed, that we would hold no more indirect intercourſe with the government.

November 3d. M. X. called on us, and told general Pinckney and general Marſhall (Mr. Gerry not being within), that M. Y. wiſhed once more to ſee us. We anſwered, that we ſhould at any time be glad to ſee M. Y. as a private gentleman; but that if his object was only to repeat his propoſitions for money, it was perfectly unneceſſary to do ſo; becauſe on that ſubject it was impoſſible for us to change the anſwer we had already given. We told him farther, that we conſidered it as degrading our country to carry on farther ſuch an indirect intercourſe as we had for ſome time ſubmitted to, and had determined to receive no propoſitions, unleſs the perſons who bore them had acknowledged authority to treat with us. He ſaid, that perhaps M. Y. might have written powers from the miniſter; and we replied, that, if he had, we ſhould receive his communications with pleaſure. He ſpoke of a probable peace with England, and, having requeſted us to be at home in the afternoon, left us.

About three o'clock he came, and, after ſome converſation, in which we repeated in ſubſtance what is ſtated above, he ſhewed us a paper, which he ſaid was a copy of a letter prepared for us by M. Talleyrand, requeſting an explanation of part of the preſident's ſpeech, and which he ſaid would be ſent, unleſs we came into the propoſitions which had been made us. We wiſhed to take a copy of it, which he declined permitting, ſaying, he was forbidden to allow it. We ſpoke of the letter coming to

to us as a meaſure we had no expectation of preventing; and he ſaid, he could not underſtand that we wiſhed it delayed. To which we anſwered, that the delay of a few days could not be deſired, unleſs a hope exiſted, that the directory might become more friendly to our country.

He ſaid, that intelligence had been received from the United States, that if colonel Burr and Mr. Maddiſon had conſtituted the miſſion, the differences between the two nations would have been accommodated before this time. He added, as a fact he was not inſtructed to communicate, that M. Talleyrand was preparing a memorial to be ſent out to the United States, complaining of us as being unfriendly to an accommodation with France. We replied to this intelligence from the United States, that the miniſter's correſpondents in America took a good deal on themſelves, when they undertook to ſay how the directory would have received colonel Burr and Mr. Maddiſon; and that with reſpect to the memorial of M. Talleyrand, it would not be eaſy for him to convince our countrymen, that the ſtatements we ſhould make were untrue; if, however, we were confident that our conduct would be condemned, M. Talleyrand might be aſſured, that the fear of cenſure would not induce us to deſerve it, but that we ſhould act in a manner which our own judgements and conſciences would approve of; and we truſted we ſhould be ſupported by the great body of candid and honeſt men. In this converſation we again ſtated, that America had taken a neutral poſition; that ſhe had faithfully ſought to preſerve it; that a loan of money to one of the belligerent powers was directly to take part in the war; and that to take part in the war againſt her own judgement and will, under the coercion of France, was to ſurrender our independence.

Exhibit A.

[*Encloſed in the Envoys' Letter of November* 8, 1797, No. II.]

THE American envoys ſhall remain here for ſix months, in the ſame manner, and upon the ſame footing with regard to etiquette, as did M. d'Aranjo, the envoy of Portugal.

II. There ſhall be named a commiſſion of five members, agreeably to a form to be eſtabliſhed for the purpoſe of deciding upon the reclamations of the Americans, relative to the prizes made on them by the French privateers.

III. The American envoys will engage, that their government ſhall pay the indemnifications, or the amount of the ſums already decreed to the American creditors of the French republic, and by the commiſſioners. This payment ſhall be made under the name of an advance to the French republic, who ſhall repay it in a time and a manner to be agreed upon.

IV. One of the American envoys ſhall return to America, to demand of his government the neceſſary powers to purchaſe, for caſh, the thirty-two millions of Dutch inſcriptions belonging to the French republic, in caſe the envoys ſhould conclude a treaty which ſhall be approved by the two nations.

V. In the interval the definitive treaty ſhall proceed, for the termination of all differences exiſting between

tween the French republic and the United States, ſo as that the treaty may be concluded immediately on the return of the deputy.

VI. The queſtion of the *role d'equipage* ſhall remain ſuſpended until the return of the deputy, and the commiſſion ſhall not pronounce upon any reclamation where this point ſhall be in queſtion.

VII. During the ſix months granted for the going and returning of the deputy, hoſtilities againſt the Americans ſhall be ſuſpended, as well as the proceſs for condemnation before the tribunals: and the money of the prizes already condemned, in the hands of the civil officers of the nation, ſhall remain there, without being delivered to the privateer's men, until the return of the deputy.

Exhibit B.

[*Received with the Envoys' Letter*, No. II. *dated 8th November*, 1797.]

THE envoys extraordinary and miniſters plenipotentiary of the United States, cannot avoid obſerving the very unuſual ſituation in which they are placed, by the manner in which they are alone permitted to make communications on the objects of their miſſion: they are called upon to pledge their country to a very great amount; to anſwer demands, which appear to them as extraordinary as they were unexpected, without being permitted to diſcuſs the reaſon, the juſtice or the policy on which thoſe demands are founded, and not only without aſſurances, that the rights of the United States will, in future, be reſpected, but without a document to prove, that thoſe to whom they are required to open themſelves without reſerve, and at whoſe inſtances they are called on to ſacrifice ſo much, are empowered, even by the miniſter, to hold any communication with them: yet ſuch is the anxious and real ſolicitude of the envoys to ſeize any occaſion which may afford a hope, however diſtant, of coming to thoſe explanations which they ſo much wiſh to make with this republic, that they paſs over the uncommon and informal modes which have been adopted, and will only conſider the propoſitions themſelves.

I. The miniſters of the United States will permit no perſonal conſiderations to influence their negociations with the French republic. Although they expected the extraordinary means adopted by their government to reconcile itſelf to that of France would have been received with ſome degree of attention, yet they are too ſolicitous to enter upon the important and intereſting duty of their miſſion, to permit themſelves to be reſtrained by forms and etiquette.

II. On this article it is believed there can be no diſagreement.

III. This article, as explained, would oblige the United States to advance, not to their own citizens, but to the government of France, ſums equivalent to the depredations made by the corſairs of the republic on the American commerce, and to the contracts made with their citizens of France; and this advance, inſtead of benefiting the citizens of the United States, would leave them preciſely what they now are, the creditors of the French republic: the more extenſive the depredations, and the more conſiderable the contracts uncomplied with, the more would the government of France re-

ceive from the United States. Independent of these objections, the ministers of the United States cannot engage to assume, in any form, the debts due from France to their fellow-citizens: they have no such power.

IV. If the negociations be opened, and the propositions for a loan, or any other propositions, exceeding the powers of the ministers, be made, the government of the United States will be consulted thereon with expedition.

V. This, or any other proposition, having for its object the claims of the two nations on each other, or an accommodation of differences, will be embraced with ardour by the ministers of the United States.

VI. It cannot escape notice, that the question of the *role d'equipage* may involve in it every vessel taken from the United States: the ministers however, consider it, and wish to take it up as a subject of negociation.

VII. On this article it is only to be observed, that the season of the year is such, as probably to render a return within six months, of the envoy who might sail to the United States, impracticable: provision should be made for such an event.

If the difficulties attending the propositions for a loan, and a compensation for past injuries, be such as to require time for their removal, the ministers of the United States propose, that the discussions on the relative situation of the two countries may commence in the usual forms; that the relation to each other may be so regulated, as to obviate future misunderstandings; and that the adjustment of the claims of the citizens of the United States, whose vessels have been captured, may be made after a decision on the point first mentioned.

No diplomatic gratification can precede the ratification of the treaty.

No. III.

Paris, November 27, 1797.

Dear Sir,

On the 11th instant we transmitted the following official letter to the minister of foreign affairs.

"Citizen minister.

"The undersigned envoys extraordinary and ministers plenipotentiary of the United States of America to the French republic, had the honour of announcing to you officially, on the 6th of October, their arrival at Paris, and of presenting to you on the 8th a copy of their letters of credence Your declaration at that time, that a report on American affairs was then preparing, and would in a few days be laid before the directory, whose decision thereon should, without delay, be made known, has hitherto imposed silence on them. For this communication they have waited with that anxious solicitude which so interesting an event could not fail to excite, and with that respect which is due to the government of France. They have not yet received it; and so much time has been permitted to elapse, so critical is the situation of many of their countrymen, and so embarrassing is that of the undersigned, both as it respects themselves and the government they represent, that they can no longer dispense with the duty of soliciting your attention to their mission.

"The United States, citizen minister, at an epoch which evinced their

their ſincerity, have given inconteſtable proofs of their ardent friendſhip, of their affection for the French republic: theſe were the reſult, not of their unparalleled proweſs and power, but of their confidence in her juſtice and magnanimity; and in ſuch high eſtimation was the reciprocity of her friendſhip held by them, as to have been a primary object of national concern. The preſervation of it was dear to them; the loſs of it, a ſubject of unfeigned regret; and the recovery of it, by every meaſure which ſhall conſiſt with the rights of an independant nation, engages their conſtant attention. The government of the United States, we are authorized to declare, has examined, with the moſt ſcrupulous juſtice, its conduct towards its former friend. It has been led to this by a ſincere deſire to remove of itſelf every juſt cauſe of complaint; conceiving that, with the moſt upright intentions, ſuch cauſe may probably exiſt: and although the ſtricteſt ſearch has produced no ſelf-reproach, although the government is conſcious that it has uniformly ſought to preſerve, with fidelity, its engagements to France; yet, far from wiſhing to exerciſe the privilege of judging for itſelf on its own courſe of reaſoning, and the lights in its own poſſeſſion, it invites fair and candid diſcuſſion; it ſolicits a reconſideration of the paſt; it is perſuaded its intentions, its views, and its actions, muſt have been miſrepreſented and miſunderſtood; it is convinced, the eſſential intereſts of both nations will be promoted by reconciliation and peace, and it cheriſhes the hope of meeting with ſimilar diſpoſitions on the part of the directory.

"Guided by theſe ſentiments, the preſident of the United States has given it in charge to the underſigned to ſtate to the executive directory, the deep regret which he feels at the loſs or ſuſpenſion of the harmony and friendly intercourſe which ſubſiſted between the two republics, and his ſincere wiſh to reſtore them; to diſcuſs candidly the complaints of France, and to offer frankly thoſe of the United States; and he has authorized a review of exiſting treaties, and ſuch alterations thereof, as ſhall conſiſt with the mutual intereſt and ſatisfaction of the contracting parties.

"This taſk the underſigned are anxious to commence: and truly happy will they be, if their exertions can in any degree contribute to reſtore that friendſhip, that mutual interchange of good offices, which it is alike their wiſh and their duty to effect between the citizens of the two republics.

"The underſigned pray you, citizen miniſter, to preſent this communication to the executive directory, and to receive the aſſurances of their moſt perfect conſideration.

(Signed)

"Charles Coteſworth Pinckney.

"J. Marſhall.

"Elbridge Gerry.

"Paris, Nov 11, in the 22d year of the American independence.

"To the miniſter of foreign affairs of the French republic."

No anſwer having been given to it on the 21ſt inſtant, we requeſted major Rutledge to wait on the miniſter, and inquire of him whether he had communicated the letter to the directory, and whether we might expect an anſwer: he replied, that he had ſubmitted our letter to them,

them, and that they would direct him what steps to pursue, of which we should be informed. We have not, however, hitherto received any official intimation relative to this business: we are not yet received; and the condemnation of our vessels for want of a *role d'equipage* is unremitingly continued: Frequent and urgent attempts have been made to inveigle us again into negociation with persons not officially authorized, of which the obtaining money is the basis; but we have persisted in declining to have any farther communication relative to diplomatic business with persons of that description; and we mean to adhere to this determination. We are sorry to inform you, that the present disposition of the government of this country appears to be as unfriendly towards ours as ever, and that we have very little prospect of succeeding in our mission.

We have the honour to be
Your most obedient
Humble servants,
Charles Cotesworth Pinckney.
J. Marshall.
E. Gerry.
Colonel Pickering.

No. IV.

Paris, Dec. 24, 1797.

Dear Sir,

We have not yet received any answer to our official letter to the minister of foreign affairs, dated the 11th of last month, and mentioned in No. III.; but reiterated attempts have been made to engage us in negociation with persons not officially authorized; and you will find, by the exhibits marked A, B, and C, herewith sent, some important information relative to the views and intentions of the French government with respect to ours. We are all of opinion, that if we were to remain here for six months longer, without we were to stipulate the payment of money, and a great deal of it, in some shape or other, we should not be able to effectuate the objects of our mission, should we be even officially received; unless the projected attempt on England was to fail, or a total change take place in the persons who at present direct the affairs of this government. In this situation of matters, we are determined, by the 10th of next month, should they remain as they are, to transmit another letter to the minister, representing, as far as may be expedient, the views of our government.

We have the honour to be
Your most obedient
Humble servants,
Charles Cotesworth Pinckney.
J. Marshall.
E. Gerry.

Exhibit A.

[*Enclosed in the Envoys' Letter*, No. IV.]

On the 14th of December, M. X. called on me, in order, as he said, to gain some information relative to some lands in——purchased by——for whom——. Soon afterwards general Marshall came in, and then Mr. Gerry's carriage drove into the yard. "Here's Mr. Gerry," said general Marshall. "I am glad of it," said M. X. "for I wished to meet all of you gentleman, to inform you that M. Y. had another message to you from M. Talleyrand," I immediately expressed my surprize at it, as M. Talleyrand, M. Y. and he, all knew our determination

to

to have no farther communication on the ſubject of our miſſion, with perſons not officially authorized. He replied, that determination was made ſix weeks ago; and it was preſumed that we had changed our opinion. I ſaid that I had not; and I did not believe my colleagues had. At that moment Mr. Gerry entered the room, and I privately acquainted him with the object of M. X's viſit. General Marſhall, Mr. Gerry, and myſelf, then withdrew into another room, and immediately agreed to adhere to our former reſolution. M. X. was then called in: when I acquainted him, in a few words, with our determination; and Mr. Gerry expatiated more at large on the propriety of our acting in this manner, and on the very unprecedented way in which we had been treated ſince our arrival.

On the 20th of December, a lady, who is well acquainted with M. Talleyrand, expreſſed to me her concern that we were ſtill in ſo unſettled a ſituation; "But," adds ſhe, "why will you not lend us money? If you would but make us a loan, all matters would be adjuſted:" and ſhe added, "When you were contending for your revolution, we lent you money." I mentioned the very great difference there was between the ſituation of the two countries at that period and the preſent; and the very different circumſtances under which the loan was made us, and the loan demanded from us. She replied—"We do not make a demand; we think it more delicate that the offer ſhould come from you. But M. Talleyrand has mentioned to me (who am ſurely not in his confidence) the neceſſity of your making us a loan; and I know that he has mentioned it to two or three others, and that you have been informed of it. And I will aſſure you, that if you remain here ſix months longer, you would not advance a ſingle ſtep farther in your negociation without a loan." —"If that is the caſe," I replied, "we may as well go away now."—"Why that poſſibly," ſaid ſhe, "might lead to a rupture, which you had better avoid; for we know we have a very conſiderable party in America, who are ſtrongly in our intereſt." There is no occaſion to enter into a farther detail of the converſation. I have only noted this part of it as expreſſive of what I believe (as far as relates to the loan and party in America in their favour) to be the ſentiments of the French government with regard to us.

Charles Coteſworth Pinckney.

Dec. 21, 1797.

Exhibit B.

[*Encloſed in the Envoy's Letter*, No. IV.]

EXTRACT from general Marſhall's journal, Dec. 17, 1797.—I ſtepped into Mr. Grey's apartment, where I ſaw M. Y. He expreſſed his regret at having been diſabled to dine with us at M. de Beaumarchais', by an inveterate tooth-ach. He then aſked me whether I had ſeen M. de Beaumarchais lately: I told him, not ſince he dined with us; and that he had left us much indiſpoſed. He then obſerved, that he had not known till lately that I was the advocate for that gentleman in his cauſe againſt the ſtate of Virginia; and that M. de Beaumarchais, in conſequence of that circumſtance, had expreſſed ſentiments of high regard

for

for me. I replied, that M. de Beaumarchais' cauſe was of great magnitude, very uncertain iſſue, and, conſequently, that a portion of the intereſt he felt in it would, very naturally, be transferred to his advocate. He immediately ſaid, (low and apart) that M. de Beaumarchais had conſented, provided his claim could be eſtabliſhed, to ſacrifice fifty thouſand pounds ſterling of it, as the private gratification which had been required of us, ſo that the gratification might be made without any actual loſs to the American government. I anſwered, that a gratification on any terms, or in any form, was a ſubject which we approached with much fear and difficulty, as we were not authorized by our government to make one; nor had it been expected that one would be neceſſary; that I could not undertake to ſay whether my colleagues would conſent to it in any ſtate of things; but I could undertake to ſay, no one of us would conſent to it, unleſs it was preceded or accompanied by a full and entire recognition of the claims of our citizens, and a ſatisfactory arrangement on the object of our miſſion. He ſaid it was in the expectation of that event only that he mentioned it. We parted; and I ſtated the converſation to general Pinckney, who was diſinclined to any ſtipulation of the ſort, and conſidered it as a renewal of the old reprobated ſyſtem of indirect, unauthorized negociation.

Having been originally the counſel of M. de Beaumarchais, I had determined, and ſo I informed general Pinckney, that I would not, by my voice, eſtabliſh any agreement in his favour; but that I would poſitively oppoſe any admiſſion of the claim of any French citizen, if not accompanied with the admiſſion of the claims of the American citizens of property captured and condemned for want of a *role d'equipage*. My reaſon for conceiving that this ought to be ſtipulated expreſſly was a conviction that, if it was referred to commiſſioners, it would be committing abſolutely to chance as complete a right as any individuals ever poſſeſſed. General Pinckney was againſt admitting the claim at any rate.

After my return, Mr. Gerry came into my room, and told me that M. Y. had called on him, to accompany him on a viſit to M. Talleyrand; that he propoſed ſeeing M. Talleyrand, and returning the civility of the dinner; and endeavouring to bring about ſome intercourſe between him and us.

Dec. 18.

General Pinckney and Mr. Gerry met in my room; and Mr. Gerry detailed to us the converſation mentioned in our public letter. The propoſition relative to the claim of M. de Beaumarchais is entirely different from my underſtanding of it in the very brief ſtatement made to me by M. Y. We reſolved that we would rigidly adhere to the rule we had adopted, to enter into no negociation with perſons not formally authorized to treat with us. We came alſo to the determination to prepare a letter to the miniſter of foreign relations, ſtating the object of our miſſion, and diſcuſſing the ſubjects of difference between the two nations, in like manner as if we had been actually received; and to cloſe the letter with requeſting the government to open the negociation with us, or to grant us our paſſports.

Exhibit C.
[*Enclosed in the Envoys' Letter*, No. IV.]

Dec. 13.

Mr. Gerry, accidently calling on general Pinckney, found M. X. and was soon informed that his object was to obtain another interview between the ministers and M. Y. on the affairs of their mission. General Marshall happening also to be there, we retired into another room, and immediately agreed to adhere to our former determination, not to have any more informal communication. M. X. having been called in, general Pinckney briefly communicated our determination: and Mr. Gerry observed, that he was much hurt by this proposition; that the ministers had already proceeded farther in this mode of communication than perhaps they could justify; that they had refused, six weeks ago, to renew it; and that some regard ought to be paid to their feelings, which had been sufficiently mortified; that the proposition was disrespectful to the envoys, as it betrayed a belief that they had lost a sense of their dignity, and were indeed incompetent to their office; that, had there been but one envoy extraordinary, he ought to have had an audience in a few days; and that for three to remain between two and three months in this situation, was too humiliating, too debasing, for any nation to submit to it; that, for his own part, had he been sent to any other nation in Europe, with two other envoys, he would not have consented to have remained in such a state ten days; that, knowing the great desire of the government and nation of the United States to be at peace with France, he had, with his colleagues, submitted to this indignity, at the risk of the severe censure of the former. Having also inquired of M. X. at what time M. Talleyrand could be seen, the former said, he would inquire of M. Y. who, on the 16th, in the evening, sent, in Mr. Gerry's absence from his lodgings, a billet, as follows:

"M. Y. has the honour to present his respects to Mr. Gerry, to inform him that he will have the honour to wait on him to-morrow morning at ten o'clock, to go together to the minister of foreign relations.

"He is, with respect," &c.

On the morning of the 17th, M. Y. came in while Mr. Gerry was at breakfast, not having received an answer to his note; and Mr. Marshall coming in, M. Y. took him aside, and conferred with him a considerable time; after which, the former and the rest of the family left the room, and M. Y. and Mr. Gerry being together, Mr. G. told him, that his object in seeing M. Talleyrand was to return a civility, by requesting him to fix a day for dining with Mr. G. who intended to invite his colleagues; by this interview to promote, if possible, a better understanding between the minister and the American envoys: and Mr. G. also proposed to confer with the minister on the disagreeable situation the envoys were in, and to state to him some reports which appeared to be founded, respecting a proposition before the directory for sending off all Americans in a short period; but Mr. Gerry added, that he could not

not hear a word on the ſubject of the miſſion, or the preliminaries to a negociation; as the envoys had determined, unanimouſly, againſt any informal communications on the ſubject. M. Y. in anſwer, ſaid, that Mr. Marſhall had juſt heard him on a ſubject of this kind; and that we might conſider it as he did, merely as a converſation between ourſelves. He then ſtated, that two meaſures which M. Talleyrand propoſed being adopted, a reſtoration of friendſhip between the republics would follow immediately; the one was a gratuity of 50,000*l.* ſterling, the other a purchaſe of thirty-two millions of Dutch reſcriptions; that as to the firſt, M de Beaumarchais had received, in a cauſe depending in Virginia, between that ſtate and himſelf, 145,000*l.* ſterling; that there was an appeal from the judgement; that he would ſign an act to relinquiſh 45,000*l.* if the whole ſhould be finally recovered, leaving only 100,000*l.* for himſelf; that the 45,000*l.* might accrue to the United States, who would, in that caſe, loſe but a ſmall part of the 50,000*l.*; that the purchaſe of ſixteen millions of reſcriptions would amount to but 1,333,000*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* ſterling; which, with an intereſt of five per cent. would be certainly paid by the government of Holland to the United States, and leave them without any loſs; that more than half the ſum may now be hired in Holland, on the credit of the reſcriptions, and an eaſy arrangement be made for payment by ſhort inſtalments, which might be obtained alſo by a loan; that it was worthy the attention of the envoys to conſider whether, by ſo ſmall a ſacrifice, they would eſtabliſh a peace with France, or whether they would riſk the conſequences; that if nothing could be done by the envoys, arrangements would be made forthwith to ravage the coaſts of the United States by frigates from St. Domingo; that ſmall ſtates which had offended France were ſuffering by it; that Hamburgh, and other cities in that quarter, would, within a month or two, have their governments changed; that Switzerland would undergo the ſame operation; and that Portugal would probably be in a worſe predicament: that the expedition againſt England would be certainly purſued; and that the preſent period was the moſt favourable, if we wiſhed to adopt any meaſure for a pacification.

Mr. Gerry, in anſwer, ſaid, that if the French were diſpoſed to purſue, with vengeance, the United States, they might, perhaps, ravage their coaſts, and injure them in this way, but they never could ſubdue them: the meaſure he thought utterly impracticable, even if attempted by France and her allies. To which M. Y. aſſented. Mr. Gerry obſerved farther, that the ravages alluded to would undoubtedly cloſely connect the United States and Great Britain, and prevent the former from returning to the friendſhip which they had ever had for France; that as to the propoſitions, he ſhould expreſs no opinion on them; that his ſituation, and that of his colleagues, was extremely difficult; that the directory was excluſively prejudiced againſt the government of the United States, and conſidered them as the friends of Great Britain; that if the envoys could have an opportunity of being heard, they could remove ſuch impreſſions, and ſhow that the government were the friends of France as

much as of Great Britain; but that the envoys were now in the moſt painful ſituation; that they were treated, in the eyes of all Europe, and of the American government and nation, with the utmoſt contempt, and were ſubmitting to indignities which they could not reconcile to their feelings, or juſtify to their conſtituents.

M. Y. ſaid, that the obſervations were juſt; but that the American envoys had not experienced worſe treatment than other miniſters, nor, indeed, as bad; that the envoy of Portugal was again ordered to depart; and that but little ceremony was obſerved to the envoys in general. M. Y. and Mr. Gerry then took a ride to M. Talleyrand's bureau, who received them politely: and, after being ſeated, Mr. Gerry obſerved to M. Talleyrand, in Engliſh, ſlowly, that M. Y. had ſtated to him, that morning, ſome propoſitions as coming from M. Talleyrand, reſpecting which Mr. G. could give no opinion: that his objects, at this interview, was, to requeſt of him information whether he would fix a time for taking a dinner with Mr. Gerry, at which he propoſed to invite his colleagues; that he wiſhed for more frequent interviews, of ſome kind or other, between himſelf and the envoys, conceiving that many imaginary difficulties, which obſtructed the negociation, would vaniſh by this means; and that thoſe which were real would be ſurmounted; that, conceiving the delicate part which the miniſter of France had to act, at this time, he did not wiſh M. Talleyrand to accept the invitation, if it would ſubject him to inconveniencies: that he wiſhed to ſpeak on another ſubject, and it was painful to him to acknowledge that the precarious ſituation of the envoys was ſuch as to render it impoſſible for them to take meaſures for decent arrangements; that a ſhort time ſince he had ſuppoſed meaſures were taking a favourable turn; but that lately he had received, from various quarters, information of a report made by the miniſter of the interior, and under the conſideration of the directory, for ſending all Americans from Paris in twenty-four hours; that he could not be reſponſible for the truth of the information; but it appeared to him, as well from the various quarters from which it came, as from the intelligence of the perſon who gave it, to be highly probable; that, if this was the caſe, it was unneceſſary for the directory, as he conceived, to paſs any arrête, as it reſpected the envoys, for that they would depart from Paris whenever it was hinted as the wiſh of the directory; that, for his own part, he ſhould feel more at eaſe until we were received, to reſide in a city of ſome other nation than that of France; and to return to Paris on notice that the directory were diſpoſed to open the negociation.

M. Talleyrand appeared to be very uneaſy at this declaration, but avoided ſaying a word on it. He ſaid, that the information M. Y. had given me was juſt, and might always be relied on; but that he would reduce to writing his propoſitions, which he accordingly did; and, after he had ſhown them to Mr. Gerry, he burnt the paper. The ſubſtance was as follows: See No. 1. below.)

He then ſaid, that he accepted of the invitation; that he would dine with him, the decade, after the

the preſent, in which he was engaged.

Mr. Gerry did not repeat all that he had ſaid to M. Y. having no doubt he would communicate the whole to M. Talleyrand. And, after expreſſing a friendſhip for the French republic, and a warm deſire to renew the former attachment of the two republics, which M. Talleyrand warmly reciprocated, Mr. Gerry bid M. Talleyrand adieu, leaving with him M. Y.

No. 1.

That the envoys ſhould come forward generally, and ſay—"France has been ſerviceable to the United States, and now they wiſh to be ſerviceable to France: underſtanding that the French republic has ſixteen millions of Dutch reſcriptions to ſell, the United States will purchaſe them at par, and will give her farther aſſiſtance, when in their power.

"The firſt arrangement being made, the French government will take meaſures for reimburſing the equitable demands of America, ariſing from prizes, and to give free navigation to their ſhips in future."

Meſſage of the Preſident to Congreſs, on the 5th June, 1798.

Gentlemen of the ſenate, and gentlemen of the houſe of repreſentatives,

I Now tranſmit, to both houſes, the communications from our envoys at Paris, received ſince the laſt, which have been preſented by me to congreſs.

John Adams.

United States, 5th June, 1798.

Paris, March 9th, 1798.

Dear ſir,

Agreeably to what we repreſented to you, in our No. IV. we prepared a letter to the miniſter of foreign affairs, on the ſubject of the late law, authorizing the capture of neutral veſſels, on board of which any productions of Great Britain, or its poſſeſſions, ſhould be laden, ſhewing how incompatible ſuch law was with the rights of neutral nations, and the treaty between France and America; its direct tendency to deſtroy the remaining commerce of our country; and the particular hardſhips to which it would ſubject the agricultural as well as commercial intereſts of our countrymen, from the peculiar ſituation of the United States. We added, that, under exiſting circumſtances, we could no longer reſiſt the conviction, that the demands of France rendered it intirely impracticable to effect the objects of our miſſion; and that, not being permanent miniſters, but envoys extraordinary, with full powers for particular purpoſes, we deemed it improper to remain longer in France, after the impoſſibility of effecting thoſe purpoſes had been demonſtrated. Before, however, we took this meaſure, and explicitly demanded our paſſports, we deemed it expedient to deſire major Rutledge to call on M. Talleyrand, on the 19th ult. to know if he had any communication to make to us, in conſequence of our letter, dated the 17th, and delivered the 31ſt of January. To this M. Talleyrand replied, that he had no anſwer to make, as the directory had not given any order on the ſubject; and, when they did, he would inform us of it. Still being anxious to hear explicitly from M. Talleyrand himſelf,

before we ſent our final letter, whether there were no means within our power of accommodating our differences with France on juſt and reaſonable grounds, we wrote to him on the 27th of February, ſoliciting a perſonal interview on the ſubject of our miſſion; he appointed the 2d of March following. You will find, in the exhibit A, herewith incloſed, what paſſed on that occaſion. On the 4th inſtant, we requeſted another interview: we have detailed in the latter part of the ſame exhibit, for your information, the ſubſtance of that converſation.

From theſe accounts you may obſerve, that the views of France, with regard to us, are not eſſentially changed, ſince our communications with its unofficial agents, in October laſt. We have the honour to be, with great reſpect,

Your moſt obedient
Humble ſervants,
Charles Coteſworth Pinckney.
J. Marſhall.
E. Gerry.

Colonel Pickering, ſecretary of the United States.

(A)

March the 2d.

At three o'clock we waited on M. Talleyrand, and were almoſt immediately introduced to him.—General Pinckney commenced the converſation, by ſaying, that our government and ourſelves were extremely anxious to remove the ſubſiſting difference between the two republics; that we had received many propoſitions, through M. Y. to which we had found it impracticable to accede; and that we had now waited on him for the purpoſe of inquiring, whether other means might not be deviſed, which would effect ſo deſirable an object. The miniſter replied, that without doubt the directory wiſhed very ſincerely, on our arrival, to ſee a ſolid friendſhip eſtabliſhed between France and the United States, and had manifeſted this diſpoſition, by the readineſs with which orders for our paſſports were given; that the directory had been extremely wounded by the laſt ſpeech of general Waſhington, made to congreſs, when about to quit the office of preſident of the United States; and by the firſt and laſt ſpeech of Mr. Adams; that explanations of theſe ſpeeches were expected, and required of us. General Pinckney expreſſed his ſurprize, that the ſpeech of general Waſhington was complained of, and ſaid, this was a new complaint. M. Talleyrand merely obſerved, that the directory was wounded at it, and proceeded: he ſaid, that the original favourable diſpoſition of the directory had been a good deal altered by the coldneſs and diſtance which we had obſerved; that, inſtead of ſeeing him often, and endeavouring to remove the obſtacles to a mutual approach, we had not once waited on him. General Pinckney obſerved, that, when we delivered him our letters of credence, he informed us that the directory, in a few days, would decide concerning us, and that, when the deciſion was made, he would communicate it to us; that this had, for ſome time, ſuſpended any procedure on our part. He anſwered, that this related only to our public character, and not to private viſits. General Pinckney ſaid, that on an application, made by his ſecretary, for a paſſport for an American under his care, he was told that he muſt apply to the office of police, for that

America

America had no miniſter in France, ſince the recal of Mr. Monroe. The miniſter ſaid, that was very true; and then proceeded to ſay, that the directory felt itſelf wounded by the different ſpeeches of Mr. Waſhington and Mr. Adams, which he had ſtated, and would require ſome proof, on the part of the United States, of a friendly diſpoſition, previous to a treaty with us. He then ſaid, that we ought to ſearch for and propoſe ſome means which might furniſh this proof; that, if we were diſpoſed to furniſh it, there could be no difficulty in finding it; and he alluded, very intelligibly, to a loan. He ſaid, he had ſeveral conferences with Mr. Gerry, on this ſubject, who had always anſwered, that we had no power. Mr. Gerry ſaid, he had ſtated other objections; that he had particularly urged, that it would involve us in a war with Great Britain. He made no reply: and general Pinckney obſerved, that a loan had been ſuggeſted to us, but that we had uniformly anſwered, that it exceeded our powers.

M. Talleyrand replied, that perſons at ſuch a diſtance as we were from our government, and poſſeſſed as we were of the public confidence, muſt often uſe their diſcretion, and exceed their powers, for the public good; that there was a material difference between acting, where inſtructions were ſilent, and doing what was particularly forbidden; that, if indeed a loan was poſitively forbidden, we might conſider ourſelves as incapable of making one; but if, as he ſuppoſed was the caſe (he looked the queſtion), our inſtructions were only ſilent, that it muſt be referred to us to act, in a caſe not provided for, according to the beſt of our judgement, for the public good; that in almoſt all the treaties, made during the revolution, the negociators had exceeded their powers, although the government appointing them was at no conſiderable diſtance. He particularized the treaty with Pruſſia, and ſeveral others. General Pinckney told him, that our powers did not extend to a loan, and perhaps might forbid it. The miniſter ſtill urged the difference between an expreſs prohibition and mere ſilence. He then proceeded to ſtate, that the principal objection, on the part of our government, to a loan, muſt be, that it would draw us out of the neutral ſituation in which we wiſhed to continue; that there were various means, thus; firſt, the ſecrecy of France, which might be relied on; and, ſecondly, means of diſguiſing the loan might be deviſed, which would effectually prevent its being conſidered as an aid during the preſent war; that, if we were truly and ſincerely deſirous of effecting the thing, we ſhould experience no difficulty in finding the means. He again ſtated a propoſition of this ſort, on our part, as being abſolutely neceſſary to prove, that the government was not about entering into a treaty with perſons of a temper hoſtile to it. Mr. Gerry, not well hearing M. Talleyrand, who ſpoke low, aſked him to explain himſelf with reſpect to the propoſition which he had alluded to, ſuppoſing it to be a new one; and he anſwered, that one of them was ſecrecy; but that there were, beſides, various ways, which might eaſily be ſuggeſted, to cover the loan as an immediate one, by limiting the time of advancing it to diſtant inſtalments. Mr. Gerry obſerved, that Dutrimond had ſuggeſted,

geſted, that a loan was propoſed to be made payable after the war, and in ſupplies to St. Domingo. M. Talleyrand ſignified, that that might be one of the means uſed; and ſaid, that if we were only ſincere in our wiſh, it would be eaſy to bring about the end.

General Marſhall told M. Talleyrand, that if the miniſters of the United States had manifeſted any unwillingneſs to take all proper means to reconcile the two republics; or any indifference on the ſubject, they had very badly repreſented the feelings and wiſhes of their government; that the government of the United States was moſt ſincerely deſirous of preſerving the friendſhip of France, and had, in his opinion, unequivocally manifeſted that deſire, by having deputed us under the extraordinary circumſtance attending our miſſion, and by having ſo long patiently borne the immenſe loſs of property which had been ſuſtained; that we had endeavoured, according to the beſt of our judgement, to repreſent truly the diſpoſition of our government; but that we underſtood, that France would conſider nothing as an evidence of friendſhip, but an act that would tranſcend and violate our powers, and at the ſame time operate the moſt ſerious injury to our country; that neutrality, in the preſent war, was of the laſt importance to the United States, and they had reſolved faithfully to maintain it; that they had committed no act, voluntarily, which was a breach of it, and could do nothing in ſecret, which, if known, would juſtly arrange them among the belligerent powers; that, in the preſent ſtate of things, if America was actually leagued with France in the war, ſhe would only be required to furniſh money; that we had neither ſhips of war or men to be employed in it, and could, conſequently, as a belligerent power, only be aſked for money; that, therefore, to furniſh money, was in fact to make war, which we could by no means conſent to do, and which would abſolutely tranſcend our powers, being an act altogether without the view and contemplation of our government, when our miſſion was decided on; that, with reſpect to ſupplies to St. Domingo, no doubt could be entertained that our merchants would furniſh them very abundantly, if France would permit the commerce; and a loan, really payable after the cloſe of the war, might then be negociated. M. Talleyrand again marked the diſtinction between ſilence of inſtructions and an expreſs prohibition, and again inſiſted on the neceſſity of our proving, by ſome means which we muſt offer, our friendſhip for the republic. He ſaid, he muſt exact from us, on the part of his government, ſome propoſition of this ſort; that, to prove our friendſhip, there muſt be ſome immediate aid, or ſomething which might avail them; that the principles of reciprocity would require it. General Pinckney and general Marſhall underſtood him, by this expreſſion, to allude to the loan formerly made by France to the United States. Mr. Gerry, at the time, thought he alluded to the treaty to be made, and ſaid, all treaties ſhould be founded in reciprocity, and then aſked him, whether a loan was the ultimatum of this government. M. Talleyrand did not give a direct anſwer to the queſtion; he ſaid, as he was underſtood, that the government inſiſted

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on ſome act which would demonſtrate our friendly diſpoſition towards, and our good wiſhes for the republic; this once done, he ſaid, the adjuſtment of complaints would be eaſy; that would be matter of inquiry; and, if France had done us wrong, it would be repaired; but that, if this was refuſed, it would increaſe the diſtance and coldneſs between the two republics. The converſation continued, in this ſtyle, until four o'clock, when we took our leave, and agreed to meet in the evening. In the courſe of it, and in reply to ſome obſervations of M. Talleyrand, reſpecting the proofs of friendſhip required by France, general Pinckney obſerved, that our being here was a mark of the friendly diſpoſition of our government; and that, while we were here, the government had paſſed a decree for ſeizing neutral veſſels, having on board any article coming out of England, which in its operation would ſubject to capture all our property on the ocean. M. Talleyrand replied, that this was not particular to us, but was common to all the neutral powers. At another time, in anſwer to his demand of ſome mark of our friendſhip, general Marſhall obſerved, that we conſidered the mutual intereſts of the two nations as requiring peace and friendſhip, and we relied on finding ſufficient motives in the intereſt of France to preſerve that friendſhip, without forcing us to an act which tranſcended our powers, and would be ſo injurious to our country. As we were taking our leave M. Talleyrand again noticed our not viſiting him, and ſaid, that he conceived our not having had an audience from the directory, ought not to have prevented it. General Marſhall told him, that our ſeeing the directory or not was an object of no concern to us; that we were perfectly indifferent with regard to it, but that we conceived that until our public character was in ſome degree recognized, and we were treated as the miniſters and repreſentatives of our government, we could not take upon ourſelves to act as miniſters, becauſe, by doing ſo, we might ſubject ourſelves to ſome injurious circumſtances to which we could not ſubmit. He ſaid, that was very true, but we might ſee him as private individuals, and diſcuſs the object of difference between us.

We requeſted of M. Talleyrand another interview, at ſuch hour as might be convenient to him, on the 6th inſtant. He anſwered, that he would receive us at half paſt eleven, at which hour we attended him.

Immediately after our arrival at his office, we were introduced to the miniſter; and general Pinckney ſtated, that we had conſidered, with the moſt ſerious attention, the converſation we had the honour of holding with him, a few days paſt; that the propoſitions he had ſuggeſted, appeared to us to be ſubſtantially the ſame with thoſe which had been made by M. X. by M. Y. and alſo to Mr. Gerry, with an intention that they ſhould be communicated to his colleagues: that we conſidered it as a propoſition that the United States ſhould furniſh aid to France, to be uſed during the preſent war; that, though it was unuſual to diſcloſe inſtructions, yet we would declare to him, that, in addition to its being a meaſure amounting to a declaration of

war

war againſt Great Britain, we were expreſſly forbidden by our inſtructions to take ſuch a ſtep.

The miniſter ſaid, in the tone of queſtion, he ſuppoſed our inſtructions were, to do nothing which would amount to a departure from our neutrality. General Pinckney ſaid, that we were ſo inſtructed, and that they were ſtill more particular. M. Talleyrand then proceeded to argue, that it would be no departure from neutrality, to ſtipulate a loan payable after the war, and ſpoke of it clearly as admitting of application to immediate uſe. He ſaid a good deal of the ſecrecy with which the tranſaction might be clothed; and obſerved, farther, that a loan, payable after the war, would be a proof of our faithful obſervance of the duties of neutrality, ſince it would be conſidered as proving that we had rejected propoſitions for an immediate loan. General Marſhall replied, that we thought differently; that, in our opinion, any act on the part of the American government, on which one of the belligerent powers could raiſe money for immediate uſe, would be furniſhing aid to that power, and would be taking part in the war. It would be, in fact, to take the only part which, in the exiſting ſtate of things, America could take. This was our deliberate opinion, and, in addition to it, we conſidered our inſtructions as concluſive on this point.

He obſerved, that we had claims on the French government for property taken from American citizens. Some of thoſe claims were probably juſt. He aſked, if they were acknowledged by France, whether we could not give a credit as to the payment; ſay for two years.—We anſwered, that we could. He then inſiſted that it was preciſely the ſame thing; that, by ſuch an act, we ſhould conſent to leave, in the hands of France, funds, to which our citizens were entitled, and which might be uſed in the proſecution of the war. General Pinckney ſaid, there was a difference between the caſes; that ſuch prizes were now actually in the power of the French, without our conſent; we could not prevent it, or get them out; but the granting or not granting a loan was in our power. He repeated his obſervation; and general Maſhall ſaid, that the property for which money was due to American citizens, from the French government, was taken into the poſſeſſion of that government without any co-operation on the part of the United States.

No act of any ſort was performed by our government, which in any degree contributed to place thoſe funds in the hands of France, nor was there any conſent towards it; but, in the caſe propoſed, the act would be the act of the government: the government could itſelf place funds in the hands of France, and thereby furniſh means which might be employed in the proſecution of the war. This was the diſtinction between the caſes; and, in a queſtion of neutrality, it appeared to us to be all important. The miniſter then proceeded to ſtate the caſe of our aſſuming the debt of our citizens, and of paying the money in that manner; but general Pinckney and Mr. Gerry told him we were poſitively forbidden to aſſume the debt to our own citizens, even if we were to pay the money directly to them. He ſeemed ſurpriſed at this. General

neral Pinckney obſerved, that, contrary to uſage, we had deemed it proper, in the exiſting ſtate of things, to ſtate candidly our powers to him, that he might know certainly, that we could not ſecretly, or under any diſguiſe whatever, make a loan which might be uſed during the war.

M Talleyrand ſaid, he muſt reſume his poſition, that, there was a difference, which he muſt inſiſt upon, between a loan payable immediately and a loan payable in future; and he ſtill inſiſted there was no difference between a loan payable in future and a credit for the money which might be due to our citizens. Mr. Gerry obſerved, that his colleagues had juſtly ſtated the diſtinction between the debt which will be due to the citizens of the United States from France, in caſe of her recognizing the claims which we ſhall make in their behalf, and a debt which might ariſe from a loan by the government of the United States to that of France, during the war. The one is the reſult of an arreſt of their property, without their conſent; the other would be a voluntary act of the United States, and a breach of their neutrality. There is an additional objection to the latter; if the United States ſhould make ſuch a loan, it would give too much reaſon to ſuppoſe that their government had conſented, in a colluſive manner, to the capture of the veſſels of their citizens, and had thus been furniſhing France with ſupplies to carry on the war. Our inſtructions are expreſs, not to ſtipulate for any aids to France, either directly or indirectly, during the war.

With reſpect to a ſecret ſtipulation, a loan cannot be made without an act of the legiſlature: but, if the executive were adequate to it, we have had an inſtance of an injunction of ſecrecy on the members of the ſenate, on an important ſubject, which one of the members thought himſelf warranted in publiſhing in the newſpaper; and of frequent inſtances of ſecrets which have otherwiſe eſcaped: ſecrecy, in this inſtance, might, therefore, be conſidered, if the meaſure was in itſelf admiſſible, as being impracticable. General Marſhall obſerved, that we had conſidered the ſubject with great ſolicitude, and were decidedly of opinion, that we could not, under any form, make a loan which could be uſed during the war; that we could not tell what our government would do, if on the ſpot; but were perfectly clear, that, without additional orders, we could not do what France requeſted. Mr. Gerry obſerved, that the government and nation of the United States, as well as ourſelves, were earneſtly ſolicitous to reſtore friendſhip between the two republics; that, as general Marſhall had ſtated, we could not ſay what our government would do, if on the ſpot; but if this propoſition met the wiſhes of the government of France, general Marſhall and himſelf had agreed immediately to embark for the United States, and lay before our government the exiſting ſtate of things here, as it reſpected our nation, to enable them to determine, whether any, and what other, meaſures on their part were neceſſary. M. Talleyrand made no obſervations on this propoſition; but inquired whether we expected ſoon to receive orders. Mr. Gerry mentioned an anſwer he had received to a

letter

letter ſent by him in November; and general Marſhall ſtated, that our firſt diſpatches were ſent on board two veſſels at Amſterdam, on the 20th of November; from which M. Talleyrand could form as juſt an idea as we could when an anſwer might be expected: but he did not think it probable one would arrive before a month to come. General Marſhall told him, we knew that our government had not received our diſpatches on the 8th of January, and we could not tell when they might be received. He aſked whether our intelligence came through England. General Marſhall anſwered, that it did not: and general Pinckney ſaid, that American papers as late as the 8th of January mentioned the fact.

There was ſome converſation about the time when theſe inſtructions might be expected; and general Marſhall ſuggeſted a doubt whether our government might give any inſtructions. He aſked, with ſome ſurpriſe, whether we had not written for inſtruction? and we anſwered, that we had not: and Mr. Gerry ſaid, that we had ſtated facts to our government, and conceived that nothing more was neceſſary. General Pinckney obſerved, that the government, knowing the facts, would do what was proper; and that our applying or not applying for inſtructions would not alter their conduct. M. Talleyrand then inquired, whether we had not ſent any one to the United States. General Pinckney ſaid, no: and Mr. Gerry added, that, ſoon after our arrival, we had made propoſitions to ſend one of our number, which were not accepted. And general Marſhall farther added, that thoſe who had communicated with us, had told us, we ſhould be ordered out of France immediately; and we had ſuppoſed that we ſhould be ordered out before our letters could reach the government. Mr. Gerry then obſerved, that the government of France muſt judge for itſelf; but that it appeared to him, that a treaty on liberal principles, ſuch as thoſe on which the treaty of commerce between the two nations was firſt eſtabliſhed, would be infinitely more advantageous to France than the trifling advantages ſhe could derive from a loan. Such a treaty would produce a friendſhip and attachment, on the part of the United States to France, which would be ſolid and permanent, and produce benefits far ſuperior to thoſe of a loan, if we had powers to make it. To this obſervation M. Talleyrand made no reply. We parted without any ſentiment delivered by the miniſter on the ſubject of our going home to conſult our government.

As we were taking our leave of M. Talleyrand, we told him that two of us would return immediately, to receive the inſtructions of our government, if that would be agreeable to the directory; if it was not, we would wait ſome time, in the expectation of receiving inſtructions.

Meſſage from the Preſident to Congreſs.

Gentlemen of the ſenate, and gentlemen of the houſe of repreſentatives,

WHILE I congratulate you on the arrival of general Marſhall, one of our late envoys extraordinary

ordinary to the French republic, at a place of ſafety, where he is juſtly held in honour, I think it my duty to communicate to you a letter received by him from Mr. Gerry, the only one of the three who has not received his congé: this letter, together with another from the miniſter of foreign relations to him, of the third of April, and his anſwer of the fourth, will ſhew the ſituation in which he remains, his intentions, and proſpects.

I preſume that, before this time, he has received freſh inſtructions (a copy of which accompanies this meſſage) to conſent to no loans; and therefore the negociation may be conſidered at an end.

I will never ſend another miniſter to France, without aſſurances that he will be received, reſpected, and honoured, as the repreſentative of a great, free, powerful, and independent nation.

John Adams.

United States, June 21ſt, 1798.

Meſſage from the Preſident to the Senate of the United States, July 18, 1798.

Gentlemen of the ſenate,

BELIEVING that the letter received this morning from general Waſhington, will give high ſatisfaction to the ſenate, I tranſmit them a copy of it, and congratulate them and the public on this great event, the general's acceptance of his appointment, as lieutenant-general and commander-in-chief of the army.

John Adams.

United States, July 17, 1798.

Mount Vernon, July 13, 1798.

Dear ſir,

I had the honour, on the evening of the 11th inſtant, to receive from the hand of the ſecretary of war, your favour of the 7th, announcing that you had, with the advice and conſent of the ſenate, appointed me "lieutenant-general and commander-in-chief of all the armies raiſed, or to be raiſed, for the ſervice of the United States."

I cannot expreſs how greatly affected I am at this new proof of public confidence, and the highly flattering manner in which you have been pleaſed to make the communication; at the ſame time, I muſt not conceal from you my earneſt wiſh, that the choice had fallen upon a man leſs declined in years, and better qualified to encounter the uſual viciſſitudes of war.

You know, ſir, what calculation I had made relative to the probable courſe of events, on my retiring from office, and the determination I had conſoled myſelf with, of cloſing the remnant of my days in my preſent peaceful abode; you will therefore be at no loſs to conceive and appreciate the ſenſations I muſt have experienced, to bring my mind to any concluſion that would pledge me, at ſo late a period of life, to leave ſcenes I ſincerely love, to enter upon the boundleſs field of public action, inceſſant trouble, and high reſponſibility.

It was not poſſible for me to remain ignorant of, or indifferent to, recent tranſactions. The conduct of the directory of France towards our country; their inſidious hoſtility to its government; their various practices to withdraw the affections of the people from it; the evident

tendency

tendency of their acts, and thoſe of their agents, to countenance and invigorate oppoſition; their diſregard of ſolemn treaties and the laws of nations; their war upon our defenceleſs commerce; their treatment of our miniſters of peace; and their demands amounting to tribute; could not fail to excite in me correſponding ſentiments with thoſe my countrymen have ſo generally expreſſed in their affectionate addreſſes to you. Believe me, ſir, no one can more cordially approve of the wiſe and prudent meaſures of your adminiſtration. They ought to inſpire univerſal confidence, and will, no doubt, combined with the ſtate of things, call from congreſs ſuch laws and means, as will enable you to meet the full force and extent of the criſis.

Satisfied, therefore, that you have ſincerely wiſhed and endeavoured to avert war, and exhauſted, to the laſt drop, the cup of reconciliation, we can, with pure hearts, appeal to Heaven for the juſtice of our cauſe; and may confidently truſt the final reſult to that kind Providence who has heretofore, and ſo often, ſignally favoured the people of theſe United States.

Thinking in this manner, and feeling how incumbent it is upon every perſon, of every deſcription, to contribute at all times to his country's welfare, and eſpecially in a moment like the preſent, when every thing we hold dear and ſacred is ſo ſeriouſly threatened; I have finally determined to accept the commiſſion of commander-in-chief of the armies of the United States, with the reſerve only, that I ſhall not be called into the field until the army is in a ſituation to require my preſence, or it becomes indiſpenſable by the urgency of circumſtances.

In making this reſervation, I beg it to be underſtood, that I do not mean to withhold any aſſiſtance to arrange and organize the army, which you may think I can afford. I take the liberty alſo to mention, that I muſt decline having my acceptance conſidered as drawing after it any immediate charges upon the public; or that I can receive any emoluments annexed to the appointment, before entering into a ſituation to incur expence.

The ſecretary of war being anxious to return to the ſeat of government, I have detained him no longer than was neceſſary to a full communication upon the ſeveral points he had in charge.

With very great reſpect and conſideration,
I have the honour to be,
Dear ſir,
Your moſt obedient,
Humble ſervant,
G. Waſhington.

John Adams,
Preſident of the United States.

Speech of the Preſident of the United States of America to both Houſes of Congreſs, on Saturday, December 8, 1798.

Gentlemen of the ſenate, and gentlemen of the houſe of repreſentatives,

WHILE with reverence and reſignation we contemplate the diſpenſations of divine Providence, in the alarming and deſtructive peſtilence with which ſeveral of

of our cities and towns have been viſited, there is cauſe for gratitude and mutual congratulations, that the malady has diſappeared, and that we are again permitted to aſſemble in ſafety at the ſeat of government for the diſcharge of our important duties. But when we reflect that this fatal diſorder has, within a few years, made repeated ravages in ſome of our principal ſea-port towns, and with increaſed malignancy; and when we conſider the magnitude of the evils ariſing from the interruption of public and private buſineſs, whereby the national intereſts are deeply affected; I think it my duty to invite the legiſlature of the union to examine the expediency of eſtabliſhing ſuitable regulations in aid of the health-laws of the reſpective ſtates; for theſe being formed on the idea, that contagious ſickneſs may be communicated through the channels of commerce, there ſeems to be a neceſſity that congreſs, who alone can regulate trade, ſhould frame a ſyſtem which, while it may tend to preſerve the general health, may be compatible with the intereſts of commerce and the ſafety of the revenue.

While we think on this calamity, and ſympathize with the immediate ſufferers, we have abundant reaſon to preſent to the ſupreme Being our annual oblations of gratitude for a liberal participation in the ordinary bleſſings of his providence. To the uſual ſubjects of gratitude, I cannot omit to add one of the firſt importance to our well-being and ſafety—I mean that ſpirit, which has ariſen in our country, againſt the menaces and aggreſſion of a foreign nation. A manly ſenſe of national honour, dignity, and independence, has appeared, which, if encouraged and invigorated by every branch of the government, will enable us to view, undiſmayed, the enterprizes of any foreign power, and become the ſure foundation of national proſperity and glory.

The courſe of the tranſactions in relation to the United States and France, which have come to my knowledge during your receſs, will be made the ſubject of a future communication. That communication will confirm the ultimate failure of the meaſures which have been taken by the government of the United States towards an amicable adjuſtment of differences with that power. You will at the ſame time perceive, that the French government appears ſolicitous to impreſs the opinion, that it is averſe to a rupture with this country, and that it has, in a qualified manner, declared itſelf willing to receive a miniſter from the United States, for the purpoſe of reſtoring a good underſtanding. It is unfortunate for profeſſions of this kind, that they ſhould be expreſſed in terms which may countenance the inadmiſſible pretenſion of a right to preſcribe the qualifications which a miniſter from the United States ſhould poſſeſs; and that, while France is aſſerting the exiſtence of a diſpoſition on her part to conciliate with ſincerity the differences which have ariſen, the ſincerity of a like diſpoſition on the part of the United States, of which too many demonſtrative proofs have been given, ſhould even be indirectly queſtioned. It is alſo worthy of obſervation, that the decree of the directory, alleged to be intended to reſtrain the depredations of French cruizers on our commerce, has not given, and

cannot give, any relief; it enjoins them to conform to all the laws of France relative to carrying and prizes, while these laws are themselves the sources of the depredations, of which we have so long, so justly, and so fruitlessly complained.

The law of France enacted in January last, which subjects to capture and condemnation neutral vessels and their cargoes, if any portion of the latter are of British fabric or produce, although the entire property belong to neutrals, instead of being rescinded, has lately received a confirmation, by the failure of a proposition for its repeal. While this law, which is an unequivocal act of war on the commerce of the nations it attacks, continues in force, those nations can see in the French government only a power regardless of their essential rights, of their independence and sovereignty; and if they possess the means, they can reconcile nothing with their interest and honour but a firm resistance.

Hitherto, therefore, nothing is discoverable in the conduct of France, which ought to change or relax our measures of defence; on the contrary, to extend and invigorate them is our true policy. We have no reason to regret that these measures have been thus far adopted and pursued; and in proportion as we enlarge our view of the portentous and incalculable situation of Europe, we shall discover new and cogent motives for the full developement of our energies and resources.

But in demonstrating by our conduct that we do not fear war, in the necessary protection of our rights and honour; we shall give no room to infer that we abandon the desire of peace. An efficient preparation for war can alone ensure peace. It is peace that we have uniformly and perseveringly cultivated, and harmony between us and France may be restored at her option. But to send another minister, without more determinate assurances that he would be received, would be an act of humiliation to which the United States ought not to submit; it must therefore be left with France, if she is indeed desirous of accommodation, to take the requisite steps. The United States will steadily observe the maxims by which they have hitherto been governed. They will respect the sacred rights of embassy; and, with a sincere disposition on the part of France to desist from hostility, to make reparation for the injuries heretofore committed on our commerce, and to do justice in future, there will be no obstacle to the restoration of a friendly intercourse. In making to you this declaration, we give a pledge to France and the world, that the executive authority of this country will attend to the humane and pacific policy which has invariably governed its proceedings, in conformity with the wishes of the different branches of the government and of the people of the United States. But considering the late manifestations of her policy towards foreign nations, I deem it a duty deliberately and solemnly to declare my opinion, that, whether we negociate with her or not, vigorous preparations for war will be alike indispensable. These alone will give to us an equal treaty, and ensure its observance.

Among the measures of preparation which appear expedient, I take the liberty to recall your attention

tion to the naval eſtabliſhment. The beneficial effects of the ſmall naval armament provided under the acts of the laſt ſeſſion are known and acknowledged. Perhaps no country ever experienced more ſudden and remarkable advantages from any meaſure of policy, than we have derived from the arming for our marine protection and defence. We ought, without loſs of time, to lay the foundation for an increaſe of our navy, to a ſize ſufficient to guard our coaſt, and protect our trade. Such a naval force, as it is doubtleſs in the power of the United States to create and maintain, would alſo afford to them the beſt means of general defence, by facilitating the ſafe tranſportation of troops and ſtores to every part of our extenſive coaſt.

To accompliſh this important object, a prudent foreſight requires that ſyſtematical meaſures be adopted for procuring at all times the requiſite timber and other ſupplies. In what manner this ſhall be done, I leave to your conſideration.

I will now advert, gentlemen, to ſome matters of leſs moment, but proper to be communicated to the national legiſlature.

After the Spaniſh garriſons had evacuated the poſts they occupied at the Natchez and Walnut-Hills, the commiſſioner of the United States commenced his obſervations to aſcertain the point near the Miſſiſippi, which terminated the northernmoſt point of the thirty-firſt degree of north latitude. From thence he proceeded to run the boundary line between the United States and Spain. He was afterwards joined by the Spaniſh commiſſioner, where the work of the former was confined; and they proceeded together to the demarcation of the line. Recent information renders it probable that the ſouthern Indians, either inſtigated to oppoſe the demarcation, or jealous of the conſequences of ſuffering white people to run a line over lands to which the Indian title had not been extinguiſhed, have, ere this time, ſtopped the progreſs of the commiſſioners. And, conſidering the miſchiefs which may reſult from continuing the demarcation, in oppoſition to the will of the Indian tribes, the great expence attending it, and that the boundaries which the commiſſioners have actually eſtabliſhed, probably extend at leaſt as far as the Indian title has been extinguiſhed, it will perhaps become expedient and neceſſary to ſuſpend farther proceedings, by recalling our commiſſioner.

The commiſſioners appointed in purſuance of the fifth article of the treaty of amity, commerce, and navigation, between the United States and his Britannic majeſty, to determine what river was truly intended under the name of the river St. Croix, mentioned in the treaty of peace, and forming a part of the boundary therein deſcribed, have finally decided that queſtion. On the twenty-fifth of October, they made their declaration, that a river called Schoodiac, which falls into Paſſamaquoddy-Bay, at its northweſtern quarter, was the true St. Croix intended in the treaty of peace, as far as its great fork, where one of its ſtreams comes from the weſtward, and the other from the northward; and that the latter ſtream is the continuation of the St. Croix to its ſource. This deciſion, it is underſtood, will pre-

clude all contention among individual claimants, as it ſeems that the Schoodiac and its northern branch bound the grants of lands which have been made by the reſpective adjoining governments. A ſubordinate queſtion, however, it has been ſuggeſted, ſtill remains to be determined. Between the mouth of the St. Croix, as now ſettled, and what is uſually called the bay of Fundy, lie a number of valuable iſlands. The commiſſioners have not continued the boundary lines through any channel of theſe iſlands; and unleſs the bay of Paſſamaquoddy be a part of the bay of Fundy, this farther adjuſtment of boundary will be neceſſary. But it is apprehended that this will not be a matter of any difficulty.

Such progreſs has been made in the examination and deciſion of caſes of captures and condemnations of American veſſels, which were the ſubject of the ſeventh article of the treaty of amity, commerce, and navigation, between the United States and Great Britain, that it is ſuppoſed the commiſſioners will be able to bring their buſineſs to a concluſion in Auguſt of the enſuing year.

The commiſſioners acting under the twenty-fifth article of the treaty between the United States and Spain, have adjuſted moſt of the claims of our citizens, for loſſes ſuſtained in conſequence of their veſſels and cargoes having been taken by the ſubjects of his catholic majeſty, during the late war between France and Spain.

Various circumſtances have concurred to delay the execution of the law for augmenting the military eſtabliſhment; among theſe, the deſire of obtaining the fulleſt information to direct the beſt ſelection of officers. As this object will now be ſpeedily accompliſhed, it is expected that the raiſing and organizing of the troops will proceed without obſtacle, and with effect.

Gentlemen of the houſe of repreſentatives,

I have directed an eſtimate of the appropriation which will be neceſſary for the ſervice of the enſuing year to be laid before you, accompanied with a view of the public receipts and expenditures to a recent period. It will afford you ſatisfaction to infer the great extent and ſolidity of the public reſources, from the proſperous ſtate of the finances, notwithſtanding the unexampled embarraſments which have attended commerce. When you reflect on the conſpicuous examples of patriotiſm and liberality which have been exhibited by our mercantile fellow-citizens, and how great a proportion of the public reſources depends on their enterprize, you will naturally conſider whether their convenience cannot be promoted and reconciled, with the ſecurity of the revenue, by a reviſion of the ſyſtem by which the collection is at preſent regulated.

During your receſs, meaſures have been ſteadily purſued for effecting the valuations and returns, directed by the act of the laſt ſeſſion, preliminary to the aſſeſſment and collection of a direct tax. No other delays or obſtacles have been experienced, except ſuch as were expected to ariſe from the great extent of our country, and the magnitude and novelty of the operation; and enough has been accompliſhed to aſſure the fulfilment of the views of the legiſlature.

Gentlemen of the ſenate, and gentlemen of the houſe of repreſentatives,

I cannot cloſe this addreſs without once more adverting to our political ſituation, and inculcating the eſſential importance of uniting in the maintenance of our deareſt intereſts; and I truſt that, by the temper and wiſdom of your proceedings, and by a harmony of meaſures, we ſhall ſecure to our country that weight and reſpect to which it is ſo juſtly entitled.

John Adams.

CHARACTERS.

Particulars of the Life of the late Edmund Burke, Esq. abridged from Dr. Bissel's Life of that celebrated Character.

EDMUND Burke was born in Dublin, January 1, 1730. His father was a protestant and an attorney, and is supposed to have descended from the same root as Bourke, the present earl of Mayo. The early part of his education Edmund received under Abraham Shackleton, a quaker, at Balytore, near Carlow; and he applied with ardor and industry to his studies, and here laid the foundation of a classical erudition, which alone would have entitled ordinary men to the character of great scholars, though it was but a small portion of his multifarious knowledge. Like all other great men, Burke manifested, even in his boyish days, a distinguished superiority over his contemporaries. His master foreboded every thing that was great from his genius; and though Edmund's brother, Richard, who was educated at the same school, was esteemed, by many, the foremost of the two in point of ability, yet their master and their father entertained a different opinion:—they allowed that Richard was bright, but maintained that Edmund would be wise.

Taking leave of his good old schoolmaster, for whom he retained, through life, a great degree of gratitude and affection, and whom, for forty years, during which he went annually to Ireland, he travelled many miles to visit,—Edmund was entered a student at Dublin-college, and was contemporary with Goldsmith. At college, he did not render himself eminent in the performance of his academical exercises. Even in mathematics, which at Dublin-college were much the object of attention, Burke made no great progress; he applied himself so much to that branch of study as to give him a competent knowledge of those parts that were most subservient to the purposes of life, but there is no evidence that he devoted himself to the more abstruse and profound parts of that science.

In 1749, Mr. Lucas, a zealous advocate of the chartered rights of the city of Dublin, and who acquired as great popularity in that city as Wilkes afterwards did in London, published some papers against the government;* Burke,

* He might, indeed, be styled the Wilkes of Ireland: but he was a much more steady character. He afterwards became M. D. and represented the city of Dublin in parliament.

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perceiving the noxious tendency of levelling doctrines, wrote ſeveral eſſays in the ſtyle of Lucas, imitating it ſo completely as to deceive the public; purſuing Lucas's principles to conſequences obviouſly reſulting from them, and, at the ſame time, ſhewing their dangerous tendency.

That Burke was bred a catholic, or ſtudied at St. Omers, as ſome have aſſerted, Dr. Biſſet poſitively denies; aſſuring us that he was bred, and always continued, a member of the proteſtant epiſcopal church, though he entertained a very high opinion of the diſſenters, and a particular eſteem for the catholics.

While Burke was accumulating knowledge, he did not neglect the means of rendering himſelf agreeable in the varied intercourſe of life. His company was ſought among the gay and faſhionable, for the ſake of his pleaſing converſation and deportment; as well as among the learned, for the force and brilliancy of his genius, and the extent and depth of his knowledge. He abounded in anecdote, and had an inexhauſtible fund of diſcourſe. With all theſe advantages, however, not ſeeing much chance of acquiring in Ireland an independent ſituation, he made an attempt to obtain permanent employment in another country. Soon after he had finiſhed his academical ſtudies, a vacancy took place in the profeſſorſhip of logic at Glaſgow. A conſiderable intercourſe had long ſubſiſted between the univerſities of Glaſgow and Dublin, owing in a great degree to the fame of the eminent Hutcheſon, who had been educated at Dublin-college. Burke applied for the profeſſorſhip, but was too late.—Diſappointed in Glaſgow, he repaired to London, and, on his arrival in the metropolis, entered himſelf a member of the Temple.

Various accounts are given of his finances at the outſet of life: but it is probable that they were in no very flouriſhing ſtate; becauſe, when he had entered at the Temple, he ſubmitted to the drudgery of writing for the periodical papers; to which he contributed eſſays on ſubjects of general literature and politics: but which, however replete with information and genius, did not immediately enable their author to emerge from obſcurity. Of his leiſure time, much was paſſed in the company of Mrs. Woffington, a celebrated actreſs, whoſe converſation was not leſs ſought by men of wit and genius than by men of pleaſure. In the mean time, Mr. Burke giving himſelf up, with the moſt rigorous induſtry, to writing eſſays, and increaſing his knowledge, particularly in hiſtory, ethics, politics, pneumatology, poetry, and criticiſm, his health became gradually impaired, and he applied to Dr. Nugent, a ſkilful and benevolent phyſician. Dr. Nugent, conſidering the unfitneſs of Temple-chambers for an invalid, invited Mr. Burke to occupy a room in his houſe. He accepted the invitation, and experienced, during his illneſs, ſuch particular tenderneſs from Miſs Nugent, as well as kindneſs from the reſt of the family, that a paſſion was ſoon excited in his heart, and he offered her his hand, which was accepted. Shortly afterward, he ſent into the world his firſt acknowledged production, "A Vindication of Natural Society;" an ironical work, in which, imitating the ſtyle of Bolingbroke, he attacks the falſe philoſophy of

that writer, which he thought had a tendency to overturn virtue and every eſtabliſhed mode of religion and government. Burke was ſtill at the Temple: but it does not appear that he had been ſtudying law with very great zeal, as a profeſſion. Homer and Longinus occupied his mind more than Littleton or Monteſquieu. Soon after his "Vindication," juſt mentioned, he publiſhed his "Eſſay on the Sublime and Beautiful:" a work which ſpeedily became generally known, and was ſo much admired that it were ſuperfluous to deſcribe or to praiſe it. To the author it produced the moſt beneficial conſequences. Mr. (ſir Joſhua) Reynolds and Samuel Johnſon were among the firſt who now ſought his acquaintance. The houſe of Reynolds was at that time the favourite reſort of men of talents; ſeveral of whom afterward conſtituted the famous literary club at the Turk's Head, Gerrard-ſtreet, Soho. The original members were, Johnſon, Burke, Goldſmith, Reynolds, Topham Beauclerk, Dr. Nugent, ſir John Hawkins, Mr. Chamier, and Mr. Bennet Langton. Johnſon, it is ſaid, ſoon diſcovered Burke's great ſuperiority over common men; and in the club, as well as in other ſituations, he juſtified the ſagacity of Johnſon. He frequently indulged in punning; but his efforts in that way generally produced ſome reſemblance of thought, imagery, or ſentiment, not merely a play of words.

Mr. Burke having made himſelf completely maſter of our hiſtory, particularly from the revolution, he, in 1758, propoſed to Mr. Dodſley the plan of an "Annual Regiſter," which his hiſtorical and general learning ſo well qualified him to form and to conduct. Dodſley approved the propoſal, and the work was carried on during many years, either by Mr. Burke, or under his immediate inſpection.

Not long after this period, Mr. Burke accompanied Mr. Hamilton (with whom he had early became acquainted) to Ireland, whither Mr. Hamilton went as ſecretary to lord Haliſax, lord-lieutenant of that country. This gentleman was called "ſingle-ſpeech Hamilton," from the circumſtance of his having made once an uncommonly excellent ſpeech in the Engliſh houſe of commons. In the Iriſh houſe of commons, alſo, he made one ſpeech only. From the paucity of theſe exertions in eloquence, and from his intimacy with Mr. Burke, Mr. Hamilton was ſuppoſed to have borrowed the talents of the latter for the compoſition of both theſe ſpeeches; but the ſuppoſition is at leaſt unneceſſary, for Mr. Hamilton is known to have poſſeſſed talents and literary attainments fully adequate to the production of the ſpeeches in queſtion.

By the friendſhip of Mr. Hamilton, Mr. Burke obtained a penſion of 300*l.* per annum, on the Iriſh eſtabliſhment; by which, on his return to England, he felt himſelf raiſed above the neceſſity of frittering his genius in ephemeral productions. He ſtill, however, occaſionally wrote political eſſays in periodical publications. The Public Advertiſer was then the paper to which men of literature moſt frequently contributed; and Burke's writings, in that paper, attracted the notice of the marquis of Rockingham, who remarked their uncommon excellence, and ſoon ſought the acquaintance of the author.

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In 1765, he was introduced to the marquis by Mr. Fitzherbert, father of the preſent lord St. Helen's; and from this epoch in the life of Burke, commenced what may be termed his political career.

About this time, the public mind in England was greatly agitated by the meaſures which government had taken reſpecting Mr. Wilkes. Diſcontent was alſo growing in America, at the attempt of Great Britain to tax the colonies. Two parties had been lately in oppoſition to government, that of Mr. Pitt, and that of the duke of Newcaſtle; and of the latter, the marquis of Rockingham was conſidered as the leader, on account of the age and infirmities of the duke. Their efforts were directed againſt the growing ſyſtem of court-favouritiſm: but the parties were not heartily united. Overtures were made by the court to Mr. Pitt: but he boldly rejected them, and inſiſted that all ſecret adviſers ſhould be excluded from any ſhare in the direction of affairs. The court not fully acceding to theſe terms, propoſals were made to the marquis and the duke; both of whom, with their party, cloſed with the offer. In conſequence, the marquis of Rockingham was appointed prime miniſter, and the duke of Newcaſtle preſident of the council. It was at this time that Mr. Burke was introduced to the marquis, who appointed him his private ſecretary. Shortly afterward, Burke ſeceded from his old friend Mr. Hamilton; principally in conſequence of the indolent diſpoſition of the latter. From this moment, Mr. Burke became a profeſſed party-man. His biographer ſays, 'he ought not to have ſtooped to patronage, but, like his great contemporaries, Johnſon and Hume, have depended upon himſelf. Johnſon in his garret, the abode of independence, was ſuperior to Burke in his villa, the ſee of a party.' During the Rockingham adminiſtration, Burke was returned member in parliament for Wendover, in Buckinghamſhire, a borough under the patronage of lord Verney, between whom and Burke a cloſe intimacy had been formed. On his entrance into parliament, Mr. Burke employed his time moſt induſtriouſly in qualifying himſelf for a ſplendid and uſeful diſcharge of his new duty. He applied to every ſource of knowledge which might by poſſibility be uſeful to him; he did not neglect even writings of the fathers, and the ſubtlety of the ſchool divines. From this fountain, probably, did Mr. Burke draw the deep veneration which he afterward felt for the very errors of antiquity; and that zeal for old eſtabliſhments by which his latter years were ſo ſtrongly marked. His induſtry even deſcended to the peruſal of precedents and records; and he condeſcended to improve himſelf in eloquence at the Robin-Hood ſociety, where he is ſaid to have derived very important advantages from his conteſts with a baker! Of the language of his ſpeeches he was remarkably careful; he always attentively reviſed and frequently re-wrote them. He was not leſs ſtudious of excellence in the management of his voice and his action. He procured his ſeat in parliament in 1765; and his firſt ſpeech was at the opening of the enſuing ſeſſion, on the uſual motion for an addreſs. The principal ſubject was the ſtamp-act, and the conſequent diſturbances in America;

and it had the honour of attracting the notice and obtaining the praiſe of Mr. Pitt. On the affairs of America, which now occupied the Rockingham adminiſtration, Mr. Burke was conſulted by the marquis. His advice was "to chooſe a middle courſe between the oppoſite extremes of coercion and relinquiſhment of the right of taxation; neither to precipitate affairs with the coloniſts by raſh counſels, nor to ſacrifice the dignity of the crown and nation by irreſolution and weakneſs." Conſonant to this opinion, a plan was formed. The ſtamp-act was repealed: but a law was paſſed declaring a right in Great Britain to legiſlate for and to tax America. The event has ſhewn how feeble and ſhort-ſighted was this policy.

In 1768, Burke was re-elected for Wendover. The famous expulſion of Wilkes, and the conſequent proceedings, now occupied much of the public attention. Burke was generally adverſe to the ſevere meaſures which had been adopted with regard to that gentleman, though he by no means approved his general and moral character. The Grafton miniſtry, which was now in power, was oppoſed by the Rockingham party, of which Burke was the principal orator, and by that party of which Mr. Grenville was the principal mover. During this ſeſſion, Mr Burke made an able ſpeech to prove the eligibility of Wilkes, notwithſtanding his prior expulſion.

Mr. Burke was now in poſſeſſion of his pleaſant villa at Beaconsfield, which he purchaſed for 23,000*l.*; 10,000*l.* of which had been advanced by the marquis of Rockingham, and 5000*l.* lent on mortgage by Dr. Saunders, of Spring-gardens; how the remaining 8000*l.* were procured, the doctor could not learn.

A very animated and ſtrong petition was at this time drawn up by Mr. Burke for the electors of Buckinghamſhire, concerning the Middleſex election. His political opinions and principles were ſoon afterward publiſhed at conſiderable length, in a pamphlet intituled "Thoughts on the Cauſes of the preſent Diſcontents:"—which was levelled principally againſt the "inner cabinet," the "ſecret influence" which was ſuppoſed to be the cauſe of all the falſe and oppreſſive meaſures that had been adopted; and it contains a bold and faithful picture of what a houſe of commons ought to be.

Lord North, who was now miniſter, meaning to tranquillize America, propoſed the repeal of the obnoxious laws: but he wiſhed to reſerve the duty on tea, as a mark of the authority of parliament over the colonies. This plan was as ſhort-ſighted as that which had been propoſed by Mr. Burke himſelf; and Burke, whoſe mind, was becoming more and more matured by experience, and leſs and leſs attentive to queſtions of abſtraction, oppoſed and ridiculed it, in a ſpeech of the moſt ſarcaſtic humour. In the debates relating to the freedom of the preſs, he took a very diſtinguiſhed part. When Almon was proſecuted for republiſhing Junius's letter to the king, it was contended that the attorney general's official power of filing informations was too extenſive to be compatible with freedom; and a bill was propoſed by oppoſition to modify and limit that officer's power. The other ſide dwelt principally on the antiquity of the power, which they contended was an integral

gral and original part of the British constitution. Mr. Burke whose fondness for ancient establishments, if adverse to freedom, was not then so strong as it afterward became, placed this argument in a variety of ridiculous lights; comparing this absurd veneration on account of antiquity, to the respect of Scriblerus for the rust and canker of the brazen pot-lid.

From this period, till the end of the American war, we find Mr. Burke among the most zealous, able, and eloquent opponents of the minister; and one of the warmest and most energetic defenders of the rights of the people.

Burke still continued his habits of industry. Unaccustomed to dissipation of every kind, and, above all, to gaming, he directed to reading and conversation those hours which were not employed in parliamentary duty, in exercise, or in the discharge of necessary business. He generally read with a pen in his hand, though he had a memory wonderfully tenacious. Among the Latin poets, he preferred Virgil and Lucretius: the first for his philosophy, the latter for his just and forcible descriptions of superstition. Of Horace, he esteemed the satires and the critical and ethical epistles more than the odes. Neither the Latin historians nor even the Latin orators were his favourites. In Homer he was delighted with the pictures of characters and manners; and he read the Odyssey more frequently than the Iliad, on account of its more minute delineation of ancient manners. Of the Greek orators, Demosthenes was his favourite, and among the dramatic writers he preferred Euripides to Sophocles. Human nature was the favourite study of Burke; he accordingly read with pleasure Bacon and Shakspeare, Fielding, Le Sage, and Addison. Differing from Johnson, he preferred Fielding to Richardson. Swift he did not relish, because that author gave only one side of the picture. Of Gay's "Beggar's Opera," he entertained a poor opinion: its intellectual excellence he deemed small, and totally overbalanced by the great moral defect of arraying vice in agreeable colours. There was perhaps more novelty as well as more justness in Gibbon's remark on that performance, when he said, "it has had a beneficial effect in refining highwaymen, and making them less ferocious, more polite, in short, more like gentlemen."

Much of Mr. Burke's leisure was spent at the house of his friend Reynolds, who deemed him the best judge of pictures that he ever knew. The amusement in which he most delighted was the Theatre; for he did not, like Johnson, contemn scenical performances. Part of the recess he spent at Beaconsfield, where his taste displayed itself in various improvements of its natural beauties; and he bestowed much attention on farming. The whole of his estate would let at about 600*l.* a year: three-fourths of it he cultivated himself; and as a farmer he was the most successful of the neighbourhood, without any unusual expence. When in town he had his mutton, poultry, and other meats, except beef, as well as the various productions of the dairy and gardens, from his own estate, brought by his own horses and carts; and the same horses which served for his carriage were employed on his farms. He was remarkable for hospitality—the hospitality of real benevolence,

benevolence, which gives what is plain and ſubſtantial with kind looks, kind manners, and a hearty welcome. He liked a cheerful glaſs, but never drank to exceſs. During dinner, his beverage was water, and afterward generally claret or ſome light wine, of which he ſeldom exceeded a bottle. His converſation, indeed, was always ſo animated that wine could add nothing to it. He was liberal even to the common mendicants; and uſed to attribute inattention to their requeſts rather to the love of money than to the profeſſed policy of diſcouraging beggars. He had always been an early riſer, and often diſpatched buſineſs before ſome of his political friends had recovered from the effects of the laſt night's intemperance. Part of the ſummer was frequently devoted to re-viſiting his native country, and ſometimes he would make excurſions in the ſtage-coach to different parts of England. His general knowledge of the phyſical and moral hiſtory of the places through which he paſſed on thoſe occaſions, as well as his fund of anecdote, made him a moſt agreeable companion. In the ſummer of 1772 he viſited the continent, and there firſt ſaw the fair Marie Antoinette, whoſe beauty and accompliſhments ſtruck his imagination ſo forcibly that, after the lapſe of twenty-three years, the impreſſion was yet deep, and productive of his well-known exuberant eulogiums. It was during this viſit that he made thoſe obſervations on the tendency of the philoſophy then cultivated in France, which he diſcloſed in his "Reflections;" where he attributes to this philoſophy the ſubſequent fall of the religious and political eſtabliſhments of that kingdom. With ſome of the prime ſages of that country, Mr. Burke was engaged in a diſcuſſion on the merit of Mr. Beattie's "Eſſay on Truth;" he appears to have been as partial to Beattie as prejudiced againſt Hume.

How much the religious ſcepticiſm and political theories of theſe men impreſſed the mind of Burke, we learn from a ſpeech delivered in the next ſeſſion of parliament; of which, though a regular report of it was not taken, yet a copy is ſtill extant; the ſummary is thus given by the editors of his poſthumous works: "He pointed out the conſpiracy of atheiſm to the watchful jealouſy of government. He profeſſed he was not over fond of calling in the aid of the ſecular arm to ſuppreſs doctrines and opinions; but if ever it was to be raiſed, it ſhould be againſt thoſe enemies of their kind who would take from us the nobleſt prerogative of our nature, that of being a religious animal." "Already, (ſaid he,) I ſee many of the props of good government beginning to fail. I ſee propagated principles which will not leave to religion even a toleration, and will leave virtue herſelf leſs than a name." In his ſupport of ſir Harry Houghton's motion during this ſeſſion, for the relief of diſſenters, Mr. Burke uttered ſentiments moſt favourable to that body, and the moſt liberal in themſelves. The toleration which they enjoyed by connivance, he ſaid, was "but a temporary relaxation of ſlavery"—a ſort of liberty "not calculated for the meridian of England." Sir Harry's motion paſſed the commons, but was loſt in the houſe of lords.

While Mr. Burke was exerting in parliament his ſplendid and improving powers, in oppoſition to the

the war, and to procure a reformation of affairs in India, the friendſhip between him and Johnſon, continued. In the receſs, after the ſeſſion of 1774, Johnſon viſited Beaconſfield for the firſt time. On viewing that beautiful villa, he exclaimed in the words of Virgil,

"Non equidem invideo, miror magis!"

Though Johnſon and Burke had differed in politics ſince the commencement of the war, yet here their differences were forgotten. Nothing remarkable, however, is recorded of this viſit, except the rough compliment of the gueſt at his departure:—Burke being to ſet out for Briſtol, to ſtand a candidate for that city, of which a great majority of the electors had invited him. Johnſon, at parting, took him by the hand—"Farewel my dear ſir!" ſaid he; "and remember that I wiſh you all the ſucceſs which ought to be wiſhed you, which can poſſibly be wiſhed you by an honeſt man!"

Mr. Burke had already been elected for Malton, in Yorkſhire, when the Briſtol merchants invited him to ſtand for their city; and he acceeded to the requeſt with the conſent of his new conſtituents. He and Mr. Cruger were elected; though the latter had ſo little of the orator to recommend him, that he could expreſs his approbation and adoption of Mr. Burke's principles only by exclaiming, "I ſay ditto to Mr. Burke! I ſay ditto to Mr. Burke!"

Charles James Fox, ſecond ſon of lord Holland, was now riſing to the firſt rank of ſenators. He had hitherto been a ſupporter of lord North: but his indolence, and his habit of aſſociating with ſeveral members of oppoſition procured his diſmiſſal. He now became an oppoſition leader himſelf, and ſoon taught his lordſhip how much he had loſt. American affairs growing ſtill worſe, petitions againſt the war came in from every quarter; and among the reſt, one from the manufacturers of Birmingham, praying that the houſe would take their ſufferings into conſideration. This petition was ably, though unſucceſsfully ſupported by Mr. Burke, to whom, for his zeal, the petitioners preſented a very flattering addreſs of thanks on the 5th of February, 1775. On the 22d of March, in the ſame year, Mr Burke brought forwards his reſolution for reconcilement, which he prefaced by what is generally called his 'Speech of Conciliation;'—one of the greateſt efforts of his great mind, and from which, combined with his ſpeech on American taxation, the reader may derive more acquaintance with the hiſtory and impolicy of the American conteſt, than from any other work extant. Previouſly to the next ſeſſion, hoſtilities with America were commenced: Parliament opened with a ſpeech declaring the neceſſity of coercion: Burke oppoſed the addreſs; demonſtrating that the miniſter had deceived the nation. He was ſeconded by Mr. Fox. On the 16th of November, Burke brought forwards a new conciliatory bill, the object of which was to renounce the future exerciſe of taxation, without diſcuſſing the abſtract queſtion of right: to repeal all the laws of which the colonies complained; and to paſs an immediate amneſty. He ſupported this propoſition in a ſpeech as eloquent as any of thoſe of the two laſt ſeſſions, but unhappily attended with as little effect. The majorities of the

the miniſter were more weighty than Mr. Burke's arguments.

Dean Tucker's publication on American affairs now called Mr. Burke's attention. The doctor had formerly aſſerted that the oppoſition of the minority to the Stamp-Bill here encouraged the Americans to reſiſtance; and Burke, in his ſpeech on American taxation, had denied the fact, in terms which charged Dr. Tucker with being the tool of a faction, and acting from ſiniſter motives. The dean replied, and did more than reply; he exerted himſelf, but without ſucceſs, to prevent Burke's election for Briſtol. Dr. T. now propoſed a plan for American affairs, different both from that of Burke and that of the miniſter; and this was not leſs than a total relinquiſhment of the colonies by the mother country. Both Burke and his friend Johnſon treated this propoſal with contempt: but the event has proved that it was founded in wiſdom. At length, America declared her independence; an event to which Paine's pamphlet of Common Senſe is ſuppoſed to have greatly contributed.

The efforts of the oppoſition continuing to be ineffectual, Mr. Burke, and ſome other leading members of it, withdrew from the houſe on the diſcuſſion of all queſtions relating to America. Seceſſion being uncommon, though not unprecedented, Burke thought himſelf required to juſtify his conduct; and he therefore drew up an addreſs to the king, which, though printed in ſome of the newſpapers, has never been avowed as the production of Mr. Burke. He laid ſimilar ſentiments before the public in a letter to the electors of Briſtol, his conſtituent city; and this letter was anſwered by the earl of Abingdon and by Ed. Topham, eſq.

This year brought out Robertſon's Hiſtory of America. Burke gave an admirable and philoſophical account of that able work in the Annual Regiſter.

In the ſeſſion of 1777, he returned to parliamentary buſineſs with renewed vigour. General Burgoyne had been recently captured; and the affairs of Ireland, as well as the diſaſters of America, now occupied parliament. Burke now grounded his oppoſition rather on the management and expence of the war than on its original impolicy. The capture of Burgoyne was attributed to the incapacity of the miniſter. The employment of the Indians, too, excited the moſt ſevere animadverſions of Mr. Burke; and its cruelty, he ſaid, exceeded any thing recorded in ancient or in modern hiſtory. Lord North himſelf, on the 17th of March, came forwards with a conciliatory plan, namely, to renounce the exerciſe of the right of taxation, and to appoint commiſſioners to treat with America. Burke contended that it was now too late for theſe meaſures, as nothing leſs than independence would ſatisfy America, and that no terms coming from that adminiſtration would be received. The bills paſſed, but the event ſhewed the truth of Burke's reaſoning.

About this period, Burke was defendant in a chancery ſuit, inſtituted againſt him by his old friend lord Verney. His lordſhip charged Burke, his brother, and couſin, with being engaged with him in a ſtock-jobbing ſpeculation, by which great loſs had been incurred; and his lordſhip ſtated that he, who had been

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the oſtenſible perſon, had been obliged to make good the engagements, and that, on applying to Burke to defray his ſhare of the debt, it was refuſed. Mr. Burke, on oath, diſclaimed any connection with his lordſhip in that tranſaction, and the bill was therefore diſmiſſed.—In the attack of oppoſition on lord Shelburne, on the inquiry into the conduct of the Howes, and on the declaration of war by Spain, Mr. Burke ſucceſſively diſtinguiſhed himſelf. In the debates on Iriſh affairs, which were again reſumed, he was ſtill more conſpicuous. The troubles of that country, he conſidered as much more dangerous than they really were; for his mind was ſo formed, that whatever ſubject he conſidered made a very deep impreſſion. His ſubſequent hiſtory fully confirms this obſervation. At laſt, however, the miniſter agreed to remove the reſtraints on Iriſh commerce. Mr. Burke and the oppoſition applauded, but not, it is ſaid, with that warmth which the merit of the meaſure deſerved.

On the 11th of February, 1780, Mr. Burke communicated, to the houſe of commons, his plan of reform in the conſtitution of the ſeveral parts of the public economy. His ſpeech, on that occaſion, Dr. Biſſet highly praiſes, both for eloquence and humour: it deſerves praiſe not leſs for its principle.—During the remainder of this parliament, which was diſſolved in July, 1780, Mr. Burke, though he continued to exert himſelf with his party, ſeems to have added nothing to his celebrity. In conſequence of the difference of opinion between him and the electors of Briſtol, on Iriſh affairs, he reſolved to decline ſtanding again for that city, and, previouſly to the diſſolution, delivered a very maſterly ſpeech, comprehending an account of the proceedings in parliament, and the principles on which he himſelf had acted.

On the 19th of February, 1781, he revived his plan of economy. This attempt was principally marked by the preſent William Pitt having made, on that occaſion, his firſt ſpeech in parliament, who was then only twenty-two years of age, and who, in ſome meaſure, joined the party which was headed by Burke and Fox, but maintained the ſentiments of his father reſpecting the independence of America. Mr. Sheridan appeared in the houſe of commons about the ſame time.

We next find Mr. Burke oppoſing lord North in certain regulations of the profits and territorial acquiſitions of the India company: which, he contended, was a violation of chartered rights; and, in the end of the ſeſſion, we find him making a motion concerning the extreme rigour that had been uſed towards the inhabitants of St. Euſtatius after the capture of that iſland. Burke united his talents with thoſe of Fox, Pitt, Sheridan, and Dunning, for an inquiry into the American war: but the motion was rejected, and the ſeſſion ended.

In 1782, the oppoſition recommenced their attack on the miniſtry, by Mr. Fox moving an accuſation againſt lord Sandwich. Mr. Burke ſupported the motion; and, though it was loſt, the minority appeared ſo ſtrong as to indicate the ſpeedy fall of the miniſter. General Conway, a few days afterward, led on another aſſault, by moving for an addreſs to his majeſty to put an

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end to the war. Burke ſupported this motion alſo with all his powers, and it was loſt by a majority of *one* only.—Five days afterwards the ſame motion, in a different form, was moved, and carried by a majority of nineteen: the miniſter then reſigned, and a new adminiſtration was formed, of which the marquis of Rockingham was the nominal and Mr. Fox the real head. Burke was appointed paymaſter-general.

Of the new miniſtry, the firſt ſtep was to offer peace to the Dutch, which they received very coldly; the next was a meſſage from his majeſty recommending a retrenchment of expences, which was followed by an adoption (with ſeveral modifications) of Mr. Burke's economical reform-bill.—The proceedings of the houſe on the Middleſex election were expunged from the journals, and the legiſlature of Ireland was declared independent. The head of this popular adminiſtration lived not long to enjoy the thanks of his country; the marquis dying July 1, 1782. The celebrated inſcription on his mauſoleum, in Wentworth-Park, was the compoſition of Mr. Burke.

On the death of the marquis, it was ſuppoſed, by the party, that the duke of Portland was to ſucceed him. Lord Shelburne, however, without conſulting the other members of adminiſtration, procured the appointment for himſelf.—Meſſrs. Fox and Burke immediately reſigned; each, in an able ſpeech, detailing the reaſons of his reſignation.

Lord Shelburne was known to be adverſe to the independence of America, which Mr. Burke and Mr. Fox conſidered as a neceſſary preliminary to peace. In the Rockingham adminiſtration, Mr. Pitt had been offered a high appointment; which he did not accept, his ſentiments, on the ſubject of American independence, being oppoſite to thoſe of that party. He abſtained from much connection with Mr. Fox and Mr. Burke; and, while they were in power, he brought forwards his celebrated motion for a reform in parliament. When lord Shelburne was made firſt lord of the treaſury, Mr. Pitt was appointed chancellor of the exchequer. He did not *then* repeat his motion for reform.

During the winter, a negociation was opened for peace, which was concluded in January, 1783. Previouſly to the meeting of parliament, in December, 1782, the coalition of Mr. Fox and lord North was arranged, and commenced their oppoſition to the new miniſtry by an attack on the principles on which it was formed; and, ſometime afterward, they ſeverely arraigned the terms of peace. Though the coalition of two parties, which had ſo virulently oppoſed each other on principles, was odious to the nation, it was yet ſtrong in the houſe; and a vote of cenſure was paſſed on the miniſtry, in conſequence of which the miniſters reſigned. A new adminiſtration was again formed, conſiſting of the duke of Portland, lords Loughborough and North, Meſſrs. Fox, Burke, and their friends:—Burke filling his former place of paymaſter-general; which, we are told, he accepted for the ſake of reform. Several popular and uſeful meaſures marked their firſt ſeſſion. Eaſt-India affairs began

gan to be a ſubject of diſcuſſion, but no bill on that ſubject was yet propoſe.

However ſtrong this adminiſtration appeared, from its numerous ſupporters, and its great weight of ariſtocratic influence, there yet was a latent flaw in its conſtitution: it was forced on the ſovereign; and we may add, that it had loſt, by the coalition, the confidence of the people. Mr. Fox's India bill put its ſtrength to the trial. With the hiſtory of that meaſure, the public are well acquainted: the object of the bill was to veſt the management of the territorial and commercial affairs of the company in the hands of commiſſioners appointed by the legiſlature, and approved by the crown, and who were to hold their offices by the ſame tenure as the judges of England. Mr. Pitt and Mr. Dundas oppoſed the bill in the commons (where however it paſſed), as an infringement of the company's charter, and as dangerous to the crown and conſtitution, by the eſtabliſhment of an influence independent of the legiſlature. Burke made, at the ſecond reading of the bill, a ſpeech equal to any that he had ever ſpoken, and alluded to thoſe crimes of the company's ſervants which afterward formed the ground of his impeachment of Mr. Haſtings. In the houſe of peers, without any new arguments againſt it, it was thrown out. It was underſtood in the houſe of commons, that many peers had been told, by authority, that thoſe would not be conſidered as friends of the ſovereign who ſhould vote for the bill. Of this moſt unconſtitutional influence, the commons complained, but ineffectually: a change of adminiſtration was then reſolved: the principal members were diſmiſſed, and a general reſignation of employments followed. Mr. Pitt was again made chancellor of the exchequer, and became the firſt inſtance of a new miniſter without a majority to ſupport him. The houſe of commons remonſtrated, but Mr. Pitt continued in office. To aſcertain the ſenſe of the people parliament was diſſolved; and the experiment ſucceeded: for, in the new parliament, Mr. Pitt had a conſiderable majority.

The new parliament met in May, 1784; and Mr. Burke's firſt buſineſs was to oppoſe a ſcrutiny into Mr. Fox's election; which, however, was carried. Soon afterward, he made a motion for a repreſentation to the king, vindicating oppoſition, and cenſuring the miniſter: this motion was negatived without a diviſion. Mr. Pitt was now engaged in preparatory meaſures to ſmooth the way for his India-bill, which he afterward introduced. He differed from Mr. Fox's bill, in allowing the company to retain the management of their commercial concerns, and placed the territorial poſſeſſions under the conduct of the executive government, inſtead of the independent board of Mr. Fox. This gentleman and Mr. Burke oppoſed it, as tending to increaſe the influence of the crown, while it was inefficient as to its great object.

From this period, Mr. Burke's reputation ſeems to have begun its decline. His talents and eloquence were treated, by many in the houſe, with a diſreſpect which they never before experienced; and, indeed, the prolixity and inaptitude of the orator's 'luxuriant expatiations' were ſometimes an interruption to the public buſineſs. His paſſion and irritability, which often hurried him into

into the moſt violent expreſſions, tended to provoke the treatment which he experienced. While he ſpoke, ſeveral members made a point of coughing, beating the ground with their feet, and even hooting; which increaſed his irritation to ſuch a degree, that he frequently fell into the moſt outrageous fits of paſſion.

In the beginning of July, he began his attack on Mr. Haſtings, by propoſing a ſtring of reſolutions, as a foundation for an inquiry into the conduct of that gentleman. Mr. Pitt oppoſed the reſolutions, becauſe there were not proofs of the facts which Burke had ſtated. Mr. Burke, however, perſevering in a declamatory re-aſſertion of his charges, was at length overpowered by a loud and continual clamour. During the remainder of the ſeſſion, he made no conſiderable exertions.

Dr. Johnſon being now near his end, Burke frequently viſited him. One day he went in company with Mr. Windham and ſeveral other gentlemen; and Burke expreſſing his fear leſt ſo much company ſhould be oppreſſive to the invalid, "No, ſir (ſaid Johnſon), it is not ſo; and I muſt be in a wretched ſtate indeed, when your company would not delight me." He continued, in a tremulous voice, "My dear ſir, you have always been too good to me!" This was the laſt meeting of the two friends.

In this year (1784) Mr. Burke was choſen lord-rector of the univerſity of Glaſgow. Jan. 25, 1785, parliament met, and Burke exerted himſelf in a ſpeech, on the payment of the nabob of Arcot's debts, which the board of controul had directed to be charged on the Carnatic revenues. On April 18, Mr. Pitt made a motion for a parliamentary reform. He was ſupported by Mr. Fox; but Mr. Burke declared himſelf inimical to any change in the repreſentation, and ſtrongly reprobated the diſſemination of doctrines which tended to perſuade the people that the inequality of franchiſes was a grievance. The bill was loſt by a large majority. The commercial propoſitions, for an adjuſtment of trade with Ireland, the object of which was to allow the mutual importation of the manufactures of each country into the other on equal terms, were in this ſeſſion diſcuſſed and ſupported by Mr. Burke. They paſſed the Britiſh parliament, but were not accepted by the parliament of Ireland.

Previouſly to the ſeſſion, which began Jan. 1786, Mr. Haſtings had returned to Europe; and, on the 17th of February, Mr. Burke again called the attention of the houſe to that gentleman's conduct in India, and his labours on that ſubject terminated in the parliamentary impeachment of Mr. Haſtings. His motives, in the commencement and proſecution of that meaſure, have not eſcaped cenſure: by ſome he is charged with malice, by others with the hope of gain. Dr. Biſſet vindicates him from entertaining any diſhonourable view in that buſineſs, and ſhews, that the proſecution of Mr. Haſtings became neceſſary, from what was diſcloſed before the ſelect committee of the houſe of commons, to whom was referred the conſideration of certain petitions on the uſurpation of the judicial power in India.

The attention of the public was diverted from the impeachment, to the conteſt excited by the queſtion of regency. On its being aſcer-

tained that a temporary incapacity exiſted for exerciſing the functions of government, Mr. Fox's idea was, that during the incapacity there was a temporary demiſe of the crown; and that, therefore, the next heir ſhould aſſume, for the time, the powers of government. Mr. Pitt's opinion was, that in ſuch a caſe it reſted with parliament to ſupply the deficiency. Burke ſupported the opinion of Mr. Fox, in language the moſt intemperate, and by conduct the moſt violent. So intemperate indeed, and ſo violent was he, that even his aſſociates and coadjutors expreſſed their diſapprobation. He drew up the queſtions addreſſed to Mr. Gill, the lord-mayor, which contained very bitter invectives againſt adminiſtration; he alſo wrote an anſwer to Mr. Pitt's letter to the prince; and in both of theſe compoſitions, he ſeems to be in poſſeſſion of his former powers.

Of his private affairs, we are told he was not careful. Although free from the extravagance of profligacy, he was habitually liable to the waſte of inattention; and, conſequently, he was generally embarraſſed. Several reports, of unjuſtifiable means uſed by him to recruit his finances, had been circulated by his enemies, but of ſuch aſſertions there is no evidence. Burke had a beneficent mind. In a deſire to be extenſively uſeful, he ſtudied phyſic; but, in a miſtake of practice, he was near poiſoning his wife. Mrs. Burke being ill, her huſband undertook to make up a draught which had been ordered for her: but, unfortunately miſtaking one phial for another, he gave her *laudanum*. The immediate application of antidotes ſaved her life.

Mr. Burke now loſt his laſt ſurviving friend, ſir Joſhua Reynolds: among whoſe papers was found a cancelled bond, from Burke, for 2000*l.*: and ſir Joſhua bequeathed to him 2000*l.* more. Concerning ſir Joſhua's elegant diſcourſes to the royal academy, Dr. Biſſet denies that Mr. Burke was the author.—Burke wrote a character of Reynolds, which deſerves praiſe for its compoſition, and beſpeaks the warmth of the writer's friendſhip.

A ſhort time before the demiſe of ſir Joſhua, another of Burke's early friends, Mr. Gerrard Hamilton, departed this life. He was a man to whom Mr. Burke owed much: from whom he early ſeparated, and with whom he afterward refuſed to be intimate. The judgement which he very early paſſed on Burke, deſerves to be known, becauſe it continued to be juſt, when applied to him at the lateſt time of life. "Whatever opinion (ſaid Mr. Hamilton), Burke, from any motive, ſupports, ſo ductile is his imagination that he ſoon conceives it to be right."

We now come to the laſt and moſt important epoch in the life of Mr. Burke—the French revolution: that point, whence, if he did not really turn back in the orbit in which he had hitherto ſhone ſo brightly, as the able advocate of popular right and liberty, he certainly appeared, at leaſt to common eyes, to become retrograde.

Mr. Burke was now the declared enemy of the French revolution. He had applied himſelf, with much induſtry, to collect information reſpecting the events which took place at Paris; and he received letters, among others, from Thomas Paine, Mr. Chriſtie, and Baron Cloots. It was in anſwer to one of theſe letters, which endeavoured to trick out

the revolution in its moſt gaudy colouring, that he wrote his celebrated "Reflections." The ſentiments declared by Meſſrs. Fox and Sheridan in the houſe of commons, and in Dr. Price's ſermon at the Old Jewry, induced him to enlarge the firſt ſketch of that work, until it aſſumed the form in which it appeared before the public in October, 1790.

The firſt public mark of approbation, with which this extraordinary compoſition was honoured, was an addreſs from the univerſity of Oxford. It was propoſed, by many members of that learned body, that the univerſity ſhould confer the degree of LL.D. on the author: but the propoſal was rejected by ſeven to ſix, from an apprehenſion, it is ſaid, that the degree would not have met with the unanimous votes of the members of convocation. The addreſs, which came from the reſident graduates, was conceived in terms very flattering to Mr. Burke and his performance. It was conveyed by Mr. Windham, of Norfolk, through whom Mr. Burke returned his anſwer. The miniſtry and their friends conceived an opinion not leſs favourable than that of the univerſity of Oxford, with reſpect to Mr. Burke's publication; but ſeveral men of the higheſt talents, the majority of Mr. Burke's former aſſociates, the very ableſt of thoſe in the houſe of commons, and ſome of the ableſt in the houſe of peers, and all thoſe who entertained high ſpeculative notions of liberty, while they admired the execution, condemned the tendency of the "Reflections." The firſt anſwer to this work came from the ready pen of Dr. Prieſtley, who vindicated Dr. Price's opinion, concerning the ſource and tenure of monarchical power in England, and gave a prediction very different from that of Burke as to the effects to be expected from the principles which produced the French revolution; from which he foreboded "the enlargement of liberty, the melioration of ſociety, and the increaſe of virtue and of happineſs." This reply was followed by the much more celebrated one of T. Paine, intituled, "The Rights of Man," the plain perſpicuity of whoſe language, the force of whoſe expreſſions, and the directneſs of whoſe efforts, wore ſo much the appearance of clear and ſtrong reaſoning, that numbers, borne down by his bold aſſertions, ſuppoſed themſelves convinced by his arguments. The next publication of Mr. Burke was his "Second Letter to a Member of the National Aſſembly," in which, after having retouched the ſeveral topics of the "Reflections," he now carries his view to the effects of the revolution on private and ſocial happineſs, and labours to prove that the plans of education and civil regulations, which the aſſembly had formed, ſprang from the ſame ſource of untried theory, and tended to the ſame diſorder and miſery.—Knowing that Rouſſeau was the model held up to the imitation of their youth, he analyſes the character of Jean Jaques, along with thoſe of Voltaire and Helvetius.

In 1791, in diſcuſſing the bill for forming a conſtitution for Canada, Burke again introduced the ſubject of the French revolution, of which he talked in the ſame ſtrain as formerly. Mr. Fox replied; and, after having declared his attachment to the conſtitution of this country, he repeated his praiſes of the French revolution, expreſſed his diſſent from Mr. Burke's opinions on that ſubject,

ject, and contended, that they were inconſiſtent with his former principles. Mr. Burke complained that he had been treated by Mr. Fox with "harſhneſs and malignity," denied the charge of inconſiſtency, defended his opinions relative to the French revolution, and ſaid that, though Mr. Fox and he had often differed, there had been no breach of friendſhip: but, he added, "there is ſomething in this curſed French conſtitution which envenoms every thing." Mr. Fox whiſpered, "there is no breach of friendſhip between us." Burke anſwered, "there is! I know the price of my conduct; our friendſhip is at an end!" Thus prompt was Mr. Burke to terminate a friendſhip which had been cemented by ſo many ties, and had laſted for ſo many years! It is ſaid that the animoſity ariſing from political differences had been aggravated by ſome critical obſervations that Mr. Fox had made on the "Reflections," which he called rather "the effuſion of poetic genius, than a philoſophical inveſtigation." This difference between Mr. Fox and Mr. Burke was noticed by the whig club; who, by a publication in the Morning Chronicle, of May 12, 1791, declared Mr. Fox to have maintained the pure doctrines by which the whigs of England were bound together. That publication gave riſe to Mr. Burke's "Appeal from the New to the Old Whigs;" in which he defends his reaſonings on the French revolution, and endeavours to prove them to be conſiſtent with the principles that he always profeſſed, and with thoſe which diſtinguiſhed the old whigs.

On the annunciation by the French ambaſſador of the acceptance of the new conſtitution by the king, Burke wrote his "Hints for a Memorial," to be delivered to M. de Montmorin; which went to prove, firſt, that no revolution is to be expected in France from internal cauſes ſolely; ſecondly, that the longer the preſent ſyſtem exiſts, the greater will be its ſtrength; and, thirdly, that, as long as it exiſts, it would be the intereſt of the revolutioniſts to diſtract and revolutionize other countries.

The proceſs of affairs in France had now greatly increaſed the violence of thoſe who in this country demanded parliamentary reform. Burke oppoſed every idea on that ſubject which was delivered in parliament, with great vehemence and perſeverance; and ſoon after the retreat of the king of Pruſſia and the ſucceſſes of the republicans, he wrote the "Second Memorial," contained in his poſthumous work; in which he exhorts this country to take the lead in forming a general combination for the repreſſion of French power and French principles.

At the commencement of the war, he had ſent his ſon (with the approbation of government) to Coblentz, in order to collect information relative to the diſpoſition of the allied powers; and from him he learned how little was to be expected from them without the interpoſition of Great Britain. During this period, in which Burke, though now at his grand climacteric, continued to make the moſt brilliant diſplay of his parliamentary eloquence, he appeared peculiarly deſirous of impreſſing Mr. Fox with his own notions on the French revolution: but, diſappointed in theſe attempts, he felt the moſt extreme

diſpleaſure: to which he gave vent in his letter to the duke of Portland, "on the Conduct of domeſtic Parties." This letter, it is ſaid, was not deſigned for publication: but a rough draft having been copied by the amanuenſis whom he employed, it was printed in the beginning of the year 1797, under the title of "Fifty-four Articles of Impeachment againſt the Right Hon. Charles James Fox." On hearing of the publication, Burke diſclaimed nothing but the intention of giving it to the world; and he ſaid that it was written in conſequence of the whig club's declaration reſpecting the difference between him and Mr. Fox, which had induced Mr. Burke, Mr. Windham, and ſome others, to withdraw their names from the club. The aſperity with which Burke cenſures the conduct and principles of Mr. Fox, in this pamphlet, cannot poſſibly be juſtified.

Towards the cloſe of the year 1793, he wrote the third Memorial, intituled, "Remarks on the Policy of the Allies with reſpect to France." In this work, he complains that the object of the allies is private aggrandizement, inſtead of the ſupport of legitimate government; and he adviſes, as the only means of reſtoring order, religion, and property in France, that the chief direction of every thing relative to her internal affairs ſhould be committed to the emigrants, whom he calls "Moral France!"

Agreeably to the reſolution which Mr. Burke had long formed, of retiring from parliament when the trial of Mr. Haſtings ſhould be finiſhed, he, in this ſummer, reſigned his ſeat:—a ſentence having been paſſed on Mr. Haſtings.

On the 2d of Auguſt, 1794, Mr. Burke loſt his ſon, a gentleman who is ſaid to have given proofs of conſiderable abilities, and for whom his father entertained the moſt enthuſiaſtic affection. Another letter from Mr. Burke, defending his conduct and his celebrated "Reflections," in anſwer to ſome obſervations which had fallen from the duke of Norfolk in parliament, is the only publication, beſides thoſe that we have mentioned, which he gave to the world until royal bounty rewarded his ſervices by a penſion ſettled on him and Mrs. Burke. The duke of Bedford and lord Lauderdale, in the beginning of 1796, made ſome obſervations on Burke's penſion: which called forth a letter to lord Fitzwilliam, in which Mr. Burke boldly and confidently aſſerts his own ſervices, while he takes a retroſpect of thoſe by which the duke's anceſtors acquired their property.

From this period, Mr. Burke's time was ſpent in the boſom of his family: his hoſpitality to the emigrants, the eſtabliſhment, by his influence, of a ſchool for their children; and his promotion of friendly clubs among the poor in his neighbourhood; are the moſt ſtriking features that diſtinguiſh the period of his retirement. His next work was intituled, "Thoughts on a Regicide Peace," publiſhed when the firſt overtures were made by government for an accommodation. Mr. Burke's bad ſtate of health now made it neceſſary for him to viſit Bath, whence, however, he returned in the enſuing ſpring. He then proceeded in the plan of which the "Thoughts on a Regicide Peace" were a part; but he did not live to finiſh it.

His

His health, from the beginning of June, rapidly declined; but his body only, not his mind, was affected. His underſtanding operated with undiminiſhed force and uncontracted range: his diſpoſitions retained their ſweetneſs and amiableneſs. He continued regularly and ſtrenuouſly to perform the duties of religion and benevolence. Although his body was in a ſtate of conſtant and perceptible decay, yet was it without pain. The week in which he died he converſed with literary and political friends, on various ſubjects, and eſpecially on the awful poſture of affairs. He repeatedly requeſted their forgiveneſs, if ever he had offended them, and conjured them to make the ſame requeſt in his name to thoſe of his friends that were abſent. Friday, July the 7th, he ſpent the morning in a recapitulation of the moſt important acts of his life, the circumſtances in which he acted, and the motives by which he was prompted; ſhewed that his comprehenſive mind retained the whole ſeries of public affairs, and diſcuſſed his own conduct in the arduous ſituation he had had to encounter. He expreſſed his forgiveneſs of all who had, either on that ſubject, or for any other cauſe, endeavoured to injure him. The evening he ſpent in leſs agitating converſation, and in liſtening to the eſſays of Addiſon, his favourite author. He frequently had, during his laſt illneſs, declared, what his intimates knew well before, his thorough belief of the Chriſtian religion, his veneration for true Chriſtians of all perſuaſions; but his own preference of the articles of the church of England. In that mode of faith he was educated, and that he preſerved through life. He had converſed for ſome time, with his uſual force of thought and expreſſion, on the gloomy ſtate of his country, for the welfare of which his heart was intereſted to the laſt beat. His young friend, Mr. Nagle, coming to his bed-ſide, after much intereſting and tender converſation, he expreſſed a deſire to be carried to another apartment. Mr. Nagle, with the aſſiſtance of ſervants, was complying with this requeſt, when Mr. Burke faintly uttering, "God bleſs you!" fell back, and breathed his laſt, Saturday, July 8th, 1797, in the ſixty-eighth year of his age.*

On Saturday, the 15th, he was interred in Beaconsfield church: his funeral being attended by many noblemen and gentlemen, with whom his latter habits had led him to intimacy. In his will, which is written thoroughly in his own ſtyle, he bequeathed all his property to his wife; with the exception of one or two legacies. She was conſtituted ſole executrix; the teſtator ſoliciting for her, however, the aſſiſtance of Dr. King and Dr. Lawrence.

Treatment of their Cows, by the Mountaineers of Switzerland; from Ebel's Deſcription of the Tribes which inhabit the Mountainous Parts of Switzerland.

THE mountaineer lives with his cows in a conſtant exchange of reciprocal acts of gratitude: the lat-

* We refer our readers to the Chronicle of our Regiſter for 1797, for ſome farther particulars of his death, and to the department of Characters in the ſame volume for Mr. Burke's will.

ter affording him almoſt whatever he wants; and the *Senn* in return providing for and cheriſhing them ſometimes more than his own children. He never ill-treats his cattle, nor makes uſe of a ſtick or a whip: a perfect cordiality ſeems to prevail between both; and the voice of the keeper is ſufficient to guide and govern the whole herd. The cow, in the canton of Appenzell, enjoys more of that regard which is due to every uſeful creature, and is altogether more comfortable, than millions of human beings in Europe; who, placed under the influence of the cudgel and the *knout*, have too much reaſon to curſe their exiſtence. Is it poſſible that, at the end of the eighteenth, or (as it is termed) the philoſophical century, this parallel ſhould be correct to ſuch a revolting degree! Shocking reality!

Fine cattle are the pride of the cow-keeper who inhabits the Alps: but, not ſatisfied with their natural beauty, he will likewiſe pleaſe his vanity. He adorns his beſt cows with large bells ſuſpended from broad thongs; and the expence in ſuch bells is carried even to a luxurious exceſs. Every *Senn* has an harmonious ſet of at leaſt two or three bells, chiming in with the famous *ranz des vaches*. The inhabitants of the Tyrol bring a number of ſuch bells, of all ſizes, to every fair kept in the canton of Appenzell. They are fixed to a broad ſtrap, neatly pinked, cut out, and embroidered; which is faſtened round the cow's neck by means of a large buckle. A bell of the largeſt ſize meaſures upwards of a foot in diameter, is of an uniform width at top, ſwells out in the middle, and tapers towards the end. It coſts from forty to fifty gilders; and the whole peal of bells, including the thongs, will ſometimes be worth between 140 and 150 gilders, while the whole apparel of the *Senn* himſelf, when beſt attired, does not amount to the price of twenty gilders. The fineſt black cow is adorned with the largeſt bell, and thoſe next in appearance have two ſmaller. Theſe ornaments, however, are not worn on every day, but only on ſolemn occaſions, viz. when, in the ſpring, they are driven up the Alps, or removed from one paſture to another; or when they deſcend in the autumn, or travel in the winter to the different farms, where their owner has contracted for hay. On ſuch days, the *Senn*, even in the depth of winter, appears dreſſed in a fine white ſhirt, of which the ſleeves are rolled up above the elbow; neatly embroidered red braces keep up his yellow linen trowſers, which reach down to the ſhoes; a ſmall leather cap, or hat, covers his head; and a new milk bowl, of wood ſkilfully carved, hangs acroſs the left ſhoulder. Thus arrayed, the *Senn* precedes ſinging the *ranz des vaches*, and followed by three or four fine goats; next comes the handſomeſt cow with the great bell; then the two other cows with ſmaller bells; and theſe are ſucceeded by the reſt of the cattle walking one after another, and having in their rear the bull with a one-legged milking ſtool hanging on his horns; the proceſſion is cloſed by a *traineau*, or ſledge, on which are placed the implements for the dairy. It is ſurpriſing to ſee how proud and pleaſed the cows ſtalk forth when ornamented with their bells. Who would imagine that even theſe animals are ſenſible of their rank; nay, touched with vanity and jealouſy! If the leading

cow,

cow, who hitherto bore the largeſt bell, be deprived of her honours, ſhe very plainly manifeſts her grief at the diſgrace, by lowing inceſſantly, abſtaining from food, and growing lean. The happy rival, on whom the diſtinguiſhing badge of ſuperiority has devolved, experiences her marked vengeance, and is butted, wounded, and perſecuted by her in the moſt furious manner; until the former either recovers her bell, or is entirely removed from the herd. However ſingular this phænomenon may appear, it is placed beyond all doubt by the concurring teſtimony of centuries.

The cows, when diſperſed on the Alps, are brought together by the voice of the *Senn*, who is then ſaid to allure them *(locken)*. How well the cattle diſtinguiſh the note of their keeper appears from the circumſtance of their haſtening to him, though at a great diſtance, whenever he begins to hum the *ranz des vaches*. He furniſhes that cow which is wont to ſtray fartheſt with a ſmall bell, and knows by her arrival that all the reſt are aſſembled.

The famous paſtoral ſong of the Swiſs mountaineers, known by the name of *Kuhreihen*, or *ranz des vaches*, is very frequently heard in Innerooden. It neither conſiſts of articulated ſounds, nor is it ever ſung by the cowherds with words to it: all the tones of it are ſimple, and moſtly formed within the throat. Hence the tune produces very little or no motion of the jawbones, and its ſounds do not reſemble thoſe which commonly iſſue from the human throat, but rather ſeem to be the tones of ſome wind inſtrument; particularly as ſcarcely any breathing is perceived, and as the cowherds ſometimes ſing for minutes together without fetching breath.

Progreſs of the Turks in various Branches of Literature; from Eton's Survey of the Turkiſh Empire.

ASTRONOMY.] From the muſti to the peaſant it is generally believed, that there are ſeven heavens, from which the earth is immoveably ſuſpended by a large chain: that the ſun is an immenſe ball of fire, at leaſt as big as a whole Ottoman province, formed for the ſole purpoſe of giving light and heat to the earth: that eclipſes of the moon are occaſioned by a great dragon attempting to devour that luminary: that the fixed ſtars hang by chains from the higheſt heaven, &c. Theſe abſurdities are in part ſupported by the teſtimony of the koran; and the aſtronomers, as they are called, themſelves all pretend to aſtrology, a profeſſion ſo much eſteemed, that an aſtrologer is kept in the pay of the court, as well as of moſt great men.

Geography.] Of the relative ſituation of countries they are ridiculouſly ignorant, and all their accounts of foreign nations are mixed with ſuperſtitious fables.

Before the Ruſſian fleet came into the Mediterranean, the miniſters of the Porte would not believe it poſſible for them to approach Conſtantinople but from the Black Sea. The captain paſha [great admiral] affirmed that their fleet might come by the way of Venice. From this and a thouſand ſimilar and authentic anecdotes, their ignorance of the ſituation of countries is evident;

and as to the ſtories which they univerſally believe, they are ſuch as the following: that India is a country far diſtant, where there are diamonds, fine muſlins, and other ſtuffs, and great riches; but that the people are little known; that they are moſtly Mohammedans, but do not acknowledge the kalifat of their ſultan; that the Perſians are a very wicked people, and will be all damned, and changed into aſſes in hell, and that the Jews will ride on them; that the European nations are all wicked infidels, knowing an art of war, which is ſometimes dangerous, but will all be conquered in time, and reduced to the obedience of the ſultan; that their women and children ought to be carried into captivity, that no faith is to be kept with them, and that they ought all to be maſſacred; which is highly meritorious, if they refuſe to become Mohammedans; yet they have among them a prophecy, that the ſons of yellowneſs, which they interpret to be the Ruſſians, are to take Conſtantinople; that the Engliſh are powerful by ſea, and the French and Germans by land; that the Ruſſians are the moſt powerful, and they call them the great infidels; but they are acquainted with no details of theſe countries.

Ancient Hiſtory.] They have heard of an Alexander, who was the greateſt monarch and conqueror, and the greateſt hero in the world. The ſultans often compare themſelves to him in their writings. Sultan Mohammed IV. in his letter to the Ruſſian Tzar Alexius Michailovitch, calls himſelf "Maſter of all the univerſe, and equal in power to Alexander the Great." They talk of him always as the model of heroiſm to be imitated, but they know not who he was. Solomon, they ſay, was the wiſeſt man, and the greateſt magician that ever exiſted. Palmyra and Balbek, they ſay, were built by ſpirits at the command of Solomon.

Poetry and general Literature.] They have a few poets, as they are called, whoſe compoſitions are moſtly little ſongs and ballads; but in theſe, as well as their proſe writings, they differ widely from the ſimplicity of the Arabs, as they abound with falſe conceits; and the language is a barbarous mixture of the Turkiſh with Perſian and Arabic, not unlike that "Babyloniſh dialect" of our puritans, which Butler compares to "fuſtian cut on ſattin."——This will beſt be demonſtrated by an example: ſuppoſing the Latin to be Arabic, and the Perſian French, a Turkiſh mufti, or doctor, would write, if Engliſh were his language, in the following manner:

"I do not love *deplorare vitam*, as many, and *ii docti, ſæpe fecerunt*; nor do I repent that I have lived at all, becauſe I have *ainſi vecu*, as not *fruſtra me natum exiſtimem*: I do not aſſert that *tædium vitæ* proceeds more from want of ſteadineſs in our true religion than from *atra bilis*. If a man deſtroys himſelf, he is either *inſanus*, and a holy fool, or one poſſeſſed *demonis*, or he is *un athée*—an infidel, or a Frank. Pray *Deum* that he may preſerve you againſt thoſe who blow on *nodos ſunum*, and whiſper in the ear."

Language of a Turkiſh poet:] "The eyes of *l'abbreuveuſe** inebriate me more than *le vin*, and *ſes*

* She who pours out the wine.

ſleches

fleches penetrate *la moële de mes os* quicker than thoſe from the bow."—This is the firſt couplet of a ſong in pure Arabic (compoſed by an Arabian) which I have thus written, to ſhew how a Turk would expreſs the ſame ſentiment with reſpect to the language: the genuine Turkiſh compoſitions are ridiculouſly hyperbolical.

It muſt be obſerved, that very few of thoſe, who lard their writings, or diſcourſes, with Arabic or Perſian phraſes, are much acquainted with thoſe languages: but they have learnt the phraſes and terminations moſt in uſe, and know the meaning of a ſentence, without underſtanding each word ſeparately, or having much idea of the grammar.

Intereſting Anecdotes of the Princeſs Tarrakanoff, Daughter of the Empreſs Elizabeth of Ruſſia: from Tooke's Life of Catharine II.

IT has already been mentioned, that the empreſs Elizabeth had three children by her clandeſtine marriage with the grand-veneur Alexèy Gregorievitch Razumoffſky. The youngeſt of theſe children was a girl, brought up under the name of princeſs Tarrakanoff. Prince Radzivil, informed of this ſecret, and irritated at Catharine's trampling under foot the rights of the Poles, conceived that the daughter of Elizabeth would furniſh him with a ſignal means of revenge. He thought that it would not be in vain if he oppoſed to the ſovereign, whoſe armies were ſpreading deſolation over his unhappy country, a rival whoſe mother's name ſhould render her dear to the Ruſſians. Perhaps his ambition might ſuggeſt to him yet more lofty hopes. Perhaps he might flatter himſelf with being one day enabled to mount the throne on which he intended to place the young Tarrakanoff. However this be, he gained over the perſons to whom the education of this princeſs was committed, carried her off, and conveyed her to Rome.*

Catharine having intelligence of this tranſaction, took immediate ſteps to fruſtrate the deſigns of prince Radzivil. Taking advantage of the circumſtance of his being the chief of the confederacy of the malcontents, ſhe cauſed all his eſtates to be ſeized, and reduced him to the neceſſity of living on the produce of the diamonds and the other valuable effects he had carried with him to Italy. Theſe ſupplies were ſoon exhauſted. Radzivil ſet out in order to pick up what intelligence he could concerning affairs in Poland, leaving the young Tarrakanoff at Rome, under the care of a ſingle gouvernante, and in circumſtances extremely confined. Scarcely had he reached his own country, when an offer was made to reſtore him his poſſeſſions, on condition that he would take his young ward to Ruſſia. He refuſed to ſubmit to ſo diſgraceful a propoſal; but he had the weakneſs to promiſe that he would give himſelf no farther concern about the daughter of Elizabeth. This was the price of his pardon.

Alexèy Orloff, charged with the execution of the will of the empreſs, ſeized the firſt moment, on his arrival at Leghorn, of laying a ſnare for the princeſs Tarrakanoff.

* In 1767 mademoiſelle Tarrakanoff was about twelve years of age.

One

One * of those intriguers, who are so common in Italy, repaired immediately to Rome; and, after having discovered the lodgings of the young Russian, he introduced himself to her in a military dress, and under the name of an officer. He told her that he had been brought thither by the sole desire of paying homage to a princess whose fate and fortunes were highly interesting to all her countrymen. He seemed very much affected at the state of destitution in which he found her. He offered her some assistance, which necessity forced her to accept; and the traitor soon appeared to this unfortuate lady, as well as to the woman that waited on her, in the light of a saviour whom heaven had sent to her deliverance.

When he thought he had sufficiently gained their confidence, he declared that he was commissioned, by count Alexius Orloff, to offer to the daughter of Elizabeth the throne that had been filled by her mother. He said that the Russians were discontented with Catharine; that Orloff especially could never forgive her for her ingratitude and her tyranny; and that, if the young princess would accept of the services of that general, and recompense him by the grant of her hand, it would not be long ere she saw the breaking out of that revolution which he had prepared.

Proposals so brilliant ought naturally to have opened the eyes of the princess Tarrakanoff, and shewn her the treachery of him that made them. But her inexperience, and her candour, permitted her not to suspect any guile. Besides, the language of the emissary of Alexius Orloff seemed analogous with the notions she had imbibed from prince Radzivil. She imagined herself destined to the throne; and all the airy dreams that any way related to that opinion could not but encourage the deceit. She accordingly gave herself up to these flattering hopes, and, with a grateful heart, concurred in the designs of him who addressed her only to her destruction.

Some time after this, Alexius Orloff came to Rome. His emissary had already announced him. He was received as a benefactor. However, some persons to whom the princess and her gouvernante communicated the good fortune that was promised them, advised them to be on their guard against the designs of a man whose character for wickedness had been long established, and who, doubtless, had too much reason to remain faithful to the empress to think of conspiring against her. Far from profiting by this good counsel, the princess was so imprudently frank as to speak of it to Alexius Orloff, who, with great ease, delivered his justification, and thenceforth threw a deeper shade of dissimulation and address into his speeches and behaviour. Not satisfied with fanning the ambition of the young Russian, he put on the semblance of a passion for her, and succeeded so far as to inspire her with a true one. So soon as he was assured of it, he conjured her to enter into an union with him by the most sacred ties.

* It was a Neapolitan, named Ribas. He afterwards came to Russia, where he married mademoiselle Anastasia, reputed daughter of M. de Betskoi, and has since been made knight of Malta, and promoted to the rank of vice-admiral of the Black Sea.

She

She unhappily consented; and it was even with joy that the poor unfortunate lady promised to solemnize a marriage which must consummate her ruin. She thought that the title of spouse of count Alexius Orloff would shelter her invincibly from those treacheries which she was taught to apprehend. She entertained not the least suspicion that a man could make religon, and the most sacred titles, subservient to the destruction of an innocent victim. But, alas! Was any religion, was any title, sacred to the barbarian into whose snares she had fallen? He who could strangle the unfortunate Peter III. could he dread to dishonour the daughter of Elizabeth?*

Feigning a desire that the marriage ceremony should be performed according to the ritual of the Greek church, he suborned subaltern villains to disguise themselves as priests and lawyers. Thus profanation was combined with imposture against the unprotected and too confident Tarrakanoff.

When Alexius Orloff was become the husband, or rather the ravisher, of this unhappy princess, he represented to her that their stay at Rome exposed her to too close observation, and that it would be advisable for her to go to some other city of Italy, to wait for the breaking out of the conspiracy that was to call her to the throne. Believing this advice to be dictated by love and prudence, she answered that she would follow him wherever he chose to conduct her. He brought her immediately to Pisa, where he had previously hired a magnificent palace. There he continued to treat her with marks of tenderness and respect. But he permitted none to come near her except persons who were entirely at his devotion; and when she went to the play or to the public promenades, he accompanied her always himself.

The division of the Russian squadron, under the command of admiral Greig, had just entered the port of Leghorn. On relating this news to the princess, Alexius Orloff told her that his presence was necessary at Leghorn, for the purpose of giving some orders, and offered to take her with him. To this she the more readily consented, as she had heard much talk of the beauty of the port of Leghorn, and the magnificence of the Russian ships. Imprudent lady! the nearer she approached the catastrophe of the plot, the more she trusted to the tenderness and the sincerity of her faithless betrayer.

She departed from Pisa with her customary attendance. On arriving at Leghorn, she landed at the house of the English consul, who had prepared for her a suitable apartment, and who received her with the marks of the profoundest respect. Several ladies were early in making their visits, and sedulously attended her on all occasions. She saw herself presently surrounded by a numerous court, eager to be beforehand with all her desires, and seeming to make it their only study incessantly to procure her some new entertainment. Whenever she went out, the people ran in her way. At the theatre, all eyes were direct-

* The fate of the young Tarrakanoff may be compared to that of the daughter of Sejanus; "..... a carnifice laqueum juxta compressam ....." Tacit. Ann. lib. v.

ed

ed to her box. All circumſtances conſpired to lull her into a fatal ſecurity. All tended to diſpel the idea of any danger at hand.

It is, doubtleſs, impoſſible to believe that an Engliſh conſul, an Engliſh admiral, and ladies of their family or acquaintance, could be ſo baſe, ſo inhuman, as to draw into the ſnare, by deceitful reſpect and careſſes, a victim whoſe youth, whoſe beauty, whoſe innocence, was capable of affecting the moſt inſenſible heart. It is not to be imagined that they were in any degree privy to the plot contrived againſt her, and that they ſtudiouſly inſpired her with confidence, only the more infallibly to betray her.

The young Tarrakanoff was ſo far from ſuſpecting her unfortunate ſituation, that, after having paſſed ſeveral days in a round of amuſements and diſſipation, ſhe aſked of herſelf to be ſhewn the Ruſſian fleet. The idea was applauded. The neceſſary orders were immediately given; and the next day, on riſing from table, every thing was ready at the water-ſide for receiving the princeſs. On her coming down, ſhe was handed into a boat with magnificent awnings. The conſul and ſeveral ladies ſeated themſelves with her. A ſecond boat conveyed vice-admiral Greig and count Alexius Orloff; and a third, filled with Ruſſian and Engliſh officers, cloſed the proceſſion. The boats put off from ſhore in ſight of an immenſe multitude of people, and were received by the fleet, with a band of muſic, ſalutes of artillery, and repeated huzzas. As the princeſs came alongſide the ſhip of which ſhe was to go on board, a ſplendid chair was let down from the yard, in which, being ſeated, ſhe was hoiſted upon deck; and it was obſerved to her, that theſe were particular honours paid to her rank.

But no ſooner was ſhe on board than ſhe was handcuffed. In vain ſhe implored for pity of the cruel betrayer, whom ſhe ſtill called her huſband. In vain ſhe threw herſelf at his feet, and watered them with her tears. No anſwer was even vouchſafed to her lamentations. She was carried down into the hold; and the next day the veſſel ſet ſail for Ruſſia.

On arriving at Peterſburg, the young victim was ſhut up in the fortreſs; and what became of her afterward was never known.*

Character of Prince Potemkin; from the ſame.

PRINCE Gregory Alexandrovitch Potemkin was one of the moſt extraordinary men of his times; but in order to have played ſo conſpicuous a part, he muſt have been in Ruſſia, and have lived in the reign of Catharine II. In any other

* It was affirmed by ſome that the waters of the Neva, ſix years afterwards, put an end to her misfortunes, by drowning her in the priſon, in the inundation of 1777. On the 10th of September of that year, a wind, at S. S. W. raiſed the waters of the gulph of Finland, towards the Neva, with a violence ſo extraordinary, that it ſwelled that river to the height of ten feet above its level, and drove many veſſels on ſhore. The author of the intereſting "*Memoires ſecrets ſur l'Italie*," who, ſome time ſince, printed a part of theſe particulars, ſurmiſes that the young Tarrakanoff fell in priſon by the hands of the executioner. The truth is, the grounds are but very ſlight for rendering credible either the one or the other account.

country,

country, in any other times, with any other ſovereign, he would have been miſplaced: and it was a ſingular ſtroke of chance that created this man for the period that tallied with him, and brought together and combined all the circumſtances with which he could tally.

In his perſon were collected the moſt oppoſite defects and advantages of every kind. He was avaricious and oſtentacious, deſpotic and popular, inflexible and beneficent, haughty and obliging, politic and confiding, licentious and ſuperſtitious, bold and timid, ambitious and indiſcreet: laviſh of his bounties to his relations, his miſtreſſes, and his favourites; yet, frequently paying neither his houſehold nor his creditors. His conſequence always depended on a woman, and he was always unfaithful to her. Nothing could equal the activity of his mind, nor the indolence of his body. No dangers could appal his courage; no difficulties force him to abandon his projects. But the ſucceſs of an enterprize always brought on diſguſt.

He wearied the empire by the number of his poſts and the extent of his power. He was himſelf fatigued with the burden of his exiſtence; envious of all that he did not do, and ſick of all that he did. Reſt was not grateful to him, nor occupation pleaſing. Every thing with him was deſultory;—buſineſs, pleaſure, temper, carriage. In every company he had an embarraſſed air, and his preſence was a reſtraint on every company. He was moroſe to all that ſtood in awe of him, and careſſed all ſuch as accoſted him with familiarity.

Ever promiſing, ſeldom keeping his word, and never forgetting any thing. None had read leſs than he; few people were better informed. He had talked with the ſkilful, in all profeſſions, in all the ſciences, in every art, None better knew how to draw forth and appropriate to himſelf the knowledge of others. In converſation he would have aſtoniſhed a ſcholar, an artiſt, an artiſan, and a divine. His information was not deep, but it was very extenſive. He never dived into a ſubject, but he ſpoke well on all ſubjects.

The inequality of his temper was productive of an inconceivable oddity in his deſires, in his conduct, and in his manner of life. One while he formed the project of becoming duke of Courland; at another he thought of beſtowing on himſelf the crown of Poland. He frequently gave intimations of an intention to make himſelf a biſhop, or even a ſimple monk. He built a ſuperb palace and wanted to ſell it before it was finiſhed. One day he would dream of nothing but war; and only officers, Tartars, and kozaks were admitted to him: the next day he was buſied only with politics; he would partition the Ottoman empire, and put in agitation all the cabinets of Europe. At other times, with nothing in his head but the court, dreſſed in a magnificent ſuit, covered with ribbons preſented him by every potentate, diſplaying diamonds of extraordinary magnitude and brillance, he was giving ſuperb entertainments without any cauſe.

He was ſometimes known for a month, and in the face of all the town, to paſs whole evenings at the apartments of a young female, ſeeming to have alike forgot all buſineſs

buſineſs and all decorum. Sometimes, alſo, for ſeveral weeks ſucceſſively, ſhut up in his room with his neices and ſeveral men of his intimates, he would lounge on a ſofa, without ſpeaking, playing at cheſs, or at cards, with his legs bare, his ſhirt-collar unbuttoned, in a morning gown, with a thoughtful front, his eyebrows knit, and preſenting to the view of ſtrangers, who came to ſee him, the figure of a rough and ſqualid kozak.

All theſe ſingularities often put the empreſs out of humour, but rendered him more intereſting to her. In his youth he had pleaſed her by the ardour of his paſſion, by his valour, and by his maſculine beauty. Being arrived at maturity, he charmed her ſtill by flattering her pride, by calming her apprehenſions, by confirming her power, by careſſing her fancies of Oriental empire, the expulſion of the barbarians, and the reſtoration of the Grecian republics.

At eighteen, an under-officer in the horſe-guards, he perſuaded, on the day of the revolution, his corps to take arms, and preſented to Catharine his cockade as an ornament for her ſword. Soon after, become the rival of Orloff, he performed for his ſovereign whatever the moſt romantic paſſion could inſpire. He put out his eye to free it from a blemiſh which diminiſhed his beauty. Baniſhed by his rival, he ran to meet death in battle, and returned with glory. A ſucceſsful lover, he quickly ſhook off the hypocritical farce, whoſe cataſtrophe held out to him the proſpect of an obſcure diſaſter. He himſelf gave favourites to his miſtreſs, and became her confidant, her friend, her general, and her miniſter.

Panin was preſident of the council, and was a ſtickler for the alliance of Pruſſia. Potemkin perſuaded his miſtreſs that the friendſhip of the emperor would be of more uſe to her in realiſing her plans againſt the Turks. He connected her with Joſeph II. and thereby furniſhed himſelf with the means of conquering the Krimea, and the country of the Nogay Tartars, which depended upon it. Reſtoring to theſe regions their ſonorous and ancient names, creating a maritime force at Kerſon and Sevaſtopol, he perſuaded Catharine to come and admire herſelf this new ſcene of his glory. Nothing was ſpared for rendering this journey renowned to the lateſt poſterity. Thither were conveyed, from all parts of the empire, money, proviſions, and horſes. The highways were illuminated. The Boryſthenes was covered with magnificent gallies. A hundred and fifty thouſand ſoldiers were newly equipped. The Kozaks were brought together: the Tartars were diſciplined. Deſerts were peopled for the occaſion; and palaces were raiſed in the trackleſs wild. The nakedneſs of the plains of the Krimea was diſguiſed by villages built on purpoſe, and enlivened by fireworks. Chains of mountains were illuminated. Fine roads were opened by the army. Howling wilderneſſes were transformed into Engliſh gardens. The king of Poland came to pay homage to her who had crowned him, and who afterwards ſtruck him from the throne. The emperor Joſeph II. came himſelf to attend the triumpal progreſs of the empreſs Catharine; and the reſult of this brilliant journey was another war, which the Engliſh and the Pruſſians impoli-

tically inſtigated the Turks to undertake, and which was only a freſh inſtrument to the ambition of Potemkin, by affording him an occaſion to conquer Otchakof, which remained to Ruſſia, and to obtain the grand ribbon of St. George, the only decoration that was wanting to his vanity. But theſe latter triumphs were the term of his life. He died in Moldavia, almoſt by a ſudden ſtroke; and his death, lamented by his nieces and a ſmall number of friends, concerned only his rivals, who were eager to divide his ſpoils, and was very ſoon followed by a total oblivion.

Like the rapid paſſage of thoſe ſhining meteors which aſtoniſh us by their luſtre, but are empty as air, Potemkin began every thing, completed nothing; diſordered the finances, diſorganized the army, depopulated his country, and enriched it with other deſerts. The fame of the empreſs was increaſed by his conqueſts. The admiration they excited was for her; and the hatred they raiſed, for her miniſter. Poſterity, more equitable, will perhaps divide between them both the glory of the ſucceſſes and the ſeverity of the reproaches. It will not beſtow on Potemkin the title of a great man; but it will mention him as an extraordinary perſon: and, to draw his picture with accuracy, he might be repreſented as a real emblem, as the living image of the Ruſſian empire.

For, in fact, he was coloſſal like Ruſſia: in his mind, as in that country, were cultivated diſtricts and deſert plains. It alſo partook of the Aſiatic, of the European, of the Tartarian, and the Kozak; the rudeneſs of the eleventh century, and the corruption of the eighteenth; the ſurface of the arts, and the ignorance of the cloiſters; an outſide of civilization, and many traces of barbariſm. In a word, if we might hazard ſo bold a metaphor, even his two eyes, the one open and the other cloſed, reminded us of the Euxine always open, and the northern ocean ſo long ſhut up with ice.

This portrait may appear gigantic: but thoſe who knew Potemkin will bear witneſs to its truth. That man had great defects; but without them, perhaps, he would neither have got the maſtery of his ſovereign, nor that of his country. He was made by chance preciſely ſuch as he ought to be for preſerving ſo long his power over ſo extraordinary a woman.

Singular Cuſtom among the Inhabitants of New South Wales; from Collins's Account of the Colony in New South Wales.

THE ſhedding of blood is always followed by puniſhment, the party offending being compelled to expoſe his perſon to the ſpears of all who chooſe to throw at him; for, in theſe puniſhments, the ties of conſanguinity or friendſhip are of no avail. On the death of a perſon, whether male or female, old or young, the friends of the deceaſed muſt be puniſhed, as if the death were occaſioned by their neglect. This is ſometimes carried farther than there ſeems occaſion for, or than can be reconcilable with humanity.

After the murder of Yel-lo-way by Wat-te-wal, his widow Nooroc-ing being obliged, according to the cuſtom of her country, to avenge

avenge her huſband's death on ſome of the relations of the murderer, meeting with a little girl, named Go-nang-goo-lie, who was ſome-way related to Wat-te-wal, walked with her and two other girls to a retired place, where, with a club and a pointed ſtone, they beat her ſo cruelly, that ſhe was brought into the town almoſt dead. In the head were ſix or ſeven deep inciſions, and one ear was divided to the bone, which, from the nature of the inſtrument with which they beat her, was much injured. This poor child was in a very dangerous way, and died in a few days afterwards. The natives, to whom this circumſtance was mentioned, expreſſed little or no concern at it, but ſeemed to think it right, neceſſary, and inevitable; and we underſtood, that whenever women have occaſion for this ſanguinary revenge, they never exerciſe it but on their own ſex, not daring to ſtrike a male. Noo-roo-ing, perceiving that her treatment of Gonang-goo-lie did not meet our approbation, denied having beaten her, and ſaid it was the other girls; but ſuch men as we converſed with on the ſubject, aſſured us it was Noo-roo-ing, and added, that ſhe had done no more than what cuſtom obliged her to. The little victim of her revenge was, from her quiet, tractable manners, much beloved in the town; and, what is a ſingular trait of the inhumanity of this proceeding, ſhe had every day, ſince Yel-lo-way's death, requeſted that Noo-roo-ing might be fed at the officer's hut, where ſhe herſelf reſided. Savage indeed muſt be the cuſtom and the feelings which could arm the hand againſt this child's life! Her death was not avenged, perhaps becauſe they conſidered it as an expiatory ſacrifice.

Account of the political Condition of the Levantine Valley, in Switzerland; from Miſs Williams's Tour in Switzerland.

THE Levantine Valley contains ſeveral well-built villages; and the number of inhabitants, who are all Italians, is computed at about twelve thouſand. They have, in general, a look of intelligence, and ſomething of mountain-independence in their manner; but are under complete ſubjection to the democracy of the canton of Uri. The valley is divided into eight vicinanze, or diſtricts, about a league each in extent. The village of Faido, which is ſituated in the midſt of the valley, is the reſidence of the bailiff, or governor, who is elected to this office by the canton of Uri, or who, rather agreeably to the eſtabliſhed mode of election in theſe democracies, purchaſes the place of his fellow-citizens, who know too well the value of money not to make a good bargain of their rights. Once in four years, the inhabitants of this valley behold the cortege of their new ſovereign deſcending from St. Gothard, perhaps with ſomewhat of the ſame ſenſations as the defenceleſs timid bird views the downward flight of the pouncing hawk, darting on his prey.

Theſe ruſtic monarchs of Uri, in coming to govern a people, of whoſe language, manners, and cuſtoms, they are ignorant, do not appear to be animated by the ambition which led Cæſar to wiſh rather to be the firſt man in a village than the ſecond at Rome. They have more

more ſolid views than thoſe of power; that of repleniſhing their treaſury, exhauſted in rewards to their brother ſovereigns, for their free ſuffrages; and, no ſooner are they inſtalled at Barataria, than fines, exactions, and rapacities, of every kind, follow in their train, and every reſiſtance to lawful authority meets with condign puniſhment: as the hiſtory of each of theſe ſubject-vallies can tell, the hearts of whoſe inhabitants have ſometimes ſwelled beyond endurance at the extortion of their harpy governors.

The people of the valley revolted againſt their ſovereign of Uri, in the beginning of this century, and obtained certain privileges, which their deſcendants, by another revolt, thirty or forty years ſince, have imprudently forfeited. Stung into diſobedience, by ſome act of proconſular tyranny, they took up arms againſt their ſovereign, and put themſelves into a moſt open and daring inſurrection. The canton of Schweitz had, on a former occaſion, undertaken to reduce the inſurgents, and had ſucceeded; but the preſent rebellion bore ſymptoms ſo alarming, that the whole of the cantons armed, to bring the valley to obedience. Agreeably to the maxims of moſt governments, that the governors are always in the right, and the governed in the wrong, no canton can interfere in any diſputes between the ſovereign and the ſubjects, unleſs to puniſh the preſumption of the latter.

The whole Helvetic body felt the cauſe of the ſovereign of Uri to be their own, and with heart and hand, with an alacrity worthy of the cauſe, coaleſced together, to put a deciſive ſtop to ſuch heretical and dangerous pretenſions. Had the rebels only had to contend with their maſters of Uri, it is poſſible they might have ſhaken their authority; but, when the inſurgents beheld the cohorts of every regular government in Switzerland pouring down from the mountains in warlike array; heard the loud blaſt of their trumpets, repeated by a thouſand echoes amidſt their cliffs and rocks; ſaw terror in the van, and annihilation in the rear; they very prudently gave up a conteſt, which muſt have ended in their utter deſtruction.

The grievances of the inſurgents were redreſſed in the mode that might rationally be expected: their form of government, and all their laws, were aboliſhed, and they were deprived of every privilege, municipal, civil, and judicial: the uſe of arms, to which every Swiſs is accuſtomed, however low his rank in the ſcale of ſociety, was ſtrictly forbidden; and this ſage precaution has perpetuated their dominion, by deſtroying not only the means, but the knowledge of reſiſtance, ſince he who never handles arms muſt remain ignorant of the exerciſe.

Political Character of Lord Bolingbroke; from Coxe's Memoirs of Sir Robert Walpole.

FROM the verſatility of Bolingbroke's political life, no fundamental principle of action could be expected; for where is that principle which at ſome period he had not violated? Where was the party to which he had not rendered himſelf obnoxious? Nothing then remained for him, but to form a political creed as verſatile as his life, and which,

Proteus-like, adapted itſelf to all times, ſituations and circumſtances.

His doctrines are principally reduced under three heads. A government by prerogative, rather than by influence; coalition of parties; the ſuppoſed perfection of the human ſpecies in particular inſtances.

The leading principle of his writings was, that a government by prerogative was better than a government by influence. In enforcing this topic, the author betrays his averſion to the revolution, while he affects to praiſe it, by an aſſertion no leſs remarkable for its audacity than its untruth; namely, that the rights of the ſubject were more endangered by the ſyſtem of influence, which had taken place ſince, than by that of arbitrary power which was purſued before that æra. That the crown had acquired more ſources of power by the eſtabliſhment of the funds, and nomination of revenue officers, and enjoyed the means of invading liberty more effectually by the conſtitution of the revenue, than it ever had been invaded by prerogative. He characteriſes prerogative as a mere chimera, and influence as a new and undefinable monſter, far more dangerous to our liberties. He avers that national corruption, which he makes the neceſſary conſequence of inveſting the crown with the nomination of the officers employed in managing the revenue, is become univerſal, and that the loſs of liberty is the natural and neceſſary conſequence of national corruption. From theſe premiſes he draws the obvious concluſion, that it becomes highly neceſſary to ſave the ruin of the conſtitution, by reducing the power of the king, by means of an independent houſe of commons; and declares that the only method of effecting this, was to leſſen the means of corruption, to revive frequent parliaments, and to inſure their purity by introducing ſelf denying ordinances.

This tenet could only be ſupported by the other two doctrines, equally abſurd and extravagant. The ſecond of theſe doctrines was to enforce the coalition of parties, by which he underſtood that all the invidious diſtinctions of whig and tory,* diſſenter and churchman, which had ſo long troubled and diſtracted the kingdom, ſhould be ſunk into thoſe of court and country; the firſt of which he conſiders as a faction and confederacy againſt the other; and the ſecond he characteriſes under the denomination of conſtitutionaliſts.

With a view to effect this purpoſe in a free country, in which party is an eſſential requiſite, he drew out a ſyſtem of policy ſo artfully contrived, that any man, whatever were his political opinions, might, without appearing to deſert his own private notions of government, enliſt himſelf under the banners of any oppoſition, or vote in favour of any queſtion, however repugnant to his real ſentiments, under the notion of oppoſing or driving out a corrupt miniſter, and the ſem-

* The impoſſibility of reconciling the whigs and the torys, and the different views of thoſe parties, are fully ſhewn by his own confeſſion, in a letter to ſir William Windham, July 23, 1739. Correſpondence, Period VII.

blance

blance of laying aſide all prejudice and party attachment.

In attempting to explode all former diſtinctions, to unite men of all denominations, and to change the narrow ſpirit of party into a diffuſive ſpirit of public benevolence, he well knew that he contradicted the hiſtory of paſt ages, and the experience of his own; and he therefore broached the third doctrine, the ſuppoſed perfection of the human ſpecies in particular inſtances. Convinced of the abſurdity of advancing, that an oppoſition compoſed of the moſt heterogenous parts could continue uniformly true to their profeſſed principles, and would not be divided or deſert each other at the inſtigations of ambition or ſelf-intereſt, he turned his hopes of ſucceſs from the many to the few; to thoſe few who engroſs the whole reaſon of the ſpecies, who are born to inſtruct, to guide, and to preſerve, and who are deſigned to be tutors and guardians of human kind. Forgetting his own complaint, that human paſſions are ſo ſtrong, and human reaſon ſo weak, he deſcribed men as they ought to be, and not as they are, men whom he repreſented as ſtars ſtill ſtuck in good plenty up and down our hemiſphere, making virtue the foundation of their friendſhip, and merit the title to their favour; delighting rather to be thought good than great; juſt in all their dealings; moderate in their pleaſures; not ſolicitous for a place becauſe they want it, but becauſe the place wants them.

But ſtill conſcious that he overrated the number of thoſe choſen few, he concentrated the virtues and wiſdom of the whole ſpecies into one man a patriot king, whom he conſidered as born to form the happineſs and glory of England, under whoſe government the head, and all the members, ſhould be united in one common cauſe, and animated by one common ſpirit.

In drawing this chimerical character, he laid down poſitions no leſs chimerical. He ſuppoſed that all diſtinctions of party, all cabals for favour, and all jealouſy in individuals poſſeſſing, or contending for power, ſhould be entirely ſuppreſſed by the wiſdom and virtue of one man, whom he calls a ſort of ſtanding miracle; and that a whole nation ſhould be ſo perfect in judgement, and juſt in practice, as to acknowledge that they were made happy by ſuch exertions. In this extraordinary attempt to reconcile the ideas of a government by prerogative with thoſe of liberty and happineſs, he endeavours to bribe the imagination inſtead of convincing the judgement, by an artificial and brilliant diſplay of all thoſe ſcenes of ſplendour and domeſtic felicity which are ſo laviſhly and exquiſitely pourtrayed in the Cyropædia of Xenophon, and Fenelon's Telemachus; ſcenes which adorn the page of the ſpeculative philoſopher, but muſt be conſidered as mere puerilities from a practical politician.

In giving theſe reveries to the public, he made uſe of a ſpecious philoſophical jargon, then novel, and calculated to make an impreſſion on ignorant minds; ſince become more common, and juſtly exploded, as the cant of hypocriſy or enthuſiaſm. Its pretenſions were founded on candour, liberality of ſentiment, univerſal philanthrophy, and a tender concern for the happineſs of poſterity.

Sketch of the Manners, and domeſtic Cuſtoms, of the Portugueſe; from Murphy's general View of Portugal.

AMONG the middling and ſubordinate ranks, the females eſpecially, there is very little intercourſe, except fortuitous meetings in the churches and ſtreets. Every claſs of tradeſmen has a diſtinct oratory, ſupported by the voluntary contributions of their ſociety; here they aſſemble every evening, before ſupper, to chaunt veſpers. They rarely viſit each other's houſes but on particular occaſions, as weddings and chriſtenings; and then they entertain very ſumptuouſly, or rather ſatiate with profuſion.

Jealouſy, and an inate diſpoſition to ſecrecy, are aſſigned as the chief cauſes of this ſeparation. They hold it as a maxim, that he who talks leaſt thinks beſt; and that the moſt perfect man is not he who has moſt good qualities, but feweſt bad ones. Pride might alſo operate, as they wiſh not to ſhew their apartments, no more than their wives and daughters, unleſs they be arrayed in their beſt attire.

Yet, however we may regret the many innocent enjoyments of which the females are thus deprived, their ſeclufion is productive of much domeſtic felicity. Their bland and ſimple manners are not liable to be corrupted, nor their attachments diſſipated by an extenſive communication with the world. The fond huſband thus ſolaced, is happy, ſupremely happy in the ſociety of a virtuous partner, whoſe ſole affection is concentered within the narrow circle of her family.

As to their perſons in general, the women are rather below than above the middle ſtature, but graceful and beautiful. No females are more ſtudious of enhancing their attractions by artificial means, or counterfeiting, by paltry arts, the charms that nature has withheld. To the moſt regular features, they add a ſprightly diſpoſition and captivating carriage. The round face, and full fed form, are more eſteemed in this country, than the long tapering viſage and thin delicate frame. Moſt nations entertain ſome peculiar idea of beauty in the lineaments and caſt of the face; that of the Portugeſe will be beſt underſtood by their own deſcription of a perfect beauty, which is as follows:

The forehead ſhould be broad, ſmooth, and white. The eyes large, bright, and quick, but at the ſame time ſtill and modeſt. With reſpect to the colour, there are divers opinions; ſome preſer the blue, ſome the black, and others the green. A Portugeſe, named Villa-Real, wrote a treatiſe in praiſe of the laſt. The eyebrows ſhould be large, of a black colour, and form an arch concentric with that of the eyelid. To be properly adjuſted to the reſt of the face, the noſe ſhould deſcend in a direct line from the forehead, and form a regular pyramid.

The mouth, the portal of the human ſtructure through which the meſſengers of the intellect have conſtant egreſs, ought to be rather ſmall than large. The lips rather full than thin; rather relieved than ſunk, and the edge of a pure carnation. Teeth are accounted beautiful when they are white, regular, and of equal ſize, reſembling a row of pearls ſet in an arch of ruby.

The cheeks muſt be ſmooth, and ſomewhat relieved; the centre of a pure carmine colour, fading inſen-

ſibly

ſibly into a lily white; both colours ſo perfectly blended and proportioned, that neither ſhould predominate.

With reſpect to the neck, there is great majeſty in one which is large and ſmooth, riſing from the ſhoulders like an alabaſter column.

But, among all the female charms, the moſt tranſcendent are the breaſts. In form, they ſhould reſemble a lemon; in colour and ſmoothneſs, the orange bloſſom.

The moſt beautiful hands are long and white; the fingers full and tapering. Feet are not accounted pretty if they be not ſmall.

Of the ſtature, the middle ſize is moſt admired. Without a graceful walk, the moſt perfect beauty appears awkward; whereas a modeſt, airy, and ſerene, movement, enhances every other charm; and beſpeaks the tranquillity of a mind formed in the ſchool of virtue and decorum.

There is one claſs of people in Portugal, than whom, perhaps, few nations can produce a more inoffenſive and induſtrious, and, at the ſame time, a more degraded and oppreſſed; theſe are, the "pillars of the ſtate," the peaſantry, who are kept in a ſtate of vaſſalage by a band of petty tyrants, aſſuming the title of Fidalgos.*

Among thoſe to whom this title properly appertains, there are, undoubtedly, many who have a juſt claim to honour and reſpect; not from the antiquated immunities of feudal times, but from their perſonal virtues. We intirely ſeparate them from the ignorant, intolerant wretches, who grind the face of the poor, and depopulate the land.

Indeed, I am informed, by a Portugueſe gentleman, of very high rank, who ſincerely deplores the wretched ſtate of the peaſantry of his country, that the chief part of their miſeries is owing not to government but to theſe gentry. I know not how to give the reader a juſt idea of them; by privilege they are gentlemen, in manners clowns; beggars in fortune, monarchs in pride. Too contemptible for the notice of the ſovereign; to excite the jealouſy of the nobles they are too weak; but too ſtrong for the peaſantry, from whom they exact adoration. They are to be ſeen in every town, in every village, and hamlet, wrapt up to the eyes in capots, brooding over their imaginary importance. The induſtrious huſbandman muſt not addreſs them but on his knees. His fate, and that of his family, are at their mercy. On the moſt trivial pretence, they cite him to the court of the next camarca, or ſhire. The wretched farmer, in vain, attempts to juſtify himſelf, and after exhauſting his reſources to fee lawyers, he is ſure to be caſt at the end of a tedious and vexatious ſuit. His property is then ſeized upon, even to his very implements; and, if it be not found ſufficient to anſwer all demands, he is doomed to periſh in a priſon. Many induſtrious families have been thus annihilated;

* Fidalgo, a gentleman, one nobly deſcended. From the Portugueſe word *filho*, a ſon, and the Spaniſh *algo*, ſomething; that is, the ſon of ſomething, or a ſon to whom his father has ſomething to leave; *viz.* an honour and eſtate; thence, for ſhortneſs, called *fidalgo*.—VIEYRA.

and others, apprehenſive of ſharing the ſame fate, have forſaken their lands, and often the kingdom, to ſeek protection in the colonies.

Beggars are a formidable claſs in this country. Several laws have been enacted, from time to time, to diminiſh the number and reſtrain the licentiouſneſs of this vagrant train, but in vain. They ramble about, and infeſt every place, not intreating charity, but demanding it. At night they aſſemble in hordes at the beſt manſion they can find, and having taken up their abode in one of the out-offices, they call for whatever they ſtand in need of, like travellers at an inn; here they claim the privilege of tarrying three days, if agreeable to them.

When a gang of theſe ſturdy fellows meet a decent perſon on the highways, he muſt offer them money; and it ſometimes happens that the amount of the offering is not left to his own diſcretion. Saint Antony aſſails him on one ſide, Saint Francis on the other; having ſilenced their clamour in behalf of the favourite ſaints, he is next attacked for the honour of the Virgin Mary; and thus they rob him for the love of God.

Character of Gainſborough, the Painter; from Jackſon's Four Ages.

IN the early part of my life I became acquainted with Thomas Gainſborough, the painter; and as his character was, perhaps, better known to me than to any other perſon, I will endeavour to diveſt myſelf of every partiality, and ſpeak of him as he really was. I am the rather induced to this, by ſeeing accounts of him and his works given by people who were unacquainted with either, and, conſequently, have been miſtaken in both.

Gainſborough's profeſſion was painting, and muſic was his amuſement—yet, there were times when muſic ſeemed to be his employment, and painting his diverſion. As his ſkill in muſic has been celebrated, I will, before I ſpeak of him as a painter, mention what degree of merit he poſſeſſed as a muſician.

When I firſt knew him he lived at Bath, where Giardini had been exhibiting his then unrivalled powers on the violin. His excellent performance made Gainſborough enamoured of that inſtrument; and conceiving, like the ſervant-maid in the Spectator, that the muſic lay in the fiddle, he was frantic until he poſſeſſed the very inſtrument which had given him ſo much pleaſure—but ſeemed much ſurprized that the muſic of it remained behind with Giardini!

He had ſcarcely recovered this ſhock (for it was a great one to him) when he heard Abel on the viol-di-gamba. The violin was hung on the willow—Abel's viol-di-gamba was purchaſed, and the houſe reſounded with melodious thirds and fifths from "morn to dewy eve!" Many an adagio and many a minuet were begun, but none completed—this was wonderful, as it was Abel's own inſtrument, and, therefore, ought to have produced Abel's own muſic!

Fortunately, my friend's paſſion had now a freſh object—Fiſcher's hautboy—but I do not recollect that he deprived Fiſcher of his inſtrument: and, though he procured a hautboy, I never heard him make the leaſt attempt on it. Probably his

his ear was too delicate to bear the disagreeable sounds which necessarily attend the first beginnings on a wind instrument. He seemed to content himself with what he heard in public, and getting Fischer to play to him in private—not on the hautboy, but the violin—but this was a profound secret, for Fischer knew that his reputation was in danger, if he pretended to excel on two instruments.*

The next time I saw Gainsborough it was in the character of king David. He had heard a harper at Bath—the performer was soon left harpless—and now Fischer, Abel, and Giardini were all forgotten—there was nothing like chords and arpeggios! He really stuck to the harp long enough to play several airs with variations, and, in a little time, would nearly have exhausted all the pieces usually performed on an instrument incapable of modulation (this was not a pedal-harp), when another visit from Abel brought him back to the viol-di-gamba.

He now saw the imperfection of sudden sounds that instantly die away—if you wanted a *staccato*, it was to be had by a proper management of the bow, and you might also have notes as long as you pleased. The viol-di-gamba is the only instrument, and Abel the prince of musicians!

This, and occasionally a little flirtation with the fiddle, continued some years; when, as ill luck would have it, he heard Crosdill—but, by some irregularity of conduct, for which I cannot account, he neither took up, nor bought the violoncello. All his passion for the bass was vented in descriptions of Crosdill's tone and bowing, which was rapturous and enthusiastic to the last degree.

More years now passed away, when, upon seeing a theorbo in a picture of Vandyke's, he concluded (perhaps, because it was finely painted), that the theorbo must be a fine instrument. He recollected to have heard of a German professor, who, though no more, I shall forbear to name—ascended *per varios gradus* to his garret, where he found him at dinner upon a roasted apple, and smoking a pipe— * * * says he, I am come to buy your lute— .

'*To pay my lude!*'

"Yes—come, name your price, and here is your money."

'*I cannod shell my lude!*'

"No, not for a guinea or two, but, by G—, you must sell it."

'*May lude ish wert much monnay! it ish wert ten guinea!*'

"That it is—see, here is the money."

'*Well—if I musht—but you will not take it away yourshelf?*'

"Yes, yes—good bye * * *."

(After he had gone down he came up again)

"* * * I have done but half my errand—What is your lute worth, if I have not your book?"

'*Whad poog, maishter Cainsporough?*'

"Why, the book of airs you have composed for the lute."

'*Ah, py Cot, I can never part wit my poog!*'

* It was at this time that I heard Fischer play a solo on the violin, and accompany himself on the same instrument—the air of the solo was executed with the bow, and the accompaniment *pizzicato* with the unemployed fingers of his left hand.

"Poh! you can make another at any time—this is the book I mean (putting it in his pocket)."

'*Ah, py Cot, I cannot*'—

"Come, come, here's another ten guineas for your book—ſo, once more, good day t'ye—(deſcends again, and again comes up) but what uſe is your book to me, if I don't underſtand it?—and your lute—you may take it again, if you won't teach me to play on it. Come home with me, and give me my firſt leſſon.—"

'*I will gome to morrow.*'

"You muſt come now."

'*I muſht treſh myſhelf.*'

"For what? You are the beſt figure I have ſeen to-day—."

'*I muſht be ſhave*—'

"I honour your beard!"

'*I muſht pud on my wik*—'

"D—n your wig! your cap and beard become you! do you think, if Vandyke was to paint you he'd let you be ſhaved?"

In this manner he frittered away his muſical talents; and though poſſeſſed of ear, taſte, and genius, he never had application enough to learn his notes. He ſcorned to take the firſt ſtep, the ſecond was of courſe out of his reach; and the ſummit became unattainable.

As a painter, his abilities may be conſidered in three different departments.

Portrait,

Landſcape, and

Groups of figures—to which muſt be added his drawings.

To take theſe in the above-mentioned order.

The firſt conſideration in a portrait, eſpecially to the purchaſer, is, that it be a perfect likeneſs of the ſitter—in this reſpect, his ſkill was unrivalled—the next point is, that it is a good picture—here, he has as often failed as ſucceeded. He failed by affecting a thin waſhy colouring, and a hatching ſtyle of pencilling; but when, from accident or choice, he painted in the manly ſubſtantial ſtyle of Vandyke, he was very little, if at all, his inferior. It ſhews a great defect in judgement, to be from choice, wrong, when we know what is right. Perhaps, his beſt portrait is that known among the painters by the name of the Blue-boy—it was in the poſſeſſion of Mr. Buttall, near Newport-market.

There are three different æras in his landſcapes—his firſt manner was an imitation of Ruyſdael, with more various colouring—the ſecond, was an extravagant looſeneſs of pencilling; which, though reprehenſible, none but a great maſter can poſſeſs—his third manner, was a ſolid firm ſtyle of touch.

At this laſt period, he poſſeſſed his greateſt powers, and was (what every painter is at ſome time or other) fond of varniſh. This produced the uſual effects—improved the picture for two or three months; then ruined it for ever! With all his excellence in this branch of the art, he was a great manneriſt—but the worſt of his pictures have a value, from the facility of execution—which excellence I ſhall again mention.

His groups of figures are, for the moſt part, very pleaſing, though unnatural—for a town-girl, with her clothes in rags, is not a ragged country-girl. Notwithſtanding this remark, there are numberleſs inſtances of his groups at the door of a cottage, or by a fire in a wood, &c. that are ſo pleaſing as to diſarm criticiſm. He ſometimes (like Murillo)

Murillo) gave intereſt to a ſingle figure—his Shepherd's boy, Woodman, Girl and Pigs, are equal to the beſt pictures on ſuch ſubjects—his Fighting Dogs, Girl warming herſelf, and ſome others, ſhew his great powers in this ſtyle of painting. The very diſtinguiſhed rank the Girl and Pigs held at M. Calonne's ſale, in company with ſome of the beſt pictures of the beſt maſters, will fully juſtify a commendation which might elſe ſeem extravagant.

If I were to reſt his reputation upon one point, it ſhould be on his drawings. No man ever poſſeſſed methods ſo various in producing effect, and all excellent—his waſhy, hatching ſtyle, was here in its proper element. The ſubject which is ſcarce enough for a picture, is ſufficient for a drawing, and the haſty looſe handling, which in painting is poor, is rich in a tranſparent waſh of biſtre and Indian ink. Perhaps the quickeſt effects ever produced, were in ſome of his drawings; and this leads me to take up again his facility of execution.

Many of his pictures have no other merit than this facility; and yet, having it, are undoubtedly valuable. His drawings almoſt reſt on this quality alone for their value; but poſſeſſing it in an eminent degree (and as no drawings can have any merit where it is wanting) his works, therefore, in this branch of the art, approach nearer to perfection than his paintings.

If the term *facility* explain not itſelf; inſtead of a definition, I will illuſtrate it.

Should a performer of middling execution on the violin contrive to get through his piece, the moſt that can be ſaid, is, that he has not failed in his attempt. Should Cramer perform the ſame muſic, it would be ſo much within his powers, that it would be executed with eaſe. Now, the ſuperiority of pleaſure, which ariſes from the execution of a Cramer, is enjoyed from the facility of a Gainſborough. A poor piece performed by one, or a poor ſubject taken by the other, give more pleaſure by the *manner* in which they are treated, than a good piece of muſic, and a ſublime ſubject in the hands of artiſts that have not the means by which effects are produced, *in ſubjection to them*. To a good painter or muſician this illuſtration was needleſs; and yet, by them *only*, perhaps, it will be felt and underſtood.

By way of addition to this ſketch of Gainſborough, let me mention a few miſcellaneous particulars.

He had no reliſh for hiſtorical painting—he never ſold, but always gave away his drawings; commonly to perſons who were perfectly ignorant of their value.* He hated the harpſichord and the piano-forte. He diſliked ſinging, particularly in parts. He deteſted reading; but was ſo like Sterne in his letters, that, if it were not for an originality that could be copied from no one, it might be ſuppoſed that he had formed his ſtyle upon a cloſe imitation of that author. He had as much pleaſure in looking at a violin as in hearing it—I have ſeen him for many minutes ſurveying, in ſi-

* He preſented twenty drawings to a lady, who paſted them to the wainſcot of her dreſſing-room. Some time after ſhe left the houſe: the drawings, of courſe, become the temporary property of every tenant.

lence,

lence, the perfection of an inſtrument, from the juſt proportion of the model, and beauty of the workmanſhip.

His converſation was ſprightly, but licentious—his favourite ſubjects were muſic and painting, which he treated in a manner peculiarly his own. The common topics, or any of a ſuperior caſt, he thoroughly hated, and always interrupted by ſome ſtroke of wit or humour.

The indiſcriminate admirers of my late friend will conſider this ſketch of his character as far beneath his merit; but it muſt be remembered, that my wiſh was not to make it perfect, but juſt. The ſame principle obliges me to add—that as to his common acquaintance he was ſprightly and agreeable, ſo to his intimate friends he was ſincere and honeſt, and that his heart was always alive to every feeling of honour and generoſity.

He died with this expreſſion—'We are all going to heaven, and Vandyke is of the party.'—Strongly expreſſive of a good heart, a quiet conſcience, and a love for his profeſſion, which only left him with his life.

Character of Mr. John Smeaton.

To the Account of this eminent and ingenious Perſon, inſerted in our Regiſter for 1793, *we now add the following Particulars, in a Letter from his Daughter, lately publiſhed in a very important Work, intituled, "Reports of the late Mr. John Smeaton, F. R. S. made on various Occaſions in the Courſe of his Employment as an Engineer," Quarto.*

The Committee of civil Engineers.

Fellfoot, near Kendal,
30th Oct. 1797.

Gentlemen,

THE advertiſement relative to the publication of Mr. Smeaton's works recalls to my mind a requeſt made from you, through Mr. Brooke, "that his daughters would aſſiſt in furniſhing any anecdotes illuſtrative of his life and character." And this recollection calls upon me to apologize for the apparent neglect, as well as to account why an office ſo pleaſant could be delayed for a moment. The fact is, gentlemen, that, however immediate the impulſe was to ſet about it, I ſoon found, in ſo doing, the taſk at once difficult and delicate.

The public ear, I am afraid, is ſatiated and faſtidious; and the plain anecdotes of a plain man, like him, though intereſting to individuals, could awaken little public curioſity, or perhaps, give ſtill leſs ſatisfaction when awakened. And, extraordinary as it may ſeem, his family, probably leſs than others, are in poſſeſſion of anecdotes concerning him; for, though communicative on all ſubjects, and ſtored with ample and liberal obſervations on others, of himſelf he never ſpoke. In nothing does he ſeem to have ſtood more ſingle than in being devoid of that egotiſm, which, more or leſs, affects the world. It required ſome addreſs, even in his family, to draw him into converſation directly relative to himſelf, his purſuits, or his ſucceſs. Self-opinion, ſelf-intereſt, and ſelf-indulgence, ſeemed alike tempered in him by a modeſty inſeparable from merit; a moderation in pecuniary ambition; a habit of intenſe application;

plication; and a temperance ſtrict beyond the common ſtandard. And it is owing, perhaps, to this regulation, that, through a courſe of inceſſant fatigue and incredible exertion, from ſix years old to ſixty, the multiplicity of buſineſs, and preſſure of cares, never had power to deaden his affections, or injure his temper.

I ſay, ſix years old to ſixty, becauſe, while in petticoats, he was continually dividing circles and ſquares; all his playthings were models of machines which deſtroyed the fiſh in the ponds, by raiſing water out of one into another. At ſchool; his exerciſes, in the law, to him not an agreeable deſtination; his dry, though uſeful attainments, occupied him through the day; but mechanics, and his favourite ſtudies, engroſſed the chief of every night. So that his mind appears to have endured an inceſſant exertion through that period.

It was his maxim, "that the abilities of the individual were a debt due to the common ſtock of public happineſs or accommodation!" This appears to have governed his actions through life; for the claim of ſociety (thus become ſacred) his time was devoted to the cultivation of talents, by which he might benefit mankind; and thenceafter, to the unwearied application of them.

Indefatigable in the purſuits they led to, the public are in poſſeſſion of all which nature intruſted to him, or the meaſure of life allowed.

His friends know well how to appreciate the honeſt man, who valued them! And what he was in his family, every member of it could ſpeak, if called upon, with equal gratitude, pride, and pleaſure!

The arrangement of his time was governed by a method as invariable as inviolable: for profeſſional ſtudies were never broken in upon by any one; and theſe (with the exception of ſtated aſtronomical obſervations) wholly ingroſſed the forenoon. His meals were temperate, and for many years reſtricted, on account of health, to rigid abſtinence, from which he derived great benefit.

His afternoons were regularly occupied by practical experiments, or ſome other branch of mechanics. And not more entirely was his mind devoted to his profeſſion in one diviſion of his time, than abſtracted from it in another. Himſelf devoted to his family with an affection ſo lively, a manner at once ſo chearful and ſerene, that it is impoſſible to ſay, whether the charm of converſation, the ſimplicity of inſtructions, or the gentleneſs with which they were conveyed, moſt endeared his home. A home, in which, from infancy, we cannot recollect to have ſeen a trace of diſſatisfaction, or a word of aſperity to any one. Yet with all this he was abſolute! And it is for caſuiſtry in education, or rule, to explain his authority; it was an authority as impoſſible to diſpute as to define.

The command of his feelings, and ſubmiſſion of a temper, naturally warm, to reaſon and benevolence were ſtrongly illuſtrated by a circumſtance (in my recollection) peculiarly trying to him. It aroſe from the conduct of a man formerly employed as a clerk, in whom having the higheſt confidence and eſteem, he procured him a ſimilar, though more lucrative, ſituation in a public office; where he ſerved with a fidelity which in time promoted

moted him to a ſtation of high truſt and reſponſibility (my father being bound, jointly with another gentleman, for his conduct, in a conſiderable ſum). It were needleſs to ſay by what degrees in error this man fell; it ſuffices, that at laſt he forged a falſe ſtatement, to meet the deficiency; that he was detected, and given up to juſtice. The ſame poſt brought news of the melancholy tranſaction; of the man's compunctions and danger; of the claim of the bond forfeited; and of the refuſal of the other perſon to pay the moiety!—Being preſent when he read his letters, which arrived at a period of Mrs. Smeaton's declining health, ſo entirely did the command of himſelf ſecond his anxious attention to her, that no emotion was viſible on their peruſal; nor, till all was put into the beſt train poſſible, did a word or look betray the exquiſite diſtreſs it occaſioned him. In the interim, all which could ſoothe the remorſe of a priſoner, every means which could ſave (which did at leaſt from public execution), were exerted for him, with a characteriſtic benevolence, "active and unobtruſive."

The difintereſted moderation of his pecuniary ambition, every tranſaction in private life evinced; his public ones bore the ſame ſtamp: and after his health had withdrawn him from the labours of his profeſſion, many inſtances may be inſtanced by thoſe whoſe concerns induced them to preſs importunately for a reſumption of it: and when ſome of them ſeemed diſpoſed to enforce their entreaties by farther proſpects of lucrative recompenſe, his reply was ſtrongly characteriſtic of his ſimple manners and moderation. He introduced the old woman who took care of his chambers in Gray's inn, and ſhewing her, aſſerted, "that her attendance ſufficed for all his wants." The inference was indiſputable, "for money could not tempt that man to forego his eaſe, leiſure, or independence, whoſe requiſites of accommodation were compreſſed within ſuch limits."

Before this, the princeſs Daſhkoff made an apt comment upon this trait of his character; when, after vainly uſing every perſuaſion to induce him to accept a *carte blanche* from the empreſs of Ruſſia, (as a recompenſe for directing the vaſt projects in that kingdom) ſhe obſerved, "Sir, you are a great man, and I honour you! You may have an equal in abilities, perhaps; but in character you ſtand ſingle. The Engliſh miniſter, ſir Robert Walpole, was miſtaken, and my ſovereign has the misfortune to find one man who has not his price!"

Early in life he attracted the notice of the late duke and ducheſs of Queenſbury, from a ſtrong reſemblance to their favourite Gay, the poet. The commencement of this acquaintance was ſingular, but the continuance of their eſteem and partiality laſted through life. Their firſt meeting was at Ranelagh, where, walking with Mrs. Smeaton, he obſerved an elderly lady and gentleman fix an evident and marked attention on him. After ſome turns, they at laſt ſtopped him; and the ducheſs (of eccentric memory) ſaid, "Sir, I don't know who you are, or what you are, but ſo ſtrongly do you reſemble my poor dear Gay, we muſt be acquainted; you ſhall go home and ſup with us; and if the minds of the two men accord, as do the countenance, you will find two cheerful old folks, who

who can love you well; and I think (or you are a hypocrite) you can as well deſerve it." The invitation was accepted, and, as long as the duke and ducheſs lived, the friendſhip was as cordial as uninterrupted; indeed, their ſociety had ſo much of the play which genuine wit and goodneſs know how to combine, it proved to be among the moſt agreeable relaxations of his life. A ſort of amicable and pleaſant hoſtility was renewed, whenever they met, of talent and good humour; in the courſe of which, he affected the abolition of that inconſiderate, indiſcriminate play; amongſt people of ſuperior rank or fortune, which compels every one to join, and at their own ſtake too. My father deteſted cards, and, his attention never following the game, played like a boy. The game was Pope Joan; the general run of it was high, and the ſtake in "Pope" had accidentally accumulated to a ſum more than ſerious. It was my father's turn, by the deal, to double it, when, regardleſs of his cards, he buſily made minutes on a ſcrap of paper, and put it on the board. The ducheſs eagerly aſked him what it was, and he as coolly replied, "Your grace will recollect the field in which my houſe ſtands may be about five acres, three roods, and ſeven perches, which, at thirty years purchaſe, will be juſt my ſtake; and if your grace will make a duke of me, I preſume the winner will not diſlike my mortgage." The joke and the leſſon had alike their weight; they never after played but for the mereſt trifle.

The manly ſimplicity of deportment to his ſuperiors, however, was alike free from pretenſion and ſervility; and an invariable conſideration and kindneſs to his inferiors, produced a ſingular ſentiment of veneration in thoſe who ſerved him.

He always apprehended the ſtroke which terminated his life, as it was hereditary in his family; he dreaded it only as it gave the melancholy poſſibility of out-living his faculties, or the power of doing good: to uſe his own words, "lingering over the dregs, after the ſpirit had evaporated!"

When this really did happen, the compoſure with which he met it, his anxious endeavour to ſoften any alarm to his family, his reſignation to the event, and his dignified thankfulneſs on finding at laſt his intellect was ſpared, were every way worthy of himſelf. Still his invariable wiſh was "to be releaſed!"

In the interim (ſix weeks) all faculties, and every affection, were as clear and animated as at any period of his life. His memory was tenacious, and his ingenuity as active, to relieve the inconveniences of his then ſituation, as ſuch ſituation gave what he termed, trouble to thoſe about him.

He expreſſed a particular deſire and pleaſure in ſeeing the uſual occupations reſumed; and reading, drawing, muſic, and converſation, excited the ſame intereſt, the ſame cheerful and judicious obſervations, as ever.

He would ſometimes complain of his own ſlowneſs (as he called it) of apprehenſion, and then would excuſe it with a ſmile, ſaying, "It could not be otherwiſe, the ſhadow muſt lengthen as the ſun went down!" There was no ſlowneſs,

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in fact, to lament; for he was as ready at calculations, and as perſpicuous in explanation, as at any former period. Some phenomena reſpecting the moon were aſked him one evening, when it accidentally ſhone bright, full into his room: when he had ſpoke fully on them, his eyes remained fixed upon it with a moſt animated attention, to us impreſſive; then turning them on us with benignity, obſerved, "How often have I looked up to it with inquiry and wonder! to the period, when I ſhall have the vaſt and privileged views of a hereafter, and all will be comprehenſion and pleaſure!"

Shortly after, the end he had through life deſired, was granted; the body gradually ſunk, but the mind ſhone to the laſt: and in the way good men aſpire to the laſt, he cloſed a life—active as uſeful, amiable as revered!

Mary Dixon.

NATURAL

NATURAL HISTORY.

Obſervations on the Foramina Thebeſii *of the Heart; by Mr. John Abernethy, F.R.S. From the Philoſophical Tranſactions, Part I. for* 1798.

AS the inveſtigation of the reſources of nature in the animal economy, for the maintenance of health, and the prevention of diſeaſe, cannot but be intereſting to the philoſopher as well as to the phyſician, I therefore am induced to ſubmit to the ſociety the following obſervations.

There is a remarkable contrivance, in the blood-veſſels which ſupply the heart, not to be met with in any other part of the body, and which is of great uſe in the healthy functions of that organ, but which is particularly ſerviceable in preventing diſeaſe of a part ſo eſſential to life.

A diſtended ſtate of the blood-veſſels muſt always impede their functions, and conſequently be very detrimental to the health of the part which they ſupply; but, as the cavities of the heart are naturally receptacles of blood, a ſingular opportunity is afforded to its nutrient veſſels, to relieve themſelves when ſurcharged, by pouring a part of their contents into thoſe cavities. Such appears to be the uſe of the *foramina*, by which injections, thrown into the blood-veſſels of the heart, eſcape into the cavities of that organ; and which were firſt noticed by Vieuſſens, but, being more expreſſly deſcribed by Thebeſius, generally bear the name of the latter author.

Anatomiſts appear to have been much perplexed, concerning theſe *foramina Thebeſii*; even Haller, Senac, and Zinn, were ſometimes unable to diſcover them; which ſuggeſted an idea, that when an injection was effuſed into the cavities of the heart, the veſſels were torn, and that it did not eſcape through natural openings. When theſe *foramina* were injected, they were found under various circumſtances, as to their ſize and ſituation; and Haller obſerved, that the injection, for the moſt part, eſcaped into the right cavities of the heart. It alſo remains undetermined, whether theſe *foramina* belong both to the arteries and veins, or reſpectively to each ſet of veſſels.

It is from an examination of theſe openings in diſeaſed ſubjects, that a ſolution of ſuch difficulties may probably be obtained. Whoever reflects on the circumſtances under which the principal coronary vein terminates in the right auricle of the heart, will perceive that an impediment to the flow of blood, through that veſſel, muſt occaſion-

ally take place; but the difficulty will be much increaſed, when the right ſide of the heart is more than ordinarily diſtended, in conſequence of obſtruction to the pulmonary circulation. Indeed it ſeems probable that ſuch an obſtruction, by occaſioning a diſtended ſtate of the right ſide of the heart, and thus impeding the circulation in the nutrient veſſels of that organ, would as neceſſarily occaſion correſponding diſeaſe in it, as an obſtruction to the circulation in the liver occaſions diſeaſe in the other abdominal viſcera, were it not for ſome preventing circumſtances, which I now proceed to explain.

Having been attentive to ſome very bad caſes of pulmonary conſumption, from a deſire to witneſs the effects of breathing medicated air in that complaint, I was led to a more particular examination of the heart of thoſe patients who died. In theſe caſes, I found, that by throwing common coarſe waxen injection into the arteries and veins of the heart, it readily flowed into the cavities of that organ; and that the left ventricle was injected in the firſt place, and moſt completely. When the ventricle was opened, and the effuſed injection removed, the *foramina Thebeſii* appeared both numerous and large, and diſtended with the different coloured wax which had been impelled into the coronary arteries and veins. Upon eight comparative trials, made by injecting the veſſels of hearts taken from ſubjects whoſe lungs were either much diſeaſed, or in a perfectly ſound ſtate, I found that, in the former, common injection readily flowed, in the manner which I have deſcribed, into all the cavities of the heart, but principally into the left ventricle; whilſt, in many of the latter, I could not impel the leaſt quantity of ſuch coarſe injection into that cavity.

This difference in the facility with which the cavities of the heart can be injected from its nutrient veſſels, was obſerved by moſt anatomiſts, though they did not advert to the circumſtances on which it depended. Haller's recital of his own obſervations, and of thoſe of others, on this ſubject, ſo well explain the facts which I have ſtated, that I ſhall take the liberty of quoting the paſſage, in order farther to illuſtrate and authenticate them.—He ſays, "*Si per arterias liquorem injeceris, perinde in dextra auricula, ſinuque et ventriculo dextro, et in ſinu atque thalamo ſiniſtro guttulæ exſtillabunt; ſæpe quidem abſque mora, alias difficilius, et nonnunquam omnino, uti continuo dicemus, et mihi, et Senaco, et clariſſimo Zinnio, nihil exſudavit.*" Elem. Phyſiol. tom. i. p. 382. As it ſeems right that the blood which had been diſtributed by the coronary arteries, and which muſt have loſt, in a greater or leſs degree, the properties of arterial blood, ſhould not be mixed with the arterial blood which is to be diſtributed to every part of the body, but ought rather to be ſent again to the lungs, in order that it may re-acquire thoſe properties; we therefore perceive why, in a natural ſtate of the heart, the principal *foramina Thebeſii* are to be found in the right cavities of that organ. However, as, even in a ſtate of health, thoſe cavities are liable to be uncommonly diſtended, in conſequence of muſcular exertion ſometimes forcing the venous blood into the heart faſter than it can be tranſmitted through the lungs, there

ſeems to ariſe a neceſſity for ſimilar openings on the left ſide; but theſe, in their natural ſtate, though capable of emitting blood, and of relieving the plethora of the coronary veſſels, are not of ſufficient ſize to give paſſage to common waxen injections. Yet, when there is a diſtended ſtate of the right cavities of the heart, which is almoſt certainly occaſioned by a diſeaſed ſtate of the lungs, theſe *foramina*, leading into the left cavities, then become enlarged, in the manner that has been already deſcribed; and thus the plethoric ſtate of the nutrient veſſels of the heart, and the conſequent diſeaſe of that important organ, are prevented.

The preceding remarks will, I think, ſufficiently explain the cauſe of the variety, in the ſize and ſituation, of theſe *foramina*, which alſo appear to belong both to the arteries and veins; becauſe, the injection which was employed was too coarſe to paſs from one ſet of veſſels to the other, and yet the different coloured injections paſſed into the cavities of the heart unmixed.

There is yet another mode by which diſeaſes of the heart, that would otherwiſe ſo inevitably ſucceed to obſtruction in the pulmonary veſſels, are avoided; and which I next beg leave to explain.

Having formerly been much ſurprized to find the heart ſo little affected, when the lungs were greatly diſeaſed, and obſerving, in one or two inſtances, that the *foramen ovale* was open, I was led to pay more particular attention to the ſtate of that part; and I have found this to be almoſt a conſtant occurrence in thoſe ſubjects where pulmonary conſumption had for ſome time exiſted previous to the perſon's deceaſe. I took notice of this circumſtance thirteen times in the courſe of one year; and, in ſeveral inſtances, the aperture was ſufficiently large to admit of a finger being paſſed through it. Now, as the *ſeptum auricularum* is almoſt conſtantly perfect in ſubjects whoſe lungs are healthy, I cannot but conclude, that the renewal of the *foramen ovale* is the effect of diſeaſe: nor will the opinion appear, on reflection, improbable; for, the opening becomes cloſed, by the membranous fold growing from one edge of it till it overlaps the other, and their ſmooth ſurfaces being kept in cloſe contact, by the preſſure of the blood in the left auricle, they gradually grow together. But, ſhould there be a deficiency of blood in the left auricle, and a redundance in the right, the preſſure of the latter, on this membranous partition, will ſo ſtretch and irritate the uniting medium, as to occaſion its removal; and thus, a renewal of the communication between the auricles will again take place.

From theſe obſervations it is natural to ſuppoſe, that in thoſe men, or animals, who are accuſtomed to remain long under water, this opening will either be maintained or renewed: yet on this circumſtance alone the continuance of their life does not depend; for we have now ſufficient proof, that if the blood is not oxygenated in the lungs, it is unfit to ſupport the animal powers. There is an experiment related by Buffon, the truth of which, I believe, has not been publicly controverted, and which tends greatly to miſrepreſent this ſubject. He ſays, that he cauſed a bitch to bring forth her puppies under warm water; that he ſuddenly removed them into

a pail of warm milk; that he kept them immerſed in the milk for more than half an hour; and that when they were taken out of it, all the three were alive. He then allowed them to reſpire about half an hour, and again immerſed them in the warm milk, where they remained another half hour; and, when taken out, two were vigorous, but the third ſeemed to languiſh: this ſubmerſion was again repeated, without apparent injury to the animals.

This experiment is ſo directly contrary to what we are led to believe from all others, and alſo to the information derived from caſes which frequently occur in the practice of midwifery, (in which, an interruption to the circulation through the umbilical chord occaſions the death of the fœtus), as to make me ſuſpect its truth: I was therefore induced to examine what would happen in a ſimilar experiment. I did not indeed cauſe the bitch to bring forth her puppies in water; but immerſed a puppy, ſhortly after its birth, under water which was of the animal temperature. It loſt all power of ſupporting itſelf in about 60 ſeconds, and would ſhortly have periſhed, had I not removed it into the air. Neither could I, by repeating this experiment, ſo accuſtom the animal to the circulation of unoxygenated blood, as to lengthen the term of its exiſtence in ſuch an unnatural ſituation. I thought that a dog might have been made a good diver in this way; but, having ſatisfied myſelf that this could not be done, without greatly torturing the animal, I did not chooſe to proſecute ſo cruel an experiment.

Young animals, indeed, retain their irritability for a conſiderable time, ſo that they move along after they have been plunged beneath water; and may even, on this account, recover after they are taken out. But the manner in which Buffon has related his experiment ſeems to imply, that the circulation of the blood, and other functions of life, were continued after the animals had been excluded from the air. I am convinced that the poor dog, who was the ſubject of my experiment, would have been beyond recovery in a few minutes.

Thoſe animals who are accuſtomed to remain long under water, probably firſt fill their lungs with air, which may, in a partial manner, oxygenate their blood during their ſubmerſion. The true ſtatement of this ſubject may probably be, that the circulation of venous blood will deſtroy moſt animals in a very ſhort ſpace of time; but that cuſtom may enable others to endure it, with very little change, for a longer period.

On the Action of Metallic Oxides and Earths upon Oils, in low Degrees of Heat; by Mr. Peter Henry; from the Memoirs of the Literary and Philoſophical Society of Mancheſter.

THE high degree of colour poſſeſſed by many of the expreſſed and fatty oils rendering them unfit for ſeveral uſes in the arts, it appeared to be a deſirable object to diſcover a mode of depriving them of their colouring particles:

For this purpoſe, the following experiments were inſtituted.

1. Two ounces of ſpermaceti-oil were digeſted with one drachm of white arſenic, in a heat of 180 of Fahrenheit

Fahrenheit, during ſix hours; and left to ſtand till morning. The oil was then perfectly clear and colourleſs, and much heavier than it was previous to the experiment; a great part of the arſenic, however, remained undiſſolved at the bottom of the digeſting veſſel.

2. Two ounces of linſeed-oil were digeſted with one drachm of white arſenic, under the ſame circumſtances with the former. In the morning, very little alteration being perceived in the mixture, it was expoſed to a ſomewhat greater heat. In two hours, the oil appeared brighter and clearer, much of the arſenic being diſſolved; but it yet retained a great part of its original colour. There was a conſiderable depoſition of mucilage; the arſenic which remained undiſſolved being tinged of a light yellow colour.

3. Green olive-oil was treated in a ſimilar manner with the ſpermaceti-oil, and attended with the ſame reſult.

4. Thick train-oil was digeſted with a drachm and a half of white arſenic. No great alteration was obſerved in the colour of the oil, though it was evidently rendered clearer, and more limpid.

When the oils were at the greateſt heat, a briſk effervescence took place, in all of them, upon ſhaking the bottles, but immediately diſcontinued, on the arſenic being ſuffered to ſubſide. When poured on the hands, they inſtantly ſhrivelled the ſkin, and were either abſorbed, or ſoon dried up. Two phials of No. 1 and 2, being left expoſed to the action of air and light, for ſome months, were not in the leaſt changed.

As it was evident, that a conſiderable portion of arſenic was diſſolved in all the foregoing experiments, I wiſhed to ſee if it could be precipitated, and at the ſame time the oils be left pure, and deprived of colour; though with no great hopes of ſucceſs, from the known property of the mineral acids to render the oils thick and diſcoloured.

5. Part of No. 1, being poured into a phial, three or four drops of ſtrong vitriolic acid were added. The arſenic immediately precipitated, leaving the oil as pure and colourleſs as before,

6. The ſame quantity of vitriolic acid being added to No. 2, 3, and 4, the arſenic was in like manner precipitated. No. 2 ſeemed even clearer than before the addition of acid.

7. Nitrous acid being added, in the ſame proportion with the vitriolic, the colour of all the oils was inſtantly changed to a dark-brown, except the ſpermaceti-oil, which was not much affected; the train and linſeed-oils ſuffering the greateſt change. In all of them a ſlight effervescence took place.

8. Marine acid occaſioned a precipitation, which ſoon re-diſſolved, in all of them.

9. Both the fixed alkalies immediately coagulated the oils; the water, in which the ſolution of alkali was made, ſubſiding to the bottom of the veſſel, along with the arſenic.

10. Three ounces of ſpermaceti-oil were digeſted with one drachm of litharge, during ſix hours, in about 200° of Fahrenheit. The oil became much clearer than before the experiment, but not near ſo colourleſs as when treated with arſenic: the litharge was changed to

a white colour. Part of the oil being poured off, and the heat afterwards increaſed, it ſoon became thick and high coloured.

11. Linſeed-oil, expoſed to the ſame degrees of heat, under ſimilar circumſtances, underwent the ſame changes.

12. Train-oil was little affected in low degrees of heat, but, in higher degrees, became diſcoloured.

13. A few drops of vitriolic acid being added to a portion of No. 10, before the heat had been increaſed, the litharge was precipitated, and the oil left pure and clear, though not quite colourleſs.

14. Vitriolic acid being added to the linſeed and train oils, No. 11 and 12, a very ſmall precipitation of the litharge took place; probably owing to the heat not having been ſufficiently great to diſſolve it in large quantities, which had been found to be the caſe with the ſame oils, when digeſted with arſenic.

15. Nitrous acid, when added, inſtantly changed the colour of all three (No. 10, 11, and 12), to a dark-brown; No. 11 and 12 became thick and glutinous.

16. Marine acid precipitated the litharge. Upon being left to ſtand, the linſeed and train oils aſſumed a much darker hue than they had previous to the addition of the acid.

17. Alkalies coagulated the oils, as in the former experiments with them.

18. Two ounces of ſpermaceti-oil and half a drachm of red-lead, were digeſted during eight hours. The oil ſeemed not in the leaſt changed; but a ſmall quantity of the lead remained ſuſpended, and gave it a ſlight pink caſt. The heat, the next day, was gradually increaſed, with as little ſucceſs, till the oil was brought to nearly a boiling heat; it then became dark and diſcoloured.

19. Linſeed-oil was tried in the ſame proportion, with the like reſult.

20. Train-oil was treated in the ſame mode as the others, with one drachm of red-lead. On increaſing the heat, it formed a very thick dark coloured maſs.

21. White-lead, and the oxide of copper which is formed upon the diſtillation of acetated copper, had the ſame effect with the red-lead. But leſs of the oxide of copper appeared to be diſſolved than of the oxides of lead.

Not meeting with the ſucceſs I was at firſt led to expect, from the digeſtion of the oils with the metallic oxides, I ſubmitted them to the action of different pure aërated earths, under the ſame degrees of heat.

22. Two ounces of ſpermaceti-oil and one drachm of the earth of allum, precipitated from a ſolution of allum by the vegetable fixed alkali, were placed in a ſand-heat, of from 180° to 190° of Fahrenheit, and ſuffered to remain there during three hours. The oil became clear and colourleſs, the gluten having precipitated with the earth to the bottom of the veſſel.

23. Two ounces of linſeed-oil and one drachm and a half of pure clay, were ſubjected to the ſame degree of heat as the ſpermaceti-oil. This oil likewiſe became very clear, and much leſs coloured: a conſiderable depoſition of mucilage was obſerved upon the ſurface of the clay. The combination of the mucilage with the linſeed-oil, appeared

peared to be much ſtronger than that of the ſpermaceti-oil with its gluten.

24. Train-oil was likewiſe rendered much purer by digeſtion with the ſame earth; but was in no degree equal either to the ſpermaceti or linſeed oils.

25. Both aërated and pure magneſia precipitated the mucilage whilſt the oils continued warm; but, as they cooled, the mucilage and magneſia roſe, and mixed again with the oils.

26. Ten grains of pure calcareous earth being added to one ounce of each of the oils, in the cold, turned them thick, and dark coloured.

27. Aërated calcareous earth had little effect upon the oils, either heated or cold.

In all theſe experiments with the earths, not the ſmalleſt particle ſeemed diſſolved, as, on the addition of any of the acids, they inſtantly changed to a very dark colour. Thoſe oils to which the nitrous acid was added, became much darker than thoſe in which the metallic oxides had been digeſted, and to which the ſame addition had been made.

It is well-known, that oils obtain the property of drying more quickly, by being boiled, either alone, or in conjunction with metallic oxides, and argillaceous earths. Oil, according to M. Lavoiſier, conſiſts of hydrogen or the baſis of inflammable gas, and carbone, the baſis of carbonic acid or fixed air. The metallic calces conſiſt of the metal united to oxygen or the baſis of pure air. According to this ſyſtem of chymiſtry, the metal, when boiled in oil, gives up oxygen to it, while the mucilage of the oil unites to the metal. It ſeems therefore probable, that in high coloured oils the carbone is ſuperabundant; and that, by digeſting the calces of metals in a lower degree of heat, a part of the oxygen of the calx may combine with the ſuperfluous carbone, and, forming carbonic acid, tend to diveſt the oil of its colour; while the oxide, attracting the mucilage, may contribute to the ſame end.

How far this theory may apply to the explanation of the foregoing experiments, I do not pretend to determine. It is remarkable, however, that one of the earthy ſubſtances, viz. the alumine, which is not known to contain either oxygenous or carbonic gas, decoloured the oils more powerfully than moſt of the metallic oxides, and equally with any of them. This earth has a ſtrong attraction for colouring matter, and on this property depends its uſe in dying.

But, on the ſuppoſition that the above theory is juſt, it may be expected, not only that oils may be deprived of colour, but that rancid oils may be reſtored to ſweetneſs, by the metallic oxides. My father formerly found * that rancid oil, expoſed to ſtreams of carbonic gas, was ſweetened. The ſame effect may be produced by the ſame gas, formed in the proceſs; and indeed, though I was not particularly attentive to this circumſtance, I thought the train-oil was diminiſhed in rancidity; and the ſpermaceti-oil which was kept for ſeveral months after expoſure to heat, continued ſweet.

Another circumſtance, worthy of remark, is, that though concentrated vitriolic acid, on addition to oils,

* Henry's Experiments and Obſervations, page 129.

blacken them, and gives out a ſulphureous ſmell; yet, when dropped into oils in which the metallic calces have been digeſted, it combines with the calces, and precipitates them, without either diſcolouring the oils, or changing their odour.

Account of the Griffard, or African Eagle; from Vaillant's Natural Hiſtory of the Birds of Africa.

IT is from the relative proportion of the parts of the body that naturaliſts may obtain the beſt ſpecific characters of animals. The form of the body generally determines the habits and manners; while the variety of colour, eſpecially among the different genera of of birds of prey, whoſe plumage varies ſo conſiderably at different periods of their life, furniſhes but very ambiguous diſtinctions.

The African eagle here deſcribed occupies a diſtinguiſhed rank among thoſe birds of rapine which are eminently endowed with courage, ſtrength, and offenſive arms: its ſize is nearly equal to the great or royal eagle, from which it differs in the ſuperior muſcularity of its thighs, in the ſtrength of its talons, and in the length of its legs; ſo that it may readily be pointed out, not only in a cabinet among other kindred ſpecies, but even when on wing, by its pendent legs.

Hares, and the ſmaller kinds of antelopes, are its ordinary prey, which it readily kills in a manner highly characteriſtic of its ſtrength. Its courage is, however, more eminently diſplayed in its combats with other birds of prey: as ſoon as one of them is found intruding on the wide domain which this winged monarch has choſen for himſelf, he is immediately attacked and put to flight. It ſometimes happens that whole troops of vultures and ravens unite together to rob the griffard of his prey: but the ſtern and intripid attitude of this bird, fixed on the animal which he has ſlain, is ſufficient to keep at a diſtance the whole legion of plunderers.

This eagle lives during the whole year with its female: they uſually fly in company, and never wander beyond their own territories. They eſtabliſh their aery on the ſummit of a very lofty tree, or on the inacceſſible crag of a rock. The neſt is a platform, four or five feet acroſs, and about two inches in thickneſs, ſtrong enough to ſupport the weight of a man; if undiſturbed, it is uſed for a long ſeries of years, probably during the whole life of the pair: it is compoſed of a number of ſtrong perches, of different lengths, reſting on the forks of the branches, and connected together by interlaced bruſhwood; above this, is a layer of dry ſticks, moſs, leaves, heath, &c. on which reſts a third ſtratum, compoſed of ſmall pieces of dried wood; and on this, without any mixture of down or feathers, the female lays her eggs.

The griffard builds his neſt by choice on a high ſolitary tree, whence he may deſcry at a diſtance any approaching danger; among rocks, his habitation is more expoſed to the invaſion of the leſſer carnivorous quadrupeds, who are rendered more formidable by their very ſmallneſs.

The female lays two white eggs, almoſt round, and above three inches in diameter. While ſhe ſits, and till the young are of ſufficient age to be left alone on the neſt, the care

care of providing food devolves on the male: but the voracity of the young, as they increaſe in ſize, becomes ſo preſſing, that both the parents can with difficulty appeaſe the inceſſantly craving appetites of their offſpring. The ſupply of proviſions is ſo copious, that a family of Hottentots aſſured me of their having ſubſiſted for two months by daily robbing a neſt of this bird, which was in their neighbourhood. I am inclined to think this account by no means improbable, after having been myſelf witneſs of the rapaciouſneſs of a griffard which I kept alive for ſome time. His wing being broken, and he being unuſed to captivity, he refuſed for three days every think that was offered; but, as ſoon as he began to take food, he became abſolutely inſatiable, and the ſight of a piece of fleſh rendered him quite wild: he ſwallowed intire maſſes of a pound weight, and never refuſed any thing, devouring even that portion which he had juſt before been obliged to diſgorge;—no ſort of meat was rejected by him; the carcaſes of other birds of prey, and even of another griffard, which I had been diſſecting, were indiſcriminately devoured.

While theſe birds are perched, they utter from time to time a ſhrill piercing cry, mixed with a hoarſe melancholy note, which is heard to a vaſt diſtance; and ſo loſty is their flight, that they often diſappear from view, while their cry is ſtill ſufficiently audible.

I firſt met with this bird in the country of the Great Namaquois, about the 28th degree of ſouth latitude, on the banks of the Great river. They became more frequent as I advanced towards the tropic, but are not to be found in Caffraria. They were probably at one time to be ſeen as far ſouth as the Cape: but, as the colony has increaſed, all the larger birds and quadrupeds, thoſe eſpecially which require a conſiderable tract of country for their ſubſiſtence, have been forced into the deſert by civilized man—a more potent deſtroyer than themſelves.

Account of the great River Criſna; from Pennant's View of Hinduſtan.

FROM Gangapatam, on the northern mouth of the Pennar, the land runs due north as far as Motapilli, when it forms a ſtrong curve towards the eaſt; the point of which is one ſide of the great river Criſna, in about latitude 15° 43′. Its Delta, which winds round as far as Maſulipatam, is not conſiderable. This river annually overflows a vaſt tract of country, like the Indus on the weſtern ſide of this empire, and like all the other great rivers on this extenſive coaſt. The Criſna riſes from the foot of the weſtern Ghauts, and not more than forty-five miles from Severndrug, on the weſtern coaſt. There is another branch to the eaſt, that riſes ſtill more northerly. On the ſide is Sattara, a ſtrong fortreſs, the capital of the Mahratta ſtate, in the time of the Rajah of Sivaji's race: it was taken by him 1673, and found to be the depoſitory of immenſe treaſure; at that time it belonged to the king of Vijapur: it was afterwards uſed by the Mahrattas, as the lodgement of their riches, and alſo as a retreat for the more defenceleſs inhabitants

of Puna, and other open towns, in time of potent invaſions.

The river continues deſcending to the eaſt. In latitude 17° is Meritch, a ſtrong fortreſs, with a Jaghirdar territory conquered from its owner, by Hydar. In latitude 16° 45′, a ſmall river diſcharges itſelf into the Criſna from the north. It would not be worth mentioning, but that Pannela, a fortreſs of vaſt ſtrength, was made by Sumbuji, the profligate ſon of Sivaji, his reſidence juſt before his ſurpriſal, in 1689, betrayed by Cablis Khan, the vile inſtrument of his pleaſures, corrupted by Aurengzebe. His extravagant love of women brought on him ruin. Informed, by Cablis, that a Hindu of rank and great beauty was on her road, to be delivered by the parents to her huſband, according to the cuſtom of the Hindus, he inſtantly put himſelf at the head of a ſmall body of horſe to carry off the prize, and ordered Cablis to follow at a diſtance for his protection, in caſe of accidents in that hoſtile time. The traitor had given notice to Aurengzebe of this expedition, who, ſending a body of cavalry, ſurpriſed Sumbuji juſt as he had diſperſed the nuptial proceſſion.

Into the north ſide of the Criſna, in latitude 16° 20′ falls the great river Bima, after a courſe of three hundred and fifty miles. It riſes at the head of the weſtern Ghauts, parallel to Chaul in the Concan, and not above fifty miles from the ſea. It deſcends rapidly towards the ſouth-eaſt. In latitude 17° 40′ it receives a ſmall river from the weſt, on the ſouthern banks of which ſtands, Vijapur, the capital of the famous kingdom of the ſame name, now poſſeſſed by the Mahrattas, but once governed by its own monarchs, till conquered by Aurengzebe, in 1686. It was of great extent, and reached to the weſtern ſea, where it poſſeſſed the ports of Dabul, Vingorla, and Carapatan.

The capital, Vijapur, is ſome leagues in circuit, ſeated in a fine but naked country, well watered. It makes a ſingular appearance from an adjacent eminence, filled with numbers of ſmall domes, and one of a majeſtic ſize. It was once a city of great ſplendor, and filled with palaces, moſques, mauſoleums, and public and private buildings of great magnificence; many of them are fallen to ruin, and give melancholy proofs of its former ſplendor. I ſhall not attempt to detail them. The palaces of the kings, and accommodations for their attendants, were within a vaſt fort, ſurrounded with a ditch a hundred yards wide; the depth appeared to be great, but is now filled with rubbiſh: within the fort is the citadel. Tavernier ſays, that the great ditch was filled with crocodiles, by way of garriſon, to prevent all acceſs by water. Lieutenant Moor has his doubts about this, imagining that there never was any water in this foſs. That ſuch garriſons have exiſted I doubt not. I have read in Purchas, that, in Pego, the foſſes of fortified places were ſtocked with thoſe tremendous animals, not only to keep out enemies, but to prevent deſertion. This practice has certainly been of great antiquity in ſome parts of India: Pliny mentions it as uſed in a fair city of the Horatæ, a people I cannot trace.

The Criſna, above and below its conflux with the Bima, is fordable; and, a few miles below its channel, is ſix hundred yards wide, made horrid

horrid with the number and rudeneſs of the variouſly formed rocks, which are never covered but in the rainy ſeaſon.

The Tungbuddra is another vaſt branch of the Criſna. It falls into it, in latitude 16° 2′, and originates extremely ſouth, from a doubtful fountain. Towards its lower part, it divides into three or four ſmall branches, which riſe remote from each other; the moſt ſouthern is the Curga Naïr's country; the moſt northern from the head of the Ghauts oppoſite to Onor, and ſcarcely twenty miles from the ſea. What muſt give this river great celebrity, is its having had on its banks, in latitude 15° 22′, the ſplendid city of Vijanagar. Feriſhta ſays, that it was founded, in 1344, by Belaldeo, king of the Carnatic, which, in thoſe days, included the whole peninſula. It was viſited by Cæſar Froderick, a Venetian traveller, in 1565, and found deſerted and ruinous, having been ſacked by four confederated Mahommedan princes two years before, on which its monarch had retired to Penuconda. Frederick ſays, that its circumference was twenty-four miles. Mr. Rennel has given us a view of its preſent ſtate from lieutenant Emitt, who viſited it in 1792.

The ruins of Vijanagar are in the little Sircar of Anagundi, which does not extend above twenty miles around this vaſt city. It is very ſingular, that that little Sircar is now poſſeſſed by a lineal deſcendant of Rama Rajah, the laſt great monarch of Vijanagar, and its attendant nations, Canarine and Malabar, united ſeven hundred years before under the rule of Criſna Deva. Tippu wiſhed to reſerve this little tract to himſelf, for the ſatisfaction of generouſly reſtoring to the deſcendant the ſmall relique of the great empire of his anceſtors. He is denied the title of Rajah, inſtead of which he has the diminutive Rail beſtowed on him; this is ſuitable to his revenues, which do not exceed two lacs of rupees, or 25,000*l*. per annum, with the empty regality of a mint at Anagundi.

Compariſon between Mounts Veſuvius and Etna; from Spallanzani's Travels in the two Sicilies.

THOUGH Veſuvius, conſidered in itſelf, may be juſtly called a grand volcano, and though, from the deſtruction and calamities it has at various times occaſioned, it has continually been an object of conſternation and terror to the inhabitants of the neighbouring country; yet, when it is compared with Etna, it muſt loſe much of its celebrity, and appear ſo diminiſhed, that, if the expreſſion may be allowed, it may be called a volcano for a cabinet. Veſuvius does not, perhaps, riſe higher than a mile above the level of the ſea; and the whole circuit of its baſe, including Ottajano and Somma, is not more than thirty miles: while Mount Etna covers a ſpace of one hundred and eighty, and in its height above the ſea conſiderably exceeds two miles. From the ſides of Etna other leſſer mountains riſe, which are, as it were, its offſpring, and more than one of which equals Veſuvius in ſize. The moſt extenſive lavas of the latter mountain do not exceed ſeven miles in length; while thoſe of Etna are fifteen or twenty, and ſome even thirty miles in extent. The borders of the crater of Mount Etna are never

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leſs than a mile in circuit, and, according to the changes to which they are ſubject, ſometimes two or three miles; it is even reported, that, in the dreadful eruption of 1669, they were enlarged to ſix. But the circumference of the Veſuvian crater, is never more than half a mile, even when wideſt diſtended, in its moſt deſtructive conflagrations.* Laſtly, the earthquakes occaſioned by the two volcanos, their eruptions, ſhowers of ignited ſtones, and the deſtruction and deſolation they occaſion, are all likewiſe proportionate to their reſpective dimenſions. We cannot therefore wonder that viſits to Veſevius ſhould be conſidered as undertakings of little conſequence, and never be made public, except lavas ſhould have been flowing at the time; while a journey to Etna is conſidered as no trivial enterprize, both from the difficulty of the way, and the diſtance; as from Catania, whence it is uſual to ſet out, it is thirty miles to the ſummit of Etna. On ſuch a journey, likewiſe, we have to paſs through three different climates; whereas, to go from Naples to Veſuvius ſhould be rather called an excurſion than a journey. We find alſo little difference between the temperature of the air at the bottom of this latter mountain, and that of its ſummit. Notwithſtanding theſe difficulties, however, the gigantic majeſty of the Sicilian volcano, its ſublime elevation, and the extenſive, varied, and grand, proſpects its ſummit preſents, have induced the curious, in every age, to aſcend, and examine it; and not a few have tranſmitted to poſterity the obſervations they have made during their arduous journey.

An Account of Cader Idris, the ſecond Mountain in Wales; from Mr. Arthur Aikin's Tour through North Wales.

THE day being promiſing, we ſet off, after breakfaſt, to examine Cader Idris. A ſmall lake, called Llyn-y-gader, lies about a mile and a half on the high-road to Towyn, which having arrived at, we quitted the road, and began our aſcent up the firſt ſteps of this loſty mountain. When we had ſurmounted the exterior ridge, we deſcended a little to a deep clear lake, which is kept conſtantly full by the numerous tributary torrents that fall down the ſurrounding rocks. Hence we climbed a ſecond and ſtill higher chain, up a ſteep but not difficult tract, over numerous fragments of rock detached from the higher parts: we now came to a ſecond and more elevated lake, clear as glaſs, and overlooked by ſteep cliffs, in ſuch a manner as to reſemble the crater of a volcano, of which a moſt accurate repreſentation is to be ſeen in Wilſon's excellent view of Cader Idris. Some travellers have mentioned the finding lava, and other volcanic productions here; upon a ſtrict examination, however, we were unable to diſcover any thing of the kind, nor did the water of the lake

* I know not how M. Sage was led into ſo ſtrange an error as to aſſert, that, 'the crater of Veſuvius is more than three miles in diameter.' (Elem. de Min. tom. 1.) Were this true, the circumference of the Veſuvian crater muſt be nearly ten miles, an extent which perhaps the crater of no volcano in the world ever had.

appear

appear to differ, in any reſpect, from the pureſt rock-water, though it was tried repeatedly with the moſt delicate chymical teſts. A clear, loud, and diſtinct echo repeats every ſhout that is made near the lake. We now began our laſt and moſt difficult aſcent up the ſummit of Cader Idris itſelf, which when we had ſurmounted, we came to a ſmall plain with two rocky heads of nearly equal height, one looking to the north, the other to the ſouth. We made choice of that which appeared to us the moſt elevated, and ſeated ourſelves on its higheſt pinacle, to reſt after a laborious aſcent of three hours We were now high above all the eminences within this vaſt expanſe; and, as the clouds gradually cleared away, caught ſome grand views of the ſurrounding country. The huge rocks, which we before looked up to with aſtoniſhment, were now far below at our feet, and many a ſmall lake appeared in the valleys between them. To the north, Snowden with its dependencies ſhut up the ſcene; on the weſt we ſaw the whole curve of the bay of Cardigan, bounded, at a vaſt diſtance, by the Caernarvon mountains, and, nearer, daſhing its white breakers againſt the rocky coaſt of Merioneth. The ſouthern horizon was bounded by Plinlimmon; and, on the eaſt, the eyes glanced over the lake of Bala, the two Arennig mountains, the two Arrans, the long chain of the Ferwyn mountains, to the Breddin-hills on the confines of Shropſhire; and dimly, in the diſtant horizon, was beheld the Wrekin riſing alone from the plain of Salop. Having, at laſt, ſatisfied our curioſity, and being thoroughly chilled by the keen air of theſe elevated regions, we began to deſcend down the ſide oppoſite to that which we had come up. The firſt ſtage led us to another beautiful mountain-lake, whoſe cold clear waters diſcharge their ſuperabundance in a full ſtream down the ſide of the mountain; all theſe waters abound with trout, and in ſome is found the gwyniad, a fiſh peculiar to rocky alpine lakes. Following the courſe of the ſtream, we came on the edge of the craggy cliffs that overlook Talyllyn lake; a long and difficult deſcent conducted us, at laſt, on the borders of Talyllyn, where we entered the Dolgelle road.

The mountain of Cader Idris, in height the ſecond in all Wales, riſes on the ſea-ſhore, cloſe upon the northern ſide of the eſtuary of the ſmall river Diſynwy, about a mile above Towyn. It proceeds with almoſt a conſtant aſcent, firſt northwards for about three miles, then, for ten miles farther, runs E. N. E. giving out for its ſummit a branch nearly three miles long, in a ſouth-weſterly direction, parallel to the main ridge. It is very ſteep and craggy on every ſide; but the ſouthern deſcent, eſpecially to the border of Talyllyn lake, is the moſt precipitous, being nearly perpendicular. Its breadth bears but a ſmall proportion to its length; a line paſſing along its baſe, and interſecting the ſummit, would ſcarcely equal four miles and a half; and in the other parts it is a mere ridge, whoſe baſe hardly ever exceeds one mile in breadth. The peak is ſaid to be 2850 feet above Dolgelle. Cader Idris is the beginning of a chain of primitive mountains, extending in a N. N. eaſterly direction, and including the Arrans and

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the Arennigs. It is much loftier and more craggy than the ſlates and ſecondary mountains which ſurround it.

Obſervations and Experiments on the Nature and Formation of Vegetable Earth, or Soil, by Mr. Smith; from the European Magazine.

BY vegetable ſoil we mean that which forms a covering to moſt parts of the globe, and in which all vegetables grow, multiply, and are nouriſhed: it is itſelf totally formed of decayed animal and vegetable ſubſtances; it is of different colours in different places, according to the different ſubſtances which have grown and decayed upon it. When it is pure it is capable of being burnt, and in Scotland it is the fuel moſt generally uſed, and goes under the name of peat. It is of different depths in different places, from one inch to between twenty and thirty feet. When examined minutely, we find it compoſed of ſmall pieces of decayed vegetables; and even pitcoal itſelf appears to be formed by vegetable matter, decompoſed under particular circumſtances. On examining ſome pieces of coal, we often perceive the appearance of ligneous particles; but the true proceſs through which the wood muſt have gone before it aſſumed this foſſil ſhape, we cannot determine. We find oak, which has long been buried under ground, aſſume the hardneſs of coal; this is often dug out of the moſſes in Scotland, where it goes by the name of black oak. I have ſeen ſome of thoſe oak-ſtakes which were found in laying the foundation of a bridge over the Thames, and which are ſaid to have been drove in there by Julius Cæſar, to have aſſumed the brittleneſs and hardneſs of coal. The quick increaſe of vegetable earth is ſurpriſing in many places; particularly near Dumfries there is a place called Lochermoſs, which evidently appears to have been an arm of the ſea, from boats and anchors having been dug up there by the common people. Coins have likewiſe been found in it, twenty or thirty feet below the ſurface of the vegetable ſoil; ſome of which denote the days of Agricola. The bottom of the moſs is totally compoſed of ſea-ſand: I have ſeen large oak and pine trees dug out of it in a high ſtate of preſervation, and had the appearance of wood newly cut; but the pine ſeemed to contain more roſin than the pine which grows in our climate, and ſplinters of it are uſed by the common people as torches; nuts are likewiſe found in theſe moſſes in a high ſtate of preſervation. It is a curious fact that in whatever part of theſe mooriſh grounds, provided that the ſurface be dry, we lay down limeſtone or other calcareous earth, the common production, which is heath, will be deſtroyed, and white clover ſpring up in its place, although there was not a grain of white clover within many miles of the ſpot. The knowledge of this might be a valuable acquirement to philoſophers, who maintain the theory of the ſpontaneous generation of vegetables and animalculæ. The fact is ſo well known in this country, that the farmer has only to lime his land, and it produces abundance of this plant, which is an excellent paſture for his cattle. I will now attempt to prove, by experiment, that both vegetable and

and animals add to the ſoil, inſtead of diminiſhing it: or that the vegetable mould affords little more than a vehicle to the pabulum or ſeed of plants; as I ſhall endeavour to prove that nature, by a certain regular proceſs, is capable of turning both air and water into earth, and thereby muſt increaſe the magnitude of our globe.

Experiment the Firſt.

I expoſed a quantity of earth or ſoil in a furnace, where I kept it in a red heat for nearly twelve hours. I took it out and weighed it, I found it to be fourteen pounds and a half. I put it into a large garden-pot, and having ſufficiently watered it for vegetation, I planted in it three tree mallows: the mallows in all, when planted, weighed twenty-two grains. I kept them there for four months, in the ſummer ſeaſon, during which time they grew and flouriſhed; at the end of which period I took them up and dried them carefully. On weighing them I found them to be above one pound and a half. I took the earth which was in the pot, and kept it twelve hours in a furnace as before, and, on weighing it, I found it had only loſt one quarter of an ounce, which might be loſt in making the experiment. By this we ſee that the earth muſt have gained conſiderably in its weight during this ſhort period. From this we ſee that plants are able to convert water into vegetable earth. Since I made this experiment I find that it was made by Hales on a willow, which increaſed, in five years, ſo much as to weigh fifty pounds, without the diminution of the earth in which it grew. We are led to conjecture, from this experiment, that moſt of the vegetable earth of this globe is, by the powers of vegetation, formed from air, water, and light; and we find the increaſe to be very great. The next queſtion that occurred to me was, Whether vegetables had the power of converting water into earth, or whether or not the water only acted as a ſtimulus to the plants, ſo as to cauſe an increaſe of their parts, without being, of itſelf, much diminiſhed in proportion to the increaſe of the plant, in the ſame manner as an acid ſtimulates the mouth to ſecrete ſaliva, without any part of the acid entering into the compoſition of the ſaliva: but that water is diminiſhed by the growth of plants, appears probable; for when a plant has abſorbed water, it attracts the hydrogene from it, which forms their inflammable principle, and throws off the oxigene, and in this mode they purify the air. As the animal and what is called the vegetable life are the ſame in their manner of increaſe and growth, I was led to make the following experiment to inveſtigate the ſubject.

Experiment the Second.

I took two pieces of muſcular fleſh, of equal weight, and nearly of the ſame ſhape, that when evaporation took place they might have equal ſurfaces expoſed to the air. I then fixed them to a piece of wood, which I took care to balance juſtly. On one piece of the muſcular fleſh I put a number of the eggs of the common fleſh-fly. During the ſpace of three days the meat kept an equilibrium; but on the fourth, the one on which I put the eggs preponderated very conſiderably; on the fifth more, and more, during the increaſe of the maggots, and till

all the flesh was destroyed, which was in about eight or nine days. This shews that animals possess a power of attracting something from the air, and that they increase, or give more to the earth, than they take away from it; that is, they convert some species of air, perhaps azotic, into a solid earthy substance. On collecting and weighing the maggots, their weight amounted to as much as the flesh meat on which they lived, while on the other hand, the piece of meat on which no eggs were placed had lost one quarter of its weight by evaporation, or decomposition by incipient putrefaction taking place. By these experiments it evidently appears, that animals, as well as plants, draw something from the air, which, by some unknown power, they convert into a solid mass; and that not above one half of the water which they absorb is converted into a vegetable or animal substance; but that the water operates as a stimulus, exciting their organized particles into action. This was evidently the case in the last experiment, for the maggots were three days in hatching, during which time a considerable evaporation took place from the surface of the meat; yet, notwithstanding this, they were found equal in weight to the original substance on which they had been fed. It therefore appears, that water and heat are the principal agents in nature in growth, generation, and multiplication, both of the animal and vegetable kingdoms. A curious instance of this occurs in a boy who was sweated down for a horse-race: the night before the race he was weighed, after which they gave him a biscuit and a small glass of wine; but, to their great astonishment, when he was weighed in the morning, they found he had gained half a stone in weight: Did not this wine and biscuit act as a stimulus in exciting that particular action, which was the cause of the absorption of something from the air? People are known to grow fat upon nothing but strong beer: the coal-heavers about London are a good example of this; they are generally robust, and few of them are great eaters, generally living upon porter: Is not this to be assigned to the effect of its stimulating quality, as in the former case? From the above it appears that animals and vegetables have a power of creating and increasing earth, and that they add, every year, a strata of earth to our globe, both calcareous, argillaceous, and vegetable. And it is a probable conjecture, that the same power which at present increases it, is the power by which it was first formed, that is, the principle of life!

E. S. J.

Observations on the Formation of Sulphur and its Acid; by Mr. Smith; from the same.

SULPHUR is well known to every body, and is found in most parts of the globe. It sublimes with an exceeding small degree of heat, is very inflammable, burning with a blue flame, discharging, at the same time, a most suffocating vapour, which is known by the name of volatile sulphuric acid. It mineralizes with most metals, forming what is called their ochres: for example, with mercury it forms vermillion. The original formation of sulphur has long been unknown:

unknown: Chaptal thinks it is formed by the decompoſition of animal and vegetable ſubſtances; M. Dewyn has tried to prove that it exiſts ready formed in many plants; but a queſtion ariſes, whether it is formed in theſe plants or animals before a decompoſition takes place, or after it has taken place, formed during that decompoſition? or are we to imagine that plants and animals poſſeſs the power of producing ſulphur in the ſame manner that the latter have of producing calcareous and argillaceous earths? Some are inclined to think that it is formed during the decompoſition of animal and vegetable ſubſtances; and even water when it putrefies; or rather the ſubſtances which are in the water. The food, when taken into the ſtomach, and after it has deſcended into the rectum, when any air is emitted, it often has a ſulphureous ſmell: the ſame ſmell iſſues from a putrefied or rotten egg: and if a clean ſilver ſpoon be put into an egg, it will be found, after a day or two, to grow black, which is a proof of the exiſtence of hepatic air in it. Bilge water, and vegetables under a certain ſtate of putrefaction, have the ſame ſmell. The way in which I would account for the formation of the hepatic gas, is, that the volatile alkali, which is contained in theſe plants, uniting with the ſulphur, forms a *hepar ſulphuris*, which afterwards, in another ſtate of putrefaction, being, by ſome means, decompoſed, either by the air or an acid, the hepatic gas is evolved. Hepatic gas is known to be compoſed of a certain portion of ſulphur, held in ſolution by hydrogene: ſo we need not have recourſe, for the formation of the hepatic gas, to the uniting ſulphur with an alkali; but to the hydrogene which is formed during the putrefaction, taking up a certain portion of the ſulphur, and holding it in ſolution. The ſame thing may be ſaid of the phoſphoric gas. There is in the pariſh of Kirkpatric Fleeming, in the county of Dumfrieſhire, a large plain compoſed of black vegetable ſoil; which, according to the common report of the country people, was originally a deep lough, or ſheet of water, but which has been ſince filled up through time and the common proceſs of nature. In the centre of this plain, which is two miles over, there is a ſpring of ſtrong ſulphurious water, full as ſtrong as that of Moffat, in Scotland, or Harrowgate, in England. As this well is in the centre of a large plain containing decayed vegetables, and as it is the only ſpring in the place, it would appear that the water, impregnated with the hepatic gas from the decaying vegetables, is carried to it by filtration, and there forms a ſtream of hepatic water. The well at Moffat, which yields hepatic water, is ſituated at the bottom of a mountain which is covered with decayed vegetables, or is rather a moſs or moor. And, I believe, if other wells, which produce this water, were carefully examined, they would be found to take their origin from ſome bed of decayed vegetables, or putrid water. Peat, which is a dried vegetable earth, when burnt, if the aſhes be ſtirred while hot, in a dark room, we may perceive a ſulphurious flame among them. Did the fire, while burning, cauſe a neceſſary decompoſition of the peat; or did the ſulphur exiſt in the peat ready formed?

Theſe

These obſervations tend to prove that ſulphur is made viſible by the decompoſition of the animal or vegetable ſubſtance; but not to ſhew the manner in which the ſulphur is formed. I am led to conceive, that, during vegetation, there is a certain proceſs in the plant, by which it is enabled to create ſulphuric acid, which immediately joins itſelf to part of the plant, or to the vegetable fixed alkali forming vitriolic tartar, in the ſame manner as we ſee a certain proceſs going on in animal life, forming different acids, as tartareous, ſaccarine, phoſphoric, &c. But during combuſtion, the oxigene of the acid uniting itſelf with the carbone, or inflammable gas, forms carbonic acid, or water, leaving the ſulphur, which, being expoſed to the air and heat, takes fire and burns. The ſame thing will take place during decompoſition in the caſe of putrefaction; but then the ſulphur will unite itſelf with the volatile alkali; and, being decompoſed, will form ſulphuric gas, uniting with the ſuperabundant hydrogene. As there is a greater decompoſition going forward in hot climates than in cold ones, conſequently there will be more ſulphur found in the former than the latter: volcanos muſt, therefore, form much ſulphur by a quick decompoſition of vegetables, &c. for wherever they are, prodigious quantities of ſulphur are to be found.

F. S. J.

USEFUL

to a higher or more elevated ſituation. Dated Auguſt 7.

John Cockran, of Paiſley, in Scotland, yarn-merchant; for a method of ſpinning flax, hemp, and tow, by means of machinery wrought by water, and which may be wrought by ſteam-engines, horſes, or any other power. Dated Auguſt 7.

William Birch, of Charlotte-ſtreet, in the pariſh of St. George, Bloomſbury, in the county of Middleſex, eſq. on behalf of himſelf and of his ſon, Richard Comyns Birch, of Calcutta, in the Eaſt Indies, eſq.; for a method of puriſying, refining, and preparing indigo, for the uſe of dyers. Dated Auguſt 11.

George Dodgſon, of the pariſh of St. Leonard, Shoreditch, in the county of Middleſex, cabinet-maker; for a method of making and conſtructing pumps and engines for raiſing and evacuating water, or other fluids, and for producing power; and is peculiarly adapted for the uſe of ſhips and veſſels. Dated Auguſt 23.

Franciſco Rapoſo, of Liſbon, in the kingdom of Portugal, captain of engineers, in the ſervice of her moſt faithful majeſty; for improvements in the conſtruction of ſteam-engines. Dated Auguſt 29.

John Greuſell, of Dulwich, in the county of Surrey, merchant; for a new mode of applying machinery, in manufacturing copper and tin-plate veſſels of every deſcription. Dated October 10.

Samuel Roberts, of Park-Grange, in the pariſh of Sheffield, in the county of York, ſilverſmith and plater; for a method of making the nozles of candleſticks, of ſilver, ſilver-plated, or other metal, in ſuch a manner that the candle may be raiſed or depreſſed to any height within the ſocket, and capable of being eaſily adjuſted, ſo as to receive, and hold firm, candles of different ſizes. Dated October 30.

William Southwell, of Broad-court, in the pariſh of St. Martin's in the Fields, in the county of Middleſex, muſical inſtrument-maker; for new improvements on the action and conſtruction of piano-fortes, and other muſical inſtruments. Dated November 8.

William Chapman, of Newcaſtle-upon-Tyne, gent.; for a new method of laying, twiſting, or making ropes or cordage, of any number of yarns or ſtrands, or any number of threads, tarred or untarred, &c. and for which he obtained former letters patent, dated on or about the 13th of September, 1797, and the 6th of March, 1798. Dated November 8.

Edward Shorter, of Giltſpur-ſtreet, in the city of London, clock-maker, and William Anthony, of the pariſh of St. John, Clerkenwell, watch-maker; for a method of eaſing, equalizing, and facilitating, the draught of carriages of every deſcription, and for eaſing the body of carriages of every deſcription, in hanging the ſame; alſo for the more ſecurely fixing tents and marquees, and preventing the inconvenience attending the preſent mode of fixing the ſame, and which invention is likewiſe applicable to other uſeful purpoſes. Dated November 10.

Jethro Hornblower, of Whitehall, in the pariſh of Kenwyne, in the county of Cornwall, engineer; for a method of making pattens, (to be worn by women), by altering the compoſition and clumſineſs of their make and preventing their frequent breaking, and uneaſi-

neſs to the feet. Dated November 15.

William Pontiſex, of Shoe-lane, in the city of London, copperſmith, (with the aſſiſtance of his brother); for an improved ſtill-head, for diſtilling all ſorts of liquors. Dated November 17.

John Curr, of Sheffield-Park, in the pariſh of Sheffield, in the county of York, gent.; for a method of forming and making a flat rope, intended to be uſed in drawing coals, and other minerals, and water, out of pits or mines of any kind. Dated November 17.

Nathan Smith, of Brighthelmſtone, in the county of Suſſex, gent.; for a method of conſtructing or making a vapour-bath or veſſel, of different ſizes and ſhapes, by uniting thereto, and uſing therewith, a machine called an air-pump or exhauſter, for curing, healing, and relieving, perſons afflicted with the gout, &c. Dated November 20.

George Dunnage, of the Strand, in the liberty of Weſtminſter, hatmaker; for a manner of ventilating the crowns of hats, which is much ſuperior to any now uſed for that purpoſe. Dated November 27.

Robert Hindmarſh, of Walworth, in the county of Surrey, printer; for a method of applying an elementary or phyſical power to blaſt furnaces, and for all other works where power is required. Dated November 27.

Mark Noble, of Royal-row, in the pariſh of St. Mary, Lambeth, in the county of Surrey, engine-maker; for an apparatus to be applied to the working of pumps, engines, or machines in general, whether for ſea or land ſervice. Dated November 27.

Nathaniel Godbold, of Bloomſbury-ſquare, eſq.; for a remedy which is of wonderful benefit in the cure of conſumption, ſcrophula, and gout. Dated November 27.

Thomas Turner, of Greville-ſtreet, in the pariſh of St. Andrew, Holborn, in the county of Middleſex, ironmonger; for improvements in the conſtruction or making of locks. Dated December 8.

John Marks, of Tabernacle-row, Finſbury-ſquare, in the county of Middleſex, tailor; for a method of making gentlemens breeches, ſo as entirely to do away all the inconveniencies hitherto complained of. Dated December 8.

William Raley, of Newbald, in the Eaſt-Riding of Yorkſhire, chymiſt; for a philoſophical furnace and boiler, with an actuating wheel, being an appendage to the ſaid philoſophical furnace and boiler, &c. Dated December 8.

Joſhua Collier, of Weſt-ſquare, in the pariſh of St. George, in the county of Surrey; for a chymical proceſs for freeing fiſh-oils from their impurities, in point of ſmell, taſte, and colour; and for improved ſtrainers for oils, and other liquids; with other inſtruments, for aſcertaining their qualities, and aſſiſting their burning. Dated December 12.

William Hart, of the pariſh of St. James, Weſtminſter, in the county of Middleſex, brazier; for improved methods of raiſing beer, ale, ſpirituous liquors, &c. from the cellar to the bar, or any other part of the houſe, for the uſe of publicans, brewers, diſtillers, and others. Dated December 17.

John Randall Peckham, of the pariſh of St. Mary Magdalen, Bermondſey, in the county of Surrey, watch-maker; for a method of conſtructing

ſtructing a watch, ſo as to unite it with a mariner's compaſs, in ſuch a manner as to anſwer every purpoſe (with equal accuracy and perfection) for which either of them may be ſeparately uſed; which he calls a polar watch. Dated December 17.

Edmund Thomaſon, of Birmingham, in the county of Warwick, button-maker; for improvements in making ſteps for coaches, &c. and all kinds of carriages to which ſteps are uſed. Dated December 22.

Thomas Ovey, of Fleet-ſtreet, London, hatter, and John Jepſon, of Duke-ſtreet, Southwark, hat-manufacturer; for a method of manufacturing hats. Dated December 24.

James Fuſſell, of Wells, in the county of Somerſet, iron-manufacturer; for a balance-engine, or apparatus for raiſing and lowering boats, barges, or troughs, at the locks or falls on inland canals. Dated December 24.

Account of a Method of encreaſing the Force of Gunpowder. By Dominick Vandelli, Profeſſor of Natural Hiſtory and Chymiſtry, in the Univerſity of Coymbra; from the Memoirs of the Academy of Sciences in Liſbon.

AFTER having purified nitre, according to the method lately diſcovered, ſo as to render it intirely free from ſea-ſalt, I diſſolved it in water impregnated with inflammable gas, which gas I had obtained from the decompoſition of water, by evaporating or diſtilling water in greater quantity than is neceſſary for its total decompoſition. With this ſolution of nitre, I moiſtened the mixture of ſulphur and charcoal; and continued the proceſs of making gunpowder in the uſual manner.

By the above means, I obtained a ſpecies of gunpowder, which very much ſurpaſſed, in force, all kinds of gunpowder hitherto known.

Management of Hogs, by Henry Vaſſall, Eſq. from the Annals of Agriculture.

Winterbourn-court, near Briſtol, Jan. 27, 1798.

Sir,

IN anſwer to your favour of the 23d inſtant, I beg leave to ſend you the following account of the management of my hogs, which I hope will be ſatisfactory.

My plan is to have all my ſows farrow in the months of January, February, and March: the ſows and pigs are turned out to clover as ſoon as it is fit to take them; till which time, they are fed on ſteamed potatoes, with a ſmall quantity of meal. They are kept on the clover till my potatoes are ploughed out, when they glean the fields of all that is left in them. The pigs are then put up to fat on ſteamed potatoes and meal. The ſecond litters, which are farrowed by the month of Auguſt, I raiſe for ſtores; but thoſe which by chance come in later I kill off as roaſters; for I find there are few winters in which very young pigs will pay for raiſing, as they are too tender to bear much cold. By keeping the ſows with their pigs as long as they have milk, they are able to do without any aſſiſtance from the dairy; for, as I never keep more than ſix cows, the

waſh is nothing to the great number of pigs.

I think it proper to obſerve, that, as far as I am a judge, there are very few kinds of pigs which will pay for rearing.—After much trouble and expence, I have at laſt got into a breed which anſwers: they will weigh from ten to twelve ſcore at twelve and thirteen months old; are light in the bone and offal, and are ready ſale at the beſt price.

I make a point of having my ſtyes and yards well littered; by which means I raiſe a great quantity of dung for my potatoe-land, on which I put from forty to fifty cart-loads (forty buſhels each) per acre. I raiſe about a ſack of 240lb. weight per lug, or a hundred and ſixty ſacks per acre. Barley follows, of which I get about fifty buſhels an acre; then clover, moſt of which I feed off with pigs; after that wheat, of which I reckon five quarters a good crop. The year before I came to the farm, the crops were valued for the creditors of the tenant; the wheat was eſtimated at fourteen buſhels an acre, the barley and oats at twenty.

I hear there have been ſome beans imported from Holland within theſe few years, which are famous for being very prolific. Could you let me know where I could procure any of the ſeed?

I am, ſir,
Your moſt obedient
humble ſervant,
Henry Vaſſall.

Winterbourn-court, Feb. 22, 1798.

Sir,

I ſhould have anſwered your favour of the 5th inſtant ſooner, but I was from home when it reached Winterbourn. With reſpect to the queries it contains, I ſhall reply to them to the beſt of my knowledge, and wiſh it was in my power to do it in a more ſatisfactory manner; but as mine has been practical, not experimental huſbandry, I have not been very particular in making minutes of it.

My farm was never wholly employed for hogs, as I have always ſold my head wheat. The greateſt number of ſows I have had was one hundred and ſeventeen; which, with their two litters, amounted to about fifteen hundred:—the largeſt annual ſale was the above number. The breed of which I moſt approve, (for I have ſeveral), is a croſs between a large Chineſe, and a ſort which I met with by chance:—it is a ſhort well-made pig, which fats eaſily and ſoon, from ten to twelve ſcore.

My potatoes average me about one hundred and thirty ſacks per acre. I have never tried them for any ſtock but hogs, except giving them to my horſes, which do exceedingly well upon them.

It is ſcarcely poſſible for me to eſtimate the value of the improvement made on my land by hogs; as I have, beſides their manure, procured a good deal from pools, and digging up mould from old fiſh-ponds, and mixing it with lime and ſoap-aſhes, &c. though I reckon the chief benefit has been from hogs.

The average of pigs farrowed I reckon to be ten to each ſow of my beſt ſort.

My general courſe of crops—potatoes, barley, clover, wheat; but as my land is much given to weeds, which are increaſed by the great quantity of manure I put on, I frequently take two fallow crops running; then barley, clover, wheat.

My

USEFUL PROJECTS.

List of Patents for new Inventions, granted in the Course of the Year 1798.

ANTHONY George Eckhardt, of Hans-Place, Chelſea, eſq. F. R. S. for a method of making chairs, ſtools, benches, &c. adapted for rooms or carriages, with backs or ſeats and cuſhions, fixed in ſuch a manner as inſtantly to change, and ſhew two different ſurfaces in one ſeat or cuſhion. Dated January 16.

Samuel Roberts, of Park-Grange, in the county of York, ſilverſmith and plater; for working, adjuſting, ſupporting, and fixing, ſlide-tube candleſticks, ſilver, ſilver-plated, or other metal. Dated January 23.

Charles Tennant, of Darnley, near Glaſgow, bleacher; for a method of uſing calcareous earth, and the earths *ſtrontites* and *barytes*, inſtead of alkaline ſubſtances, for neutralizing the muriatic acid gas uſed in bleaching; and for employing thoſe earths in the other parts of the proceſs of bleaching, inſtead of alkaline ſubſtances. Dated January 23.

Archibald, earl of Dundonnald; for a method of manufacturing and procuring certain neutral ſalts, ſubſtances, and things, and of applying thoſe and other neutral ſalts to valuable purpoſes. Dated January 25.

Richard Shannon, of the pariſh of St. Pancras, M. D.; for a method of improving the proceſſes of brewing, diſtilling, boiling, evaporating, and of raiſing and condenſing ſteam or vapour, from aqueous, ſpirituous, ſaccharine, and ſaline fluids. Dated February 1.

Henry Clay, of Birmingham, in the county of Warwick, eſq.; for a method of ſaving part of the water now loſt, in paſſing boats and barges through locks on navigable canals. Dated February 1.

Robert Howden, of Hoxton, in the county of Middleſex; for a portable and moving furnace, for the purpoſe of heating ovens of every deſcription. Dated February 10.

Francis Farquharſon, of Birmingham, in the county of Warwick; for machinery for making bricks and tiles. Dated February 20.

James Douglas, of the pariſh of Chriſt-Church, in the county of Surrey; for a machine for making bricks. Dated February 20.

Walter Taylor, of Portſwood-green, in the county of Southampton, eſq.; for an improvement in the conſtruction of machines for raiſing water, and clearing ſhips of the ſame; alſo to take off the preſſure of the atmoſphere, or eddy-winds, from the tops of chimnies, to prevent what are commonly called ſmoaky chimnies. Dated Feb. 21.

Andrew Cederbarg, of St. John's Lane, Clerkenwell, in the county of Middlesex, engine and mathematical-instrument-maker; for a machine or instrument for the purpose of glazing, polishing, and graining, divers sorts of leather, &c. Dated February 28.

William Chapman, of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, gent.; for a method of laying, twisting, or making ropes or cordage, of any number of yarns or strands, or any number of threads, tarred or untarred. Dated March 6.

Henry Goolding, of Willesden, in the county of Middlesex, yeoman; for a machine or engine for raising, removing, and carrying off earth, stones, or rubbish, so as greatly to facilitate, and render less laborious and expensive, the carrying on and executing the works of canals, &c. Dated March 10.

Benjamin Douglas Perkins, of King-street, Covent-garden, in the county of Middlesex, M.A.; for a certain discovery made by his father, Elisha Perkins, of Plainfield, in Connecticut, in North America, doctor of physic; for a certain art of relieving and curing a variety of aches, pains, and diseases, in the human body, by drawing over the parts affected, or those contiguous thereto, in certain directions, various pointed metals, and compounds of metals. Dated March 10.

William Bolton, esq. captain in the navy; for an improved capstan, to be used on board ships, in capstan-houses, wharfs, &c. or wherever any great weight is to be raised, or resistance overcome. Dated March 10.

William Lester, of Yardley-Hastings, in the county of Nottingham, farmer; for a harrow, upon a new construction. Dated March 10.

Joseph Haycraft, of Greenland-dock, Rotherhithe, block, pump, and gun-carriage maker; for a gun-carriage, upon a new construction. Dated March 23.

James Douglas, of the parish of Christ-Church, in the county of Surrey, machinist; for machinery for shearing and cropping woollen-cloth with shears, knives, or cutters, put in operation by various powers. Dated March 30.

Robert Johnson, of Greek-street, Soho, in the county of Middlesex, chymist and apothecary; for a medicine (known by the name of Whitehead's essence of mustard) for the cure of rheumatisms, and other complaints. Dated March 30.

William Deverell, of Widcomb, in the county of Somerset, millwright; for a new invented pump, or pump-work. Dated April 5.

William Sellars, of the city of Bristol, manufacturer of spinning-machines; for a new invention, in making and working machines for preparing and spinning wool, cotton, flax, hemp, and various other materials. Dated April 18.

Francis Hollick, of Birmingham, in the county of Warwick, curry-comb maker; for a newly invented art of affixing, in several ways, an iron or other comb to the edge, or on the outside, of a curry-comb. Dated April 18.

John Edwards, of Bristol, mathematical-instrument maker; for an apparatus of mathematical instruments, for the better ascertaining the geographical position of vessels at sea. Dated April 18.

Thomas Rowntree, of Great Surrey-street, Blackfriers-bridge, engine-maker; for a method of applying fire, for the purpose of heating boilers and other vessels,

where

where heat is required. Dated May 1.

Joſeph Bramah, of Piccadilly, engineer; for an improvement in locks for doors, cabinets, &c. and alſo in the keys by which they are locked and unlocked. Dated May 3.

John Daniel Belfour, of Elſineur, in the kingdom of Denmark, merchant; for improvements in the operation or working-part of a machine, formerly invented by him, for making and manufacturing ropes and cordage. Dated May 3.

Peter Boileau, of Bruton-ſtreet, in the pariſh of St. George, Hanover-ſquare; for manufacturing ſtraw into hats, bonnets, and other articles, in a manner, and to produce an effect, never before attempted. Dated May 3.

George Blundell, of the pariſh of St. Matthew, Bethnal-green, in the county of Middleſex, manufacturer; for a machine for the purpoſe of ſaving fuel, and preventing dirt or duſt from fires, which he calls the *economical receiver*. Dated May 3.

William Jones, of the city of Briſtol, mill-wright; for a machine for the purpoſe of more readily mixing malt, or other ſubſtances, with fluids; whereby the eſſence or ſpirit of the malt, or other ſubſtances intended to be acted on by water, or other fluids, will be more perfectly and expeditiouſly extracted than by any other method hitherto invented. Dated May 8.

Robert Frith, of Salford, in the county of Lancaſter, dyer; for a chymical method of dying different permanent colours upon cotton, linen, woollen, and ſilk. Dated May 25.

William Sanxter, of Horſeheath, in the county of Cambridge, farmer; for a plough for the paring of land, which he conceives will be of great public utility, and peculiarly calculated for the ſaving of manual labour. Dated May 25.

John Champion, of the city of Briſtol, manufacturer of braſs, copper, and iron ware; for a method of making wire from rolled and ſlit iron, either foreign or Engliſh, put in operation by various powers. Dated June 2.

George Pomeroy, late of Boſton, in North America, but now of London, merchant; for an apparatus and machinery for the manufacturing of tobacco and ſnuff, and for other purpoſes. Dated June 5.

John Palmer, of Maxtock, in the county of Warwick, yeoman; for a new invention in the conſtruction of apparatuſes uſed for clearing grain from the ſtraw, and for pulverizing the ſame. Dated June 5.

Jonathan Hornblower, of the borough of Penryn, in the county of Cornwall, engineer; for a machine or engine for raiſing water, and for various other uſeful purpoſes in arts and manufactures, by means of ſteam, and otherwiſe. Dated June 8.

Abraham Boſquet, of Stangate, in the pariſh of Lambeth, in the county of Surrey, eſq. formerly of Sandymount, in the county of Dublin, and late one of his majeſty's commiſſaries of the muſters; for a method, by the application of which his majeſty's navy, and all trading veſſels, may derive durability, ſoundneſs, ſtaunchneſs, and many other advantages. Dated June 8.

John Hazledine, of Bridgenorth, in the county of Salop, iron-founder; for a method of reducing and forming large pigs and pieces of iron, copper, braſs, and other

metals, into bars, plates, and hoops, of different breadths, ſizes, and ſhapes. Dated June 14.

Richard Shannon, of Charlotte-ſtreet, in the pariſh of St. Pancras, Middleſex, doctor of phyſic; for a method of improving the proceſs of fermentation, by which, porter, beer, ale, malt, molaſſes, waſh, wine, cider, and all other ſaccharine and fermentable fluids, may be conducted with certainty and ſucceſs through the various proceſſes of fermentation, in any ſtate of the weather, &c. Dated June 19.

Patrick Rooney Nugent, late acting ſurveyor-general of lands for the iſlands of Cape Breton, in North America, but now of London, eſq.; for mathematical inſtruments, whereby the latitude and longitude, variation and inclination of the magnetic needle, at ſea and on ſhore, may be obtained in a more general, maſterly, and perfect manner, than hath hitherto been done. Dated June 27.

John Pearce, the younger, of Wolverhampton, in the county of Stafford, mill-wright; for conſtructing, making, working, and uſing, combs and machines, for combing of wool in a better manner than any now in uſe. Dated June 30.

Day Gunby, of Croſs-ſtreet, Hatton-garden, Middleſex, carpenter; for weights, bolts, and ſprings, for improving all kinds of writing and reading deſks, tables, chairs, ſtools, tambour-frames, library-ſteps, bedſteads, and various other articles. Dated July 6.

John Dickſon, of Dockhead, in the county of Surrey, engineer; for a method of conſtructing ſteam-engines, pumps, and other hydraulic machines. Dated July 14.

William Row, of Newcaſtle-upon-Tyne, merchant; for a mineral lamp-black. Dated July 14.

Richard Marlow, of the pariſh of St. Margaret, Weſtminſter, carpenter; for a method of hanging a window-ſaſh, and window-ſhutter, without the appearance of lines and pullies, which are wholly concealed from the ſight. Dated July 14.

William Dupe, of Hammerſmith, in the county of Middleſex, gun-maker; for a method of manufacturing bars, of a mixture of iron and ſteel, proper for double-barrel gun-barrels. Dated July 23.

William Docker, of Birmingham, in the county of Warwick, ſlate-merchant; for a method of making pipes or tubes of a ſolid block of ſtone. Dated Auguſt 3.

Stephen Halladay, of the pariſh of St. Martin in the Fields, in the county of Middleſex; for a new invention for the draught or moving of carriages of all deſcriptions. Dated Auguſt 3.

Philip Chell, engineer, and Henry Nichols, builder, both of Birmingham, in the county of Warwick; for a machine for lifting, raiſing, and conveying, boats, veſſels, or other things, from an upper to a lower level, or from a lower to an upper level, on canals or rivers, to ſave water and prevent tunnelling. Dated Auguſt 3.

John Aſhley, of Iſlington, in the county of Middleſex, plumber; for a method of raiſing water from wells of any depth, upon a very ſimple and permanent conſtruction. Dated Auguſt 7.

Thomas Staton, of Caſtle-ſtreet, Park, Southwark, in the county of Surrey, machine-maker; for an apparatus for raiſing beer, ale, wine, ſpirits, oils, or any other liquids, from cellars, or other low places, to

about ſeventy of its members as curates to theſe pariſhes, all of whom owe their exiſtence to that original ſtock. I may add here, and that from the undoubted teſtimony of the hiſtorians of the low countries, that the cultivation of the greateſt part of theſe rich provinces took its riſe from the ſelf-ſame means, eight hundred or a thouſand years back, when they were, in a manner, one continued foreſt.

A Campine-farm, of twenty bunders (ſixty acres), is ſtocked with two or three horſes, ſeven or eight cows, ſome oxen, and is cultivated with cole-ſeed, clover, rye, oats, and little or no wheat. It is hardly neceſſary to add, that, potatoes, turnips, and carrots, are cultivated not only in the Campine, but throughout all the low countries. But the culture of ſpergule *(alſine ſpergula major)* is more peculiar to the north of Brabant, though not confined to that tract alone. It ſerves the cows for autumn food, and the butter of this ſeaſon is called ſpergule butter, of which the Campine furniſhes a great quantity, eſpecially to Bruſſels, where it is employed for the uſe of the kitchen, as being both cheaper and more profitable than any other for that purpoſe. This plant is ſown where corn has been reaped, after the ground has been lightly ploughed. Cows are tethered on it in October, and a ſpace allowed to each one proportionable to the quantity of food which is proper for her. This paſture laſts till the froſts come on.

Account of the Kitchen fitted up at the Foundling-Hoſpital, under the Direction of his Excellency Count Rumford.

THE ſize of the kitchen is 21 feet 2 inches by 17 feet. In the centre of the wall, oppoſite the windows, is the roaſting-machine, which is let into the wall, and is 5 feet deep by 2 feet wide, and 15 inches high. In this the dinner, on the roaſt-beef days, being 112lb. of beef, for the officers and children, is now dreſt (the time required being four hours and a half), with a peck of coals and a peck of cinders mixed together; the cinders being ſaved from the conſumption of the former day: inſtead of which the average conſumption on the roaſting-days, in the former and common mode of roaſting, was above ten times the quantity of coals, being from two and a half to three buſhels. Communicating with the roaſter there are two pipes, by which the hot air may be forced ſo as to make the meat more or leſs brown, at the diſcretion of the cook. For the convenience of taking out the meat, either to turn it in the courſe of the dreſſing, or to take it up when dreſt, there is a table on caſters, which is eaſily moved to or from the front of the roaſter, and which in height and ſize correſponds exactly with the bottom of the roaſter.

On the right ſide of the roaſter is the ſteam-box, 3 feet 8 inches by 2 feet, and the large oblong iron boiler, 5 feet by 3 feet 4 inches, divided into two parts; one containing 82 gallons for boiling the children's meat, the other 41 gallons for boiling greens. The fire-place that ſupplies this boiler and ſteam-box is ſunk into the floor, ſo as that the upper part of the boiler is not higher than is convenient for the cook to reach over; the ſpace occupied by this boiler, and by the flues

flues belonging to it, including the part on which the ſteam box ſtands, is 8 feet 2 inches by 5 feet 2 inches. This double boiler and the ſteam-box, in which the potatoes of the hoſpital are dreſſed, and which is capable of boiling 200 lb. weight of potatoes at once, are ſupplied by the heat of one ſmall fire; the conſumption of which, for dreſſing all this beef, greens, and potatoes, is at preſent exactly one peck of coals, and the ſame quantity of of cinders. The ſteam is conducted by a ſmall pipe into the bottom of the ſteam-box, and by another pipe at the top of the ſteam-box into a chimney flue in the wall. In order to prevent the evaporation of ſteam from either the boiler or the ſteam-box, an object of almoſt as much ſaving to food as to fuel, there is to each a double rim that receives the edge of the cover, and which being kept ſupplied by a little water, makes it imperv ous to the ſteam.

The ſteam-box is a common deal box, guarded at the corners with iron, and lined with tin; in it there is, at the height of 5 inches above the bottom of the box, a falſe cullender bottom, which permits the ſteam to paſs equally under every part of the potatoes.

On the left ſide of the roaſter, next the corner, is another oblong double boiler, 3 feet 4 inches by 2 feet 3 inches, containing in one part 35 gallons, and in the other 17 gallons, for the purpoſe of dreſſing a leſſer quantity of food, when the larger boiler is not wanted. This has the ſame double rim as the larger boiler, for preventing the evaporation of ſteam. The average quantity of coals that is uſed for this leſſer boiler, for a day's dinner, is rather but very little leſs than what is uſed for the great boiler. Next to this is a round iron boiler, of 53 gallons, for boiling milk-porridge, and for boiling hot water occaſionally; this conſumes, on an average, about half the fuel that is uſed in the larger boiler. The ſpace occupied by theſe two boilers and their flues, and the ſhape and height, are made to correſpond exactly with the other ſide of the room; ſo as to have a paſſage of 6 feet 8 inches clear between them, and to leave in the front of the room, next the windows, an unoccupied ſpace of 13 feet by 17 feet.

Such is the general account of the work. It remains to add, for the information of thoſe who may incline to benefit by the example, a few obſervations on the advantage the Foundling-hoſpital derives from it, the amount of the expence, the uſes to which it is generally applicable, and the degree of attention and care required in the management of it.

The moſt important benefit to the hoſpital is the ſaving in point of fuel. How much that may eventually be, cannot yet be preciſely ſtated; at preſent, the coſt of the peck of coals, which is uſed in boiling the 112 lb. of beef, a proportionable quantity of greens, and 200 lb. weight of potatoes (ſuppoſing coals at the high price of 2*l.* 12*s.* a chaldron) is fourpence; a leſſer quantity of coals than is now uſed will probably be ſufficient; but it will require ſome time and experience to aſcertain the exact amount; and it ſhould be obſerved, that in cold weather it is very likely that the draught of the fire, and the conſumption of the fuel, may be increaſed. For four chaldron conſumed

consumed in the Foundling kitchen, in the former mode of cooking, there is as nearly as can be estimated, but one chaldron now used with count Rumford's apparatus. Besides this, the food being dreſt more gently, and with leſs evaporation, there is leſs waſte in that reſpect; and the food of the hoſpital is better dreſt than heretofore, and (now the cook is uſed to it) with much leſs trouble to her, and the other perſons employed in the kitchen.

As to the expence, the original coſt of the roaſter was 16 guineas; to which is to be added, for dripping-pans, gridirons, &c. belonging to it, near 6 guineas more. The coſt of the large double boiler was 25*l.* of the ſteam box 2*l.* 8*s.* and of the leſſer double boiler 11*l.* To this, when there is added the amount of about 10*l.* more, for a variety of incidental charges for iron work, in the courſe of fitting up the kitchen, it will appear that the whole bill for iron work is between 70*l.* and 80*l.* The bricklayers, carpenters, and ſtone maſons bills, amount to near as much more. Theſe however muſt have been ſomewhat increaſed, by the circumſtance of this having been the firſt experiment of the kind that has been made, on a large ſcale, in England.

With regard to the general uſe of the invention (I have now no reference to the count's fire places, the expence of which is trifling, and the advantage equally applicable to the ſmalleſt family, and to the humbleſt cottage), it will appear, that the benefit of theſe kitchens is in proportion to the magnitude of the ſcale; and that in private families, the advantage will be of leſs conſideration. To ſay nothing of the application of his principles to the burning of lime, or to engines or manufacturies, where fire is the inſtrument of operation; or of the uſe to be made of his boilers in huſbandry and in breweries; it is worth notice, that ſo ſimple an invention as the ſteam-box, for preparing potatoes for cattle, may be applied by farmers with hardly any expence or trouble, and with the greateſt advantage: and in the cookery of all large eſtabliſhments, where a number of perſons is to be ſupplied from the ſame kitchen, the benefit is of the utmoſt importance. In ſoldiers barracks, public ſchools, hoſpitals, manufactories, workhouſes, and cook-ſhops, the ſaving in fuel, and in the mode of preparing food, and the conſequent increaſe of the comfort and accommodation of the poor are ſo great, as to make the encouragement and promotion of theſe valuable inventions of count Rumford a national object.

As to the requiſite attention and care, it is eſſential that the flues of the boilers and roaſters ſhould not be too ſmall, nor ſo conſtructed but that every part of them may be cleaned thoroughly out once a month. The expence of this, which from caution has been hitherto done at the Foundling, by the bricklayer himſelf, has been 2*s.* a time for the three ſets of flues; which would amount to 24*s.* a year. Care ſhould alſo be taken, in uſing the pipes of the roaſter for forcing the hot air, not to open them *both* too haſtily, as the effect *may* be ſo ſtrong as to ſet fire to the meat. It is in this, and it is preſumed in all kitchens, better for the food, and a ſaving both in food and fuel, and alſo leſs prejudicial to the flues, that the fire ſhould not be made too

fierce, but that the cookery ſhould take rather more than leſs time; and, therefore, though water, without forcing the fire, will boil in the great boiler in an hour and a half, yet it has been found better to moderate the fire ſo as to allow two hours and a half. When the boiler is juſt opened, the heat of the confined ſteam is ſo great as to ſcald more violently than even hot water, if careleſſly approached: the covers, therefore, of the Foundling boilers are all opened by balanced pullies. To theſe only one caution need be added, neceſſary in all kitchens, but moſt in thoſe families were the cook wears *muſlin*, that ſhe ſhould be careful in opening the doors of the grates to ſerve the fire, that the draught, which is very ſtrong, does not draw in and ſet fire to her clothes.

N. B. At the porters lodge of the Foundling, the fire-place had been very ſubject to ſmoke, on account of the unfavourable ſituation, and want of height of the chimney-flue. This has been altered on count Rumford's principle, at the expence of a few ſhillings, and the defect is thereby in a great meaſure, if not entirely remedied; and at the ſame time neither the grate or room will now allow the conſumption of above half the fuel that was before neceſſary.

In a cook's ſhop, on the Foundling eſtate (in the colonade, north of Upper Guilford-ſtreet), there has alſo been fitted up, in a room only 15 by 11 feet, a kitchen on count Rumford's plan, which is capable of dreſſing food for 300 perſons: this kitchen, the whole expence of fitting up which has hardly exceeded 50*l.* is intended for providing good and wholeſome food for the poor, at a very moderate price in money, or upon tickets given them by their opulent and charitable neighbours, who purchaſe the tickets at Hillyer's ſhop, in the colonade, and by directing their charity into that channel, prevent, in a conſiderable degree the abuſe of it

Foundling, 19th Oct. 1796.

Queries, addreſſed to the Governors of the Foundling-Hoſpital, London, with their Anſwers; at a Meeting of the Committee for tranſacting the Affairs of the Hoſpital, Wedneſday, May 3, 1797.

MR. Bernard ſtated to the committee that he had received, from the right honourable ſir John Blaquiere, ſeveral queries reſpecting the Foundling-Hoſpital, with a requeſt of an early anſwer, on account of an inquiry at preſent making in the houſe of commons of Ireland, reſpecting the foundling-hoſpital there: and that he had prepared a draft of anſwers to the queries for the conſideration of the committee.

Query I. How many children are there now in that hoſpital?

Anſwer. There are at preſent 357 children on the eſtabliſhment.

Query. II. How many in the houſe, and how many at nurſe?

Anſwer. There are 175 children in the houſe, and 182 at nurſe.

Query III. Are they received indiſcriminately from the country, or is the admiſſion confined to the county of Middleſex?

Anſwer. The caſes are principally from the metropolis; but that is the effect of locality, and not of any particular regulation, the hoſpital

My hogs live in ſummer intirely upon clover. I do not approve of lucerne for them: I have ſome tranſplanted at ſix inches in the rows, which are three feet aſunder, which I uſe for horſes to very great advantage. Chicory I have never tried.

My head wheat I always ſell; but the tailing wheat, and the greateſt part of my barley, is conſumed by hogs. I fatten on ſteamed potatoes, with a proportion of barley, wheat, peaſe, or other meal; which is increaſed according to the time the hogs are up. I fatten them from ten to twelve months old. This year I ſold at 8*s.* 6*d.* per ſcore.

The ſoil of my farm is chiefly a good ſandy lome; very deep, and free from ſtones; conſiſting of near three hundred acres of arable, and one hundred and fifty acres of meadow-land.

I can ſcarcely, in the limits of a letter, give you a fuller account of my hog-ſyſtem than my laſt contained, to which I muſt beg leave to refer you. Where I failed at firſt was, from not being particular in the breed, but in buying ſows indiſcriminately.

The diſtemper which I mentioned to you, nearly reſembles the conſumption in the human ſpecies. It begins with a cough; then comes on a violent ſhortneſs and panting for breath: the pig falls away as the diſeaſe gains ſtrength, but does not loſe its appetite; and in time it becomes gradually weaker, and at length dies; when the lungs or lights are found, on opening, to be almoſt decayed, and the heart ſlightly affected.

My mode of cultivating potatoes is with a plough. I open a furrow ſix inches deep, and two feet and a half aſunder, with the land ploughed flat. The ſets are dropped in the furrow by women, and covered with dung. I then have the earth drawn over the ſets and dung with harrows well buſhed; which brings the field to an even ſurface, and does not diſplace the ſets. Before the potatoes are up, I horſe-hoe the field all over upon the firſt appearance of weeds; as I know where the rows are, and am careful not to hurt any that have ſpurted. The horſe-hoeing is repeated four or five times: at laſt the top of the ridge is hand-hoed and weeded. I take them up alſo with a plough, at about a guinea per acre. I reckon the value of potatoes for hogs to be from 2*s.* 2*d.* to 2*s.* 6*d.* per ſack, of two hundred and forty pounds weight.

I am, ſir,
Your moſt obedient humble ſervant,
Henry Vaſſal.

Deſcription of a quick and eaſy Method of converting Weeds, and other vegetable Matter, into Manure, by Mr. H. Browne, of Derby; from the Tranſactions of the Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce.

ACCORDING to a promiſe I made ſome years ſince, I beg leave to communicate to the ſociety for the encouragement of arts, &c. and, (if thought worth notice) by them, to the world, a compoſition for manure. Fearful it would not anſwer the purpoſe ſo fully as I could wiſh, I deferred it from year to year; but I now find, by numerous trials, made by my friends as well as by myſelf, the very

very great utility of the compoſition, as well as its cheapneſs, with the capability of its being made in any ſituation, and in any quantity. The mode of making it is as ſimple, as, I truſt, it will be found productive. It is nothing more than green vegetable matter, decompoſed by quick or freſh-burnt lime. Upon a layer of vegetable matter, about a foot thick, a very thin layer of lime, beat ſmall, is to be laid; and ſo on, vegetable matter, then lime, alternately. After they have been put together a few hours, the decompoſition will begin to take place; and, unleſs prevented, either by a few ſods, or a fork-full of the vegetables at hand, the mixture will break out into a blaze, which muſt at all events be prevented. In about twenty-four hours, the proceſs will be complete, and you will have a quantity of aſhes ready to lay on your land at any time you wiſh. Any and all ſorts of vegetables, and weeds of every deſcription, if uſed green, will anſwer the purpoſe. They will doubly ſerve the farmer, as they will not only be got at a ſmall expence, but will in time render his farm more valuable, by its being deprived of all noiſome weeds.

But, if this compoſition anſwers the purpoſe, as I flatter myſelf it will, a very ſhort time will ſee almoſt every weed deſtroyed. Suppoſing that to be the caſe, I have made a calculation with clover, grown for the purpoſe; for inſtance, I will take one acre of clover, which at one cutting will produce from fourteen to eighteen tons of green vegetable matter, and will require about three tons of lime; this, when decompoſed by the above proceſs, will yield aſhes ſufficient to manure four acres, the value of which I eſtimate at ſomething under four pounds. The clover, according to the value of lands here, at two pounds, which, taking the average of the kingdom, is too much: the lime alſo at two pounds; but that will vary, according to the diſtance from which it is to be fetched: take them together, I think the above will be about the average value. Now, if this is the caſe, and, as far as I have been able to try it, I find it ſo, how valuable muſt this method be to the community in general! If it anſwers the purpoſe, I ſhall feel myſelf much obliged by the ſociety making it as public as they poſſibly can.

The vegetables ſhould be uſed as ſoon after they are cut as poſſible, and the lime as freſh from the kiln as the diſtance will allow of; as on thoſe two circumſtances depends the goodneſs of the compoſition.

Account of an advantageous Method of ſeparating the Foſſil Alkali from common Salt; from Crell's Chymical Annals.

TWENTY pounds of common ſalt are to be diſſolved in ſixty pounds of water;* to which ſolution are to be added, twenty-five pounds of clean dry pot-aſh, the larger lumps of which ſhould be firſt broken. This lixivium is to be evaporated, by boiling, till the ſaline pellicle, which is thereby formed on the ſurface, has ſeveral times

* A great quantity of ingredients may be taken, but it muſt be obſerved that this proceſs does not ſucceed when ſmall quantities are uſed.

fallen

ſallen down, and been replaced by a new one. The veſſel in which it is boiled is then to be taken from the fire, and the liquor is to ſtand till it is almoſt cold, but not quite, that is, till it is about milk-warm. During the cooling, a great quantity of digeſtive ſalt will ſeparate from the liquor, which is then to be ſtrained through flannel, ſo as to be cleared from all ſediment.

When the liquor has ſtood in a cold place about an hour, or till it is become quite cold, it will be found to have depoſited ſome more digeſtive ſalt, mixed with mineral alkali. The liquor muſt now be poured off into another veſſel, which is to be placed in a cold ſituation: if the proceſs has been properly conducted, cryſtals of mineral alkali will ſoon be formed, which will be almoſt pure, and in greater abundance than can be obtained by the uſual methods.

The ſaline matter remaining in the ſtrainer conſiſts of vitriolated tartar and digeſtive ſalt. If the liquor is ſuffered to remain upon theſe extraneous ſalts till it becomes quite cold, it will, on account of its oily conſiſtence, be too much incorporated with them; and the quantity remaining on the ſtrainer is too conſiderable to be purified from the mineral alkali, in the ſame way as the other part; for which reaſon, after the matter upon the ſtrainer has been a little preſſed, let ſome warm water be poured upon it, and let it, together with the ſalt which may have cryſtallized after the firſt decantation, be ſubjected to the under-mentioned treatment. The digeſtive ſalt may be made uſe of for various purpoſes, ſuch as making ſal-ammoniac, &c.

When the remaining ley has been poured off from the cryſtalized mineral alkali, it muſt be again evaporated, and, if much digeſtive ſalt ſhould appear to be formed, it muſt undergo the ſame treatment as before; otherwiſe it may be immediately ſuffered to grow cold, and the digeſtive ſalt which is depoſited, may be laid aſide, to be afterwards purified.

When the alkaline ſalt is cryſtalized, the remaining ley is to be again evaporated, that all the ſalt may be ſeparated from it. If any ley then remains, it may be ſet aſide for the next operation, or it may be put into a glaſs veſſel, and placed, to evaporate, in the heat of a ſtove, till no more digeſtive ſalt is precipitated, after which the alkali may be ſuffered to cryſtallize in the cold.

By this proceſs, the above-mentioned quantity of common ſalt generally affords twenty-five pounds of impure mineral alkali; and the whole of this operation may very eaſily be finiſhed in ſix or ſeven days.

The digeſtive ſalt obtained in the laſt operation, and the alkali itſelf, are now to be purified in the following manner.

The firſt, that is, the digeſtive ſalt, is to be diſſolved, by boiling in water; the ſolution is then to be evaporated till about half of it is conſumed, and afterwards placed in the cold. The digeſtive ſalt will cryſtallize firſt, upon which will be depoſited the mineral alkali, in large cryſtals, ſo that it may be eaſily ſeparated. By evaporating the remaining liquor a ſecond time, the purification of the digeſtive ſalt may be completely finiſhed. If any ley containing

containing mineral alkali ſhould ſtill be left, it may be purified with that which remains at laſt.

The mineral alkali is to be purified by diſſolving it in an equal quantity of water, and letting the liquor ſtand ſome days in a cold place. If it contains a large quantity of digeſtive ſalt, this ſalt will appear when the liquor (the firſt cryſtallization having been ſeparated from it) is evaporated a ſecond time; at which time may be added that alkali which was obtained in the former purification of digeſtive ſalt. If the alkali contains but little digeſtive ſalt, this ſalt will not appear till the third evaporation of the liquor; by which time, if the operation has been carefully and ſkilfully conducted, almoſt all the alkali will have been ſeparated.

By the method here deſcribed, I have almoſt always obtained twenty pounds of pure mineral alkali, in large tranſparent cryſtals, beſides one pound and a half leſs pure. The whole proceſs may be finiſhed in twelve or fourteen days, or even in leſs time, when the different leys are operated upon at the ſame time, inſtead of taking them exactly in the order above-deſcribed.

Account of the Campine of Brabant, and the Mode of improving it; from the Communications to the Board of Agriculture.

IT is well known that the Campine of Brabant, which is the northern part of that province, conſiſted originally of ſand, covered with heath, interſperſed with lakes and extenſive marſhes, and here and there with woods of fir. Tradition ſuppoſes it to have been once a part of the ſea. To this day, where cultivation has not extended, the ſoil of itſelf produces nothing but heath and fir. The ſand is of the moſt barren and harſh kind, nor can it be rendered fertile, but by continued manuring. As the property of this ground may be acquired for a trifle, many have been the attempts of private perſons to bring tracts of it into cultivation; every means have been tried for that purpoſe, and government has given every poſſible encouragement to it. But I have not yet heard of any one, however conſiderable might be his fortune, that has ſucceeded in it, and many have been ruined by the project. What is cultivated in the Campine, is owing to the religious houſes eſtabliſhed in it, eſpecially to the two great abbeys of Tongerloo and Everbode. Their uninterrupted duration for five or ſix hundred years paſt, and their indefatigable induſtry, have conquered theſe barren harſh ſands, and rendered many parts of them highly productive. The method they follow is ſimple and uniform; 'they never undertake to cultivate more of this barren ſoil at a time than they have ſufficient manure for;' ſeldom more than five or ſix bunders (about fifteen or eighteen acres) in a year; and when it is brought by labour and manuring into a ſtate capable of producing ſufficient for a family to live on, it is let out to farmers on eaſy terms, after having built them comfortable habitations. by theſe means many extenſive tracts of the Campine are well cultivated, and covered with villages, well-built houſes, and churches. The abbey of Tongerloo alone furniſhes about

tal being equally open to any part of the kingdom.

Query IV. Of the numbers received in one year, or any given time, how many die?

Anſwer. In the preceding year (1796) 65 children were received, of whom 7 died in the courſe of the year; and (the ſeaſon having been unhealthy) three have died ſince; of thoſe 65 children there are now 55 living, and in promiſing health. It appears, by reference to the books of the hoſpital, that there has been ſince the end of the year 1770, the number of 1684 children received into the hoſpital, of whom 482 children died under the age of twelve months, being rather more than the proportion of one in four. The preſent management and care of the children is more ſucceſsful; the average of thoſe who have died under twelve months in the preceding ten years, being only one in ſix; and, for the laſt four or five years, even leſs than that proportion.

Query V. At what age are they received?

Anſwer. They are generally under two months when received. The age limited for them is twelve months, after which they cannot be received, except in caſe of any peculiar diſtreſs, which the general committee thinks fit ſpecially to report to the general court; or in caſe the child is ſent with a donation of 100*l.* when the age is not limited; or except they are the children of ſoldiers and ſailors in the ſervice of their country, of whom the general committee is empowered, by an order of the general court (made the 29th of January, 1794), to admit as many as the funds of the charity, with any additional aids, may enable them to maintain, conſiſtently with a proper attention to the other objects of the charity. But upon this it is to be obſerved, that the number of other applications, daily made from the original objects of the charity, and the preſent ſituation of its finances, have precluded the committee from receiving more than a very ſmall proportion of the children of ſoldiers and ſailors. The age limited, in their inſtance, is five years.

Query VI. Is it known from whom the children come? Or are they received in the cradle, as it is called, or by night, without aſking any queſtions?

Anſwer. Children are only admitted into the hoſpital on petition; upon the hearing of which the mother is examined, and an inquiry directed to be made into the truth of the particular circumſtances ſtated in the petition. By the preſent practice of the hoſpital, ſomething more than the mere neceſſity of the mother, and the deſertion of the father, is, in general, requiſite. The previous good character of the mother is inquired into; and it is aſcertained that, in conſequence of the reception of the child, and of the ſecrecy obſerved in the inquiries as to the misfortune and ſituation of the mother, ſhe will be immediately placed in a proper ſervice, or in ſome other way of obtaining an honeſt livelihood.

Reſolved,

That the ſaid anſwers be approved of, and that Mr. Bernard be requeſted to tranſmit them to ſir John Blaquiere.

(Extract from the minutes)

Examined,

T. Merryweather, ſecretary.

Directions for the Cure of the Plague.

THE following ſhort directions for the cure and prevention of the plague, are compiled from a ſmall pamphlet in the Italian language, publiſhed by count Berchtold, at Vienna, in 1797, one copy of which is in the poſſeſſion of the royal academy of ſciences of Liſbon, to whom it was preſented by his excellency Mr. Pinto, her majeſty's ſecretary of ſtate, &c.

The academy has ordered tranſlations to be made into Arabic, French, and Portugueſe; and this extract in Engliſh is particularly intended for the uſe of the numerous bodies of Britiſh ſubjects, at preſent employed on their country's ſervice in this part of Europe; as the garriſon of Gibraltar, the fleet at ſea, the troops on ſhore in Portugal, and the maſters of Britiſh veſſels in its harbours.

The compiler has no other information concerning it whatever, than that contained in the pamphlet, nor does he know if any thing upon the ſubject has yet been publiſhed in England. He leaves the reader to believe or reject, according to his judgement; heartily wiſhing there may never be a neceſſity for pulting it to the trial.

Count Berchtold ſays, that the method was firſt propoſed by G. Baldwin, eſq. his Britannic majeſty's agent and conſul-general at Alexandria, in Egypt, who, during a long reſidence in that country, after much thought and obſervation, was induced to believe that the uſe of ſweet olive oil applied to the ſkin, might prove beneficial in the treatment of this dreadful and hitherto incurable malady.

Mr. Baldwin communicated his ideas to the Rev. Lewis de Pavia, chaplain and agent to the hoſpital called St. Anthony's, at Smyrna; who, after five years experience, pronounces it to be the moſt efficacious remedy hitherto made uſe of, for the ſpace of twenty-ſeven years that the hoſpital had been under his management. He acquainted count Berchtold with the ſucceſs, and the mode of application; and from his communications the pamphlet ſeems principally to have been compoſed.

Count Berchtold farther ſays, that it is Mr. Baldwin's intention to publiſh a more full and philoſophical relation of his obſervations and experiments; that he favoured the count with the peruſal of the manuſcript, and permitted him to tranſcribe any part of it; and he apologizes to the world, and to Mr. Baldwin, for this ſeeming anticipation of the work; at the ſame time obſerving, that he feels it an indiſpenſable and ſacred duty, to loſe no time in making known a diſcovery of ſuch importance, particularly to thoſe countries that are nearer, and have more frequent commerce with the Barbary ſtates and ports of the Turkiſh empire.

The directions are ſimply theſe: Immediately that a perſon is perceived to be infected with the plague, he muſt be taken into a cloſe room, and over a brazier of hot coals, with a clean ſponge dipped in warm olive oil, his body muſt be very briſkly rubbed all over, for the purpoſe of producing a profuſe ſweat. During the friction, ſugar and juniper berries muſt be burnt in the fire, which raiſe a denſe hot ſmoke, that contributes to the effect.

The friction ought not to continue more than four minutes, and

a pint of oil is enough to be uſed at each time.

In general, the firſt rubbing is followed by a very copious perſpiration; but ſhould it fail of this effect, the operation may be repeated, firſt wiping the body with a warm dry cloth; and in order ſtill farther to promote perſpiration, the patient may take any warm ſudorific drink, ſuch as elder-flower tea, &c.

It is not neceſſary to touch the eyes, and other more tender parts of the body may be rubbed more gently.

Every poſſible precaution muſt be made uſe of to prevent the patient from taking cold, ſuch as keeping covered thoſe parts of the body not directly under the operation, nor muſt the linen be changed till the perſpiration has entirely ſubſided.

The operation ſhould be repeated once a day, until evident ſymptoms of recovery begin to appear.

If there are already tumours upon the body, they ſhould be gently and more frequently rubbed, till they appear to be in a ſtate of ſuppuration, when they may be dreſſed with the uſual plaſters.

The operation ought to be begun on the appearance of the firſt ſymptoms of the diſeaſe; if neglected till the nerves and the maſs of the blood are affected, or a diarrhœa has commenced, little hopes can be entertained of cure; but ſtill the patient ſhould not be deſpaired of, as by an aſſiduous application of the means propoſed, ſome few have been recovered, even after the diarrhœa had commenced.

During the firſt four or five days, the patient muſt obſerve a very abſtemious diet; the author allows only a ſmall quantity of vermicelli ſimply boiled in water. Nor muſt any thing be taken for the ſpace of thirty or forty days, except very light food; as, he ſays, an indigeſtion in any ſtage of the diſorder might be extremely dangerous. He does not allow the uſe of wine till the expiration of forty days.

There is no inſtance of the perſon rubbing the patient having taken the infection. He ſhould previouſly anoint himſelf all over with oil, and muſt avoid receiving the breath of the infected perſon into his own mouth or noſtrils. The prevention to be uſed in all circumſtances is, that of carefully anointing the body, and living upon light and eaſy digeſtable food.

One of the many ingenious obſervations made by Mr. Baldwin is, that amongſt upwards of a million of inhabitants carried off by the plague, in Upper and Lower Egypt, during the ſpace of forty years, he could not diſcover a ſingle oilman or dealer in oil.

By royal permiſſion.

Liſbon, 1797.

Addreſs to the Board of Agriculture, on its Meeting, the 8th of May, 1798, by Lord Somerville, their new Preſident.

BEING called to the preſidency of the board of agriculture, an honour unſolicited on my part, and a ſituation to which I may, perhaps, be found unequal; I think it my duty, as briefly as poſſible, to lay before the board the plan I venture to recommend as the one hereafter to be adopted; in full confidence, that, when put into execution, turbulent and ill-ſuited as the times are to the peaceful purſuits of huſbandry, a very ſhort period

only will be required to provoke the hearty co-operation of practical farmers; and the benefits derived to the whole kingdom from this inſtitution will be obvious to underſtandings the leaſt enlightened, and to minds the moſt prejudiced.

Feeling, ſtrongly, the neceſſity of aſcertaining the ſtate of the funds of the board, and the demands on it, being altogether unacquainted with the particulars, I iſſued the neceſſary directions to the clerks, who, from official documents, and with the aſſiſtance of the late preſident, have given in the following ſtatement:

Funds.

	£.	s.	d.
Caſh in hand, and to be paid ſoon - - -	3102	14	1

Debts contracted by Order of the Board.

	£.	s.	d.
Printing - - - - -	1498	14	5
Engraving - - - - -	525	16	2
Surveys - - - - -	415	0	0
Sundries - - - - -	1081	13	5
£.	3521	4	0

Statement of probable Expences, given in by Sir John Sinclair.

	£.	s.	d.
Surveys - - - - - -	405	0	0
Printing - - - - -	949	0	8
Sundries - - - - -	338	5	9
Total - £.	1692	6	5

	£.	s.	d.
Debts known to the Board - - - -	3521	4	0
Funds, as ſpecified before - - - - -	3102	14	1
Balance to come out of the grant of 1797	418	9	11

As a conſiderable part of the debts above included are recently contracted, and part not given in, for work at preſent in hand, it is proper for you to obſerve, that, on this account, you ſeem to be in a more favourable ſituation than I expected; for this balance of 418*l.* would not be demanded of the board till long after funds came in much more than ſufficient to liquidate it.

Which would be the ſtate of the board, if there were no other claims admitted.

But the ſtatement of ſir John Sinclair adds the ſum of - - - - 1692 6 5

Making, with the former balance, £. 2110 16 4

To remain a charge on the grants of 1798 and 1799.

As to any determination with reſpect to the future publications of the board of agriculture, I ſhall endeavour to bow, with ſubmiſſion, to the better judgement of the majority of its members: but, having hitherto, on all occaſions, expreſſed my doubts as to the advantages reſulting, for many years at leaſt, to the country, from profuſe publications on huſbandry, however meritorious in themſelves, without the more immediate aid and ſupport of practical huſbandmen, I truſt I may here

here do ſo without offence; and I am the more inclined to it, becauſe numberleſs plans of inquiſitorial ſearch into the reſources of the kingdom have, by the ignorant and ſuſpicious, been falſely attributed to government, through the channel of this board: and much of its unpopularity (for, unwillingly, I muſt ſay, it has not in the country been a popular inſtitution) may be aſſigned to this cauſe. Something of this alſo may belong to the effect produced by the county reports, or ſurveys, done on the board's account at its firſt eſtabliſhment; a meaſure novel in itſelf, and, however valuable in the end, becauſe novel, tending to create doubt and alarm.

It remains, then, with the board, to decide on the propriety of carrying on, at a heavy expence, its voluminous detached publications, as before; or, to publiſh, annually, one well-digeſted quarto volume, from the infinity of materials now in its poſſeſſion. Much as the market has been glutted with theſe artieles, this volume would probably pay its own expence;—the modern criterion, and no bad one, perhaps, of the intrinſic merit of any work whatever.—The board being eaſed of this burden, 1000*l.* annually, can well be given in premiums of 50*l.* or, perhaps with more effect, of 100*l.* each, for diſcoveries and improvements in the moſt important and leading points of huſbandry; giving preference to ſuch as, by ocular demonſtration, rather than by certificates, can be aſcertained.*

Gold medals may be offered annually, for the beſt treatiſes on practical modes for bettering the condition of the poor, without adding to the poor-rates; for improvements in cottages, &c.; probably the production of magiſtrates, and gentlemen converſant in country affairs, above the want of a premium in money:—to ſuch, a gold medal might be an object of attention, and certainly would be a ſmall token of gratitude for the ſervices ſo rendered to their country.

I beg leave to recommend alſo, that ten, or rather fifteen premiums, of 10*l.* each, ſhould be given to labourers in huſbandry, as objects of imitation in others, and well-earned rewards to themſelves, for long and faithful ſervices, and for decently and religiouſly educating, without aſſiſtance from their pariſhes, the largeſt families; certified by the clergyman of the pariſh, a magiſtrate, and by the member for the county, forwarded to the board. In this caſe, impoſition can hardly be attempted.

The good reſulting from the diſtribution of premiums of this ſort, although on a very inferior ſcale, as given by the Bath and Weſt of England ſociety, and the conſequent effect produced on the minds of the common people in the neighbouring counties, is beyond all calculation. The Bath ſociety cannot take umbrage; and the board of agriculture need not be aſhamed of adopting ſo excellent an idea, although ſuggeſted, and moſt ſucceſsfully practiſed, by another.

Should I be ſo fortunate as to ſee theſe propoſitions carried into exe-

* The committee for the diſtribution of which might conſiſt of three London butchers, three experienced farmers, ſworn to be impartial and juſt in their deciſion, and of the preſident and other members of the board.

cution, I may be bold enough to aſſert, that they will attract the attention, and call into action, the willing aid of men bred to the profeſſion, who now, almoſt to a man, ſtand aloof, and refuſe it.

A ſum fully adequate to the purpoſe, if managed with economy, will remain for the payment of ſalaries, as before, to the ſecretary, the under ſecretary, and the clerks; for houſe-rent and taxes, for the houſekeeper's and ſervant's wages, and the incidental expences of the board, as appears by the ſtatement calculated by the committee of expenditure, which amounts to nearly 1500*l.*

	£.	s.	d.
For ſalaries, houſe, and office - - - - -	1500	0	0
For liquidation of the debt annually - £.	400	0	0
For ten premiums of 100*l.* each	1000	0	0
For fifteen premiums of 10*l.* each	150	0	0
	1550	0	0
£.	3050	0	0

N. B. The experience of all ſocieties, as to the adjudgement of premiums, leaves no doubt whatever, that the unclaimed ones will be abundantly ſufficient to defray the extra expences.

The balance of exiſting debt, as ſanctioned by the board, appears to be 418*l.* (not including thoſe ſpeculative engagements hinted at by the late preſident:)—by the application of 400*l.* annually, this debt will be liquidated in one year, provided the board ſhall not think fit to adopt the engagements propoſed by the late preſident; in which caſe the ſum of 1692*l.* is added to the debts of the board: in this caſe five years will be required to liquidate it. At the expiration of which period, in conformity to the decided opinions of numbers of our countrymen, who invariably, from the firſt inſtitution, have kept their eyes ſteadily fixed on the board, expecting ſome great practical exertion, I ſuggeſt the propriety of hiring a tillage, or convertible farm, of not leſs than 300*l.* a year, to hold out, as an example to the nation, the moſt vigorous ſyſtem of modern ſubſtantial improvements in huſbandry. Grazing experiments can fortunately be aſcertained on the farms of others; for the attention of the moſt eminent will be caught by the magnitude of the premiums here propoſed, as animals can, without inconvenience, preſent themſelves in perſon to the examination of the board. Not ſo with facts to be demonſtrated in tillage:—were a field of wheat, or turnips, to walk to the door in like manner, it would be a matter of no ſmall ſurprize and annoyance to Piccadilly and its vicinity; and herein conſiſts the much ſuperior neceſſity of the board taking under its immediate direction, and within an eaſy diſtance of the metropolis, ſuch a farm as may, without hazard, pay its own expence, with exception to that ſmall portion of it allotted to ſpeculative experiments upon points unaſcertained; to cover which expence, and the accidents unavoidably ariſing to the very beſt managers, from climate and untoward caſualties, 500*l.* per annum would be

be, at all times, more than ſufficient. As I ſhould never propoſe any ſcheme of this ſort without a perfect conviction in my own mind before-hand, that it might, and ſhould be, executed within that expence (and it may be added, that it is a plan long expected by the nation at large,) I by no means preſs this on the attention of the board at preſent: nor, indeed, could I, it being a remote conſideration; but, without doubt, forming an eſſential link in the chain of the future operations of the board, I may ſtate my firm conviction, that this meaſure can be executed without loſs; and will be fully conſiſtent with the ſpirit and eſſence of this eſtabliſhment, as well as a national object of improvement and inſtruction. I pledge myſelf, that if I may, as an individual, be allowed the honour of interfering in the management of ſuch a farm, it ſhall, under the bleſſing of Providence, pay its rent.

I have ſtated what, after much conſideration, appears to me the beſt application of the grant: and am ſanctioned in this opinion by the concurrence of many experienced and able men:

"——*Si quid noviſti rectius iſtis*
Candidus imperti, ſi non his utere mecum."

And here, after bearing the ſtrongeſt teſtimony to the zeal on all occaſions, and to the uncommon politeneſs with which the late preſident allowed the board of agriculture to treſpaſs on his domeſtic comforts, by occupying, for ſo many years, his abode; I cannot but congratulate the board, on finding itſelf, at length, poſſeſſed of a habitation it can call its own; more eſpecially as the houſe, previous to its being engaged, as to ſize, expence, and ſituation, met with the approbation of every member of the board, who was requeſted to inſpect it for that purpoſe.

There can be no doubt but that every preſent out-ſtanding debt, on the ſcore of printing, &c. ſhould be put into an immediate train of payment; and every expence, hereafter incurred, regularly and promptly diſcharged. This, in all caſes, is the beſt of policy; but, in an inſtitution like the board of agriculture, it is eſſential and appropriate; for huſbandry every man knows to be a ready-money trade; no long bills, or *per contra credits*—a leathern purſe, or a ſample bag, is produced, and the account balanced in a moment.

In holding out, as I ſhall ever endeavour to do, to the ſerious attention of the board of agriculture, the abſolute neceſſity of obtaining, and in pointing out the only mode whereby can be obtained, the aſſiſtance of thoſe well verſed in this ſcience, it is poſſible, that men of literature—and many, I am proud to ſay, the board has to boaſt of—may lend an unwilling ear to what I ſay; but they muſt remember, that men's prejudices muſt be conſidered;—that, to work any reformation, men muſt be taken as they are, not as they ought to be; and that, as yet, farmers are not a reading claſs of people. In Scotland, indeed, from ſuperior education, ſome men bred to huſbandry may read; and, if their judgements be good, fortunate it is that they do read; but, as I have before ſaid, farmers, generally ſpeaking, are not, in this iſland, a reading

people; the weekly journal, of the county, is the probable extent of their literary purſuits.

One may fairly conclude, there is no member of the board of agriculture, who would wiſh that to foreigners of any nation ſhould be denied the knowledge this inſtitution may hold out; but if what I have advanced be true—and no man ſtudying the nature and character of farmers will ſay it is not true—parliament, when voting 3000*l.* annually, for the board of agriculture, in its legiſlative capacity, has to look principally, if not altogether, to the improvement and proſperity of the Britiſh huſbandman. In farming, practice may ſucceed without theory; but theory cannot ſupport itſelf without the idea of practice: a plain man can maintain his family on the huſbandry of his anceſtors; but rare is the example of a book-farmer making his rent; and more rare, of ſuch an one making money in his buſineſs.

Treatiſes on agriculture have trodden on the heels of each other; the market has been overſtocked; and many a publication, deſerving a better fate, for this reaſon, lies unſold on the ſhelf. In ſhort, ſuſpend in a degree, for a time, the operations of the preſs—let practice, well-grounded practice and theory, go, hand in hand, together; and this inſtitution will be triumphant.

ANTIQUITIES.

ANTIQUITIES.

Account of the Order of Jovial Brethen; from Selections from Foreign Literary Journals.

THIS order had an odious origin. It aroſe from the bloody and unjuſt cruſade which pope Innocent III. ſet on foot at the beginning of the thirteenth century, againſt count Raimond, of Toulouſe, as patron of the Albigenſes. Count Simon, of Montfort, was the leader. He was induced to take this command upon him, by the hopes of increaſing his dominions with the eſtates of the count, whom the pope had ſent into exile; and the reſt were led on by the plenary indulgencies, trumpeted forth by Dominic Guſman and the papal legates, to ſhed in ſtreams the blood of innocent Chriſtians, for preſuming to open their eyes to the light of truth. The object of theſe plenary indulgencies was indeed to exterminate the pretended heretics with their protector, by fire and ſword; but, as in the proclamation, only a cruſade was mentioned in general terms, many of the cruſaders imagined they had fulfilled the condition, when they had made one campaign, in which they plundered and murdered as many as fell into their power, and returned laden with ſpoil to their homes. Thus, the aim of the holy father would have been fruſtrated, if the inſpired Guſman had not proved that he was deſtined to this kind of war from his mother's womb. At that time nothing was known of a ſtanding army. He was the firſt, ſince the days of the Romans, who raiſed one, in a ſmall part of France, and that with this advantage, utterly unknown to the Romans, of paying his troop, not with money but with indulgencies and roſaries; and, as there were yet people who could not live merely upon ſmoke, with the hope of plunder. This plan was perfectly conformable to the ſpirit of the times. Men robbed and plundered, and then expiated their ſins by bribing the prieſt. The ſtanding militia conſiſted in a peculiar order of chivalry. By his advice, and with the approbation of the papal legate, it was inſtituted by Fulco, biſhop of Toulouſe.

To give this order at once as much conſiſtence as poſſible, married noblemen were admitted of it, together with their wives. They wore a long white robe, with a black mantle, like the dreſs of the dominican friars, only with this difference, that it was marked with a red croſs. Their profeſſion conſiſted in an oath to wage eternal war againſt heretics and uſurers. The maſter of the order was the earl of Montfort. This order was confirmed

confirmed by Innocent III. and Honorius III. who ſtyled the members of it, *Milites Toloſani de militia Jeſu Chriſti*; or, *Milites Jeſu Chriſti de Toloſa*. An order with ſo pompous a title, and endowed with the goods and blood of heretics and uſurers, met with great approbation. An order, not leſs numerous, immediately ſprang up in the province of Narbonne, which, from the name of the place, was denominated *Milites Jeſu Chriſti de Narbona*. Thus the pope obtained his purpoſe, of deſpoiling the count of Toulouſe of his domains, and of deſtroying the Albigenſes; for ſuch of them as remained, were ſlain by the exterminating ſword of Louis VIII. king of France. About the year 1230, when the rage of murdering and plundering in the name of the Lord had relented, the glory of this order of knighthood loſt its ſplendor in France.

By this time Dominicus Guſman had laid the firſt groundwork of his order of monks in Languedoc. It retained the ſame habit, and was founded in the ſame deſign; namely, the extirpation of heretics by force. We find a curious anecdote in the legend of his life, inſerted in the Romiſh breviary. When his mother was with child of him, ſhe dreamed a dream, in which ſhe ſaw a young dog under her heart, having a burning torch in his mouth, with which, in due time, he would ſet the whole world in flames. Immediately thereupon it follows, in this authentic article of biography: "This dream imported, that Dominicus ſhould hereafter, by the light of his ſanctity and learning, conduct the nations of the earth to Chriſtian piety." But what had a dog and a torch to do with Chriſtian piety?* By all the ſound rules for the interpretation of dreams, this ſhould ſeem to be the torch with which he and the primitive ſons of his order marched before the cruſaders into the diſtrict of Albi, to maſſacre ſome thouſands of harmleſs people with fire and ſword, and with which his order, in Italy and elſewhere, by means of the inquiſition, lighted up the piles for burning of heretics.

Nearly at the ſame time, in the thirteenth century, the ſaid order, together with that of the Dominicans, was transferred to Italy, where the original obligation of it has never ceaſed. In the year 1233, the order revived in the city of Parma, under the pontificate of Gregory IX. Italy was at that time over-run with heretics, ſtigmatized with the names of Patarenians, Kathorians, Paupers of Lyons, Arnaldiſts, &c. and, under one or other of theſe names, thoſe were eſpecially perſecuted who adhered to the emperor Frederick II. againſt the temporal pretenſions of the pope. To perſecute theſe, by all imaginable means was the main deſign of the revived order in Italy. On this condition, the order, together with its rule, which Bartholomew, of Vicenza, the Dominican, had compoſed in the ſpirit of the Auguſtine, was favoured by the above-mentioned pope with ſeveral bulls. Nevertheleſs, the knights ſtill continued to be immediately ſubject to the biſhops, till the year 1261 they were put under the ſole

* The dog alluded to the future deſtination of St. Dominic, to guard the church, as a vigilant church-maſtif, againſt heretics of every denomination.

authority

authority of their grand-maſter, Lodarengo, of Bologna, by pope Urban IV.; and, at the requeſt of the grand-maſter and ſeven other Bolognian knights, received the title of *Fratres ordinis militiæ beatæ Mariæ virginis glorioſæ*. The order was now augmented, by the acceſſion of two other claſſes of knights, whereof one lived in common in monaſteries, according to the aforeſaid rule of St. Auguſtine; but the other, as ſecular prieſts: both in a ſtate of celibacy, and in obedience to the grand-maſter and the other knights. Theſe were married, and cohabited with their wives in their own houſes, independent of all temporal magiſtrature, and exempt from all taxes.

In their conſtitutions, they bound themſelves to wage an eternal war againſt heretics and their protectors; to eſtabliſh concord in the families of the cities where they dwelt; to defend the immunities of the church; to oppoſe the cruel extortion of uſurers; to maintain the cauſe of the hoſpitalers, of widows and orphans, of the poor and the ſick; to ſwear obedience to the ſuperior of their order, and to the pope; to take an oath before no other tribunal; to hear maſs every day; to confeſs, and to communicate; at leaſt thrice in the year; to read daily the office of the mother of God, if they could read, and, if not, then another preſcribed form in its ſtead; to aſſemble once or twice, every month, to hear the word of God; to abſtain from fleſh every Wedneſday, Friday, and Saturday, during Lent, and on ſome other particular days in the calendar, unleſs diſpenſed from this abſtinence, by their ſuperior, for ſufficient cauſe.

The conventuals were not allowed to walk in the ſtreets, without one of their brethren; and the married were forbidden to frequent riotous entertainments, and the theatres of buffons and comedians, to play at dice, and to accept of temporal offices in the cities. Every one was bound to ſay annually a thouſand paternoſters, or the whole office of the dead, for the departed brethren of the order; and daily five paternoſters and avemarias, for the living and the dead of the order, and for its benefactors. It is ſomewhat ſingular, that no mention is here made of ſoul-maſſes.

To theſe rules the wives of the knights were likewiſe bound, yet as little under a penalty as the knight himſelf, the tranſgreſſion whereof was atoned for by a ſlight voluntary penance. Their confeſſors were taken from the Dominicans, whoſe order was related to them. As long as the huſband lived, the wife enjoyed the privileges and marks of honour belonging to the huſband, and after his death ſhe was not obliged to remain a widow. They moſtly, however, ended their lives in the convents of the penitent ſiſters of St. Dominic, which, to this end, were eſtabliſhed in all the towns where there were knights. As ſuch convents are ſtill in great numbers in Italy, we may affirm that the order ſtill exiſts in the female ſex.

As the knights not only enjoyed all the immunities of the other orders, but alſo, from their large revenues, led a comfortable life with their wives, they at firſt were ludicrouſly called the jovial knights, or the jolly brotherhood, which gradually loſt its ludicrous meaning, and was their general appellation throughout

throughout all Italy. In common diſcourſe, and in writings, they were ſtyled *Fratres gaudentes*, and *Ordo fratrum gaudentium*; and the order of their widows, *Dominæ conſolatæ de Placentia*, and *Sorores de pœnitentia et Dominici*.

For being admitted of this order, it was neceſſary to be of an ancient noble family, and in opulent circumſtances. If it happened that a poor perſon was admitted, or that a rich one afterwards fell into poverty, the order was bound to maintain him, together with his family, according to their quality, out of the common ſtock.

Their habit was a long white woollen garment, like that of the Dominican friers, reaching down to the ſhoes, and a grey mantle, of the ſame length, without band or hood, but covered about the neck by a round ruff of linen, plaited; wearing on the left breaſt a croſs, in the upper corners whereof were two red ſtars. Their mantle at length was changed into ſilk, and was no longer lined, as at firſt, with lamb-ſkins, but with ermine. The wives of the knights were habited in the ſame manner. For their arms they bore the aforeſaid red croſs in a white field.

This order had fixed itſelf in all the cities of upper and middle Italy, which were diſtributed into ſix provinces, namely, thoſe of upper and lower Lombardy, where, at Bologna, the grand-maſter reſided; Romagna; the upper and lower Tuſcany; and the circle of Treviſa. Each of theſe provinces was put under a provincial, choſen every year in the provincial chapter. The cloſe connection of the knights with the order of Dominic, is ſeen, among other things, from hence, that the provincial, in his annual viſitations of the convents, muſt firſt of all give an account of the behaviour of the knights to the Dominican monks. Hence it is, that Petrus de Gerhardis, who lived in the fourteenth century, in the account of the life of Ezzeline, as publiſhed by Fauſtus Longianus, calls the jovial brothers, Tertiarians of the Dominican order.

They were a powerful ſupport to the Guelfs, or partizans of the pope, againſt the Ghibellines, and did great ſervice in all the troubles which the popes excited againſt the emperor Frederick II. and other emperors, in Italy, particularly againſt his viceroi, Ezzeline. Ezzeline cauſed a great number of them, together with ſeveral Dominicans, to be publicly executed, who were extolled, by the popes and guelfs, as martyrs to religion, though they were in fact only incendiaries and rebels. As the ſeat of the war, between the imperial and papal potentates, was, properly ſpeaking, in the upper and middle Italy, the reaſon is apparent why this order of knighthood was only extended over theſe parts of Italy. This order, in conjunction with the Dominican monks, ſeem to have been the principal movers of the various inſurrections of the Italian cities againſt the ſovereignty of the German emperor, though it is not remarked by any of the modern hiſtorians. When Alexander IV. cauſed the cruſade, againſt Ezzeline de Romano, to be preached by the Dominicans in upper Italy, one of them, named Giovanni Schio, being leader of the flower of the cruſaders, we cannot doubt that the knights, who were ſo nearly related to him, were at their head. For, in

in the bull by which pope Gregory IX. confirms their rule, they are commanded thus: *Se armis accingent fratres, viriliter pugnantes, ad mandatum eccleſiæ.* To this he encouraged them by the following words: *Vos, mori potius quam pati hujuſmodi mala cupientes, a vobis Machabæos reviviſcere facitis, dum hoſtes eccleſiæ expugnatis.*

When we conſider how powerful the Dominicans ſtill were, even in our times, in thoſe countries where they had the dreadful court of inquiſition in their hands, we may take it for granted, that, in the darker ages, while ſupported by the power of an order of chivalry that had eſtabliſhed itſelf in ſo many conſiderable towns, their authority over the people was unbounded. As the knights, by the precept of their conſtitution, muſt be rich, it follows, that they were ſelected from the moſt flouriſhing and powerful of the nobility, in the upper and middle Italy; and thus the intimate connection wherein they ſtood, not only with one another, but alſo with their relations and dependants, and their authority among the citizens and countrymen, muſt compoſe a formidable power. Their inſtitution, likewiſe, was ſo contrived, that it muſt be ever increaſing in numbers and conſequence. For, beſides that the functions and duties of the knights were very eaſily performed, and every one was at liberty to enter himſelf either of the unmarried or of the married claſs, and, on his chooſing the latter, that he retained all his property, they had likewiſe the exceedingly important advantage, that their poſſeſſions, to them and their children, were exempted from all ſecular taxes and incumbrances, and, being regarded as eccleſiaſtical fiefs, were under the protection of the ſacred chair; which in thoſe times, when, owing to the inteſtine commotions of the cities, the burgers were often expoſed to great dangers, and were loaded with taxes, proved very profitable to them. In many cities, matters were puſhed to ſuch extremities, that, by this method, the greater part of their territory paſſed under the dominion of the church or the pope, and the public taxes muſt either have fallen ſhort, or be multiplied on the ſmaller part of the taxable goods and perſons. From which cauſe, bloody feuds aroſe among the citizens; in which, however, for a long time, the knights and the reſt of the clergy, protected by the comminatory thunders of the Roman pontifs, maintained the upper hand. The magiſtracy of the cities ſaw themſelves obliged to hazard all extremes. They excluded the perſons of the clergy from the protection of the laws, as they contributed nothing to the expences of the ſtate. At Padua, a law was publiſhed, in 1282, that whoever murdered an eccleſiaſtic ſhould be amerced no more than a Venitian ducat for his offence. By the like neceſſary conſequences, at leaſt the common abuſe was removed, that this order of knights, and the biſhops, declared the eſtates of every one that eſpouſed the party of the guelfs, under the falſe pretence of being a member of the clergy or of the order, to be a frank-fee of the church. This abuſe was aboliſhed in the year 1289, in a council at Monſelier, where it was decreed, that thoſe who wore the habit of the order, and did not authentically prove that they had taken the vow

of the order, ſhould be bound to pay the public taxes. Such unprofeſſed as were the habit, were called, *Converſi*, or, *Fratres de pœnitentia*; and in deriſion, from the ſign T of the order, brethren of the crutch. Their number was ſo great, that they were under the neceſſity, in a general chapter, to reduce it very conſiderably. Though it was a kind of ſmuggled reſolution, it could not be eaſily kept ſecret from thoſe whom it principally affected, and therefore it occaſioned the name of *Fratres gaudentes* to be odious, even in many of the guelfic cities.

A minorite, of the thirteenth century, named Salimbene, of Parma, in an unprinted chronicle, preſerved in the library of the houſe of Conti, at Rome, bears no honourable teſtimony to this order. He accuſes them of never having built a monaſtery, nor an hoſpital, nor a church, nor founded any good inſtitution with their own funds; that, as is uſual with the powerful, they had amaſſed a great ſtore of ill-gotten goods, and never reſtored any part of it to its legitimate owners; that they ſquandered away this wealth in idle pomp and riotous exceſſes; and, afterwards obtained from the pope full licence to drive the monks from their convents, and the clergy from their benefices, in order to enrich themſelves with the ſpoil; that they were immoderately covetous; in ſhort, he knows not what they are good for but to pamper their bodies and indulge their luſts. Federici, the dominican, author of a hiſtory of his order, printed at Venice, in 1787, ſtrives all he can to invalidate the teſtimony of the minorite, by ſaying, that he was of the party of the auſtere franciſcans, who condemned the mitigation of the rule of St Francis, obtained by Helius, the ſecond general of their order, and endeavoured to carry the apoſtolical poverty of the orders beyond the bounds of moderation. The author likewiſe adduces real inſtances of good inſtitutions eſtabliſhed by this order. But, to the queſtion that naturally ariſes here, whether they founded them of their own property, and not rather out of the revenues of the numerous church-benefices they ſeized on by artful pretences, or the confiſcated eſtates of burnt heretics, which they purchaſed for a trifle, or the extorted reſtitutions of uſurers; to this queſtion he ſays not a word, nor is it by any means anſwered in the proofs he advances. The ſecond founder of it, Bartholomew de Vicenza, himſelf charges them with vain pomp and arrogance; and the poet Guittone de Arezzo, one of their brethren, complains of their licentious courſe of life and effeminate manners. After all, whether the author does right to take it ill of Dante that he places two knights of this order, who, in defiance of their rule, were chiefs of the Florentine republic, in the diſtrict of hell, where the hypocrites receive their reward, it is not eaſy to determine. Dante was acquainted with them both; and it would require a great deal of labour to prove that it was from perſonal hatred that he conſigned them to his hell.

It is not to be diſputed, however, that many celebrated perſons were fellows of this order. Of theſe I ſhall only juſt mention the above named Guittone de Arezzo, the poet. He was born in the Tuſcan town of Arezzo. His father was called Viva di Michele, and not

Bonati, as ſome pretend. He was chamberlain of the city that gave him birth, and a zealous promoter of his order. None of his contemporaries excelled him in the elegancies of diction both in proſe and verſe. The Tuſcan language, which was then getting into form, acquired a great ſhare of its perfection from his writings. There are ſtill remaining of his, forty canzoni, and above a hundred ſonnets, which ſpecies of poetry he is ſaid to have invented. Dante and Petrarca bear honourable witneſs to him. His letters were given to the public, with elucidations, by the learned prelate Bottari, in the year 1745. Theſe letters and his poems teſtify, that he was not only the moſt polite and learned writer of his age, but, what is more, a man of ſtrict probity.

During the great confuſion and ſtrife that raged in Italy between the papal and imperial powers, and while the cities were in need of the aſſiſtance of the popes to enable them to preſerve their freedom, the order of the jovial brethren flouriſhed. In proportion, however, as the cities obtained their freedom, partly with the conſent of the emperor, and partly by force of arms, and aſſumed a republican form, and by mutual connection were even in a condition to maintain their liberty, the order fell into decline; like a numerous and well provided army that is diſbanded at the concluſion of a peace. The eſſential conſtitution of this order could not conſiſt with the welfare of the cities. Extenſive domains, exempt from all taxes, and a powerful nobility, who contribute nothing to the general benefit, cannot be thought of, not to ſay tolerated in a petty ſtate.* Accordingly, their lands were by degrees rendered ſubject to the taxes impoſed on the public at large. Hence too the object and advantage, by which the nobility had formerly been induced to enter themſelves of the order, now entirely ceaſed. In the fifteenth century new orders of knighthood and new badges of honour ſprang up, by which a new field for ſhining was opened to the nobles and wealthy owners of land. Amadeus, duke of Savoy, founded an order, ſtill extant, of the annunciation of Mary. All the princes of Italy, of whom there were almoſt as many as there were towns, took on themſelves the right of conferring knighthood; and the German emperors, particularly Sigiſmund and Frederick III. beſtowed on many noblemen of Italy the order of St. George and the dragon. The popes were determined not to be behind hand with the emperors and princes in this inſtance of ſovereignty. Alexander VI. Leo X. Paul III. granted badges of various orders. The Spaniards and French brought their orders of chivalry with them into Italy, and diſtributed them among the nobles. On the abrogation of the templars, there appeared among the Italian nobility knights of Rhodes, at preſent the order of Malta, German barons, knights of St. Maurice and St. Lazarus, and of St. James della Spata. At length it was thought fit, in the middle of the fifteenth century, to inſtitute one general order againſt the enemies of religion and the church, from all the

* In a large one ſtill leſs.

orders

orders of knights and monks, among which the order of the jovial brethren was expreſſly comprehended. We learn from a bull of pope Pius II. of the year 1359, that this order received its denomination from St. Maria of Bethlehem, and had cardinal Lewis Scarampo for its firſt grand maſter, and that its ſeat was in the iſles of the Cyclades. The great commotions that now fell out, tended to nothing more than the degradation of the Italian orders, eſpecially that of the jovial brethren. In the ſixteenth century the number of orders of knighthood in Italy increaſed beyond all moderation, and entirely eclipſed the old ones.

In the fifteenth and ſixteenth centuries the poſſeſſions of this order were diminiſhed on all hands. On every urgent occaſion, eſpecially in the wars between the new republics and the princes, a great part of them were raviſhed from the order, and a part not inferior was converted into commendams by the popes, who granted them to cardinals and other prelates, at their good pleaſure. In Tuſcany they were abſorbed by the order of St. Stephen; and in other ſtates, for example, in Milan, Venice, Bergamo, Placentia, Parma, &c. they were turned into hoſpitals and other pious foundations, in order that the pope might not burden them with commendams for his cardinals and prelates. Thus the order was going out by degrees, till at length it was entirely extinguiſhed, in the year 1588, by the bull *Inter cætera* of pope Sixtus V. As the Venetian republic refuſed to admit of this bull of abolition, a convent of the order ſtill exiſts at this day at Treviſa.

The poetical Legend of Taliesin, the Britiſh Bard, tranſlated out of the Petty Traditions; from the Monthly Magazine.

A Nobleman lived formerly in Penlyn, called Tegid the bald, whoſe patrimony was in the middle of the lake of Tegid, and his wife was named Ceridwen; of her was born a ſon, called Morvran; and a daughter, called Creirvyn, who was the faireſt woman in the world. A brother of theſe two, Avagzu, was the ugliеſt man living, which cauſed Ceridwen, his mother, to think that he was not likely to be received amongſt the nobles, on account of his uglineſs, unleſs he was endowed with ſome excellencies, or was verſed in ſome honourable ſciences, as this was at the commencement of the time of Arthur and the round table.

She therefore, agreeably to the miſtery of books of chymiſtry, ordered to be boiled a cauldron of genius and ſciences for her ſon, ſo that his reception ſhould be more honourable, on account of his knowledge and ſkill concerning future times.

Then ſhe began to boil the cauldron; which, after it once began, could not be ſuffered to ceaſe boiling until the concluſion of a year and a day, ſo that there ſhould be obtained three bleſſed drops of the gift of the ſpirit.

Little Gwion, the ſon of a villain of Lanvair Caereinion, in Powys, was appointed by her to watch the cauldron, and a blind man, named Morda, was to keep the fire burning under it, with an injuction not to ſuffer the boiling to break before the expiration of a year and a day.

In

In the mean while, ſhe, with the aid of the books of aſtronomers, and under the hours of the planets, was daily ſimpling for herbs of every peculiar virtue.

Upon a certain day, as Ceridwen was ſimpling, and the year drawing near to an end, it happened that three drops of the precious water flew out of the cauldron, and fell upon the finger of little Gwion, which, upon account of the heat, he put into his mouth. No ſooner had he put thoſe miraculous drops in his lips but he knew all things which ſhould come to paſs in future; and he was perfectly ſenſible that his greateſt danger was from the cunning of Ceridwen, for many were her acquirements in ſcience; and through extreme fear, he fled towards his own country. The cauldron broke in two; for the ſteel and the whole contents, except the three eſſential drops, were poiſonous, ſo that the horſes of Gwyzno Long-ſhanks were poiſoned by drinking the water of the river, into which the cauldron had been emptied; and on that account the river became to be called Gwenwyn Meirç Gwyzno, or the poiſon of the ſteeds of Gwyzno.

Thereupon, Ceridwen coming home, and ſeeing her labour for a whole year loſt, ſnatched up a club, and ſtruck the blind Morda upon the head, ſo that one of his eyes fell upon his cheek; on which he ſaid, 'thou haſt diſfigured me, and I innocent; thou haſt ſuffered a loſs on my account.'—'Thou ſayeſt the truth;' quoth Ceridwen, 'it was little Gwion who robbed me.' The purſuit began, the two running; he diſcovered her, and took the form of a hare, and ran; ſhe immediately appeared a greyhound bitch, turning and driving him towards a river: he transformed himſelf to a fiſh; and ſhe to an otter bitch, and ſought for him under water, ſo that he was obliged to appear a bird in the air; and ſhe became a hawk to purſue him, giving him no reſpite on the wing; and when ſhe was juſt laying hold of him, and he dreading death, he diſcovered a heap of winnowed wheat on the floor of a barn; he deſcended into the wheat, and appeared as one of the grains; and thereupon ſhe appeared a black creſted hen; and to the wheat ſhe went, and, with her feet ſcraping it, ſhe recognized and ſwallowed him; and, as the ſtory ſays, ſhe was nine months pregnant with him; and when ſhe was delivered, ſhe could not in her heart kill him, as he was ſo beautiful, but dreſſed him up in a leather baſket, and caſt him to the will of Providence into the ſea, on the 29th of April.

At that time the weir of Gwyzno was upon the ſand, between Dyvi and Aberyſtwyth, near his own caſtle. In that weir was taken to the value of one hundred pounds every May eve. And, at that time, Gwyzno had one ſon, called Elphin, one of the moſt miſchievous of youths, and driven to the greateſt want; on which account his father was ſorely afflicted, thinking him born in an evil hour. Through the exhortation of his counſellors, his father gave him the draught of the weir for that year, to ſee if any good would happen him, and to enable him to commence an occupation.

On the morning following, Elphin ſaw that there was nothing in the weir; but, on going away, he diſcovered the leather baſket on one of its poles. Then exclaimed one of the weir-men to Elphin, 'thou

haſt never been unlucky until this night; for thou haſt deſtroyed the properties of the weir, in which it was uſual to obtain the value of one hundred pounds on every May eve.'—'What now!' ſaid Elphin, 'poſſibly we have a good equivalent there for the one hundred pounds.' The ſkin was opened; and the opener beheld the forehead of a child; and he exclaimed to Elphin, 'Lyma Taliesin!' (Behold a fair front!)—'Taliesin bid,'—'Fair Front let him be called,' cried Elphin, raiſing the child in his arms, and commiſerating his misfortune; and he penſively took him up behind him. The horſe that was wont to trot, he cauſed now to amble, thus carrying the child as eaſy as if he were ſitting in the moſt eaſy arm-chair.

Soon after, the child ſung the ſong, called 'The Comfort,' to Elphin, and foretold him honour. The Comfort begins, *Elphin, dêg taw a'th wylo,*'—'fair Elphin ceaſe thy weeping;' and is the firſt ſong of Taliesin, made to cheer Elphin, on loſing the draught of the weir, as nothing grieved him ſo much as being the cauſe of the misfortune.

Then Elphin brought Taliesin to the houſe of Gwyzno his father; and Gwyzno aſked if he had a good draught in the weir? to which he replied, that he had found what was better than all the fiſh. 'What was it?' ſaid Gwyzno. 'A bard,' ſaid Elphin. 'Ah, poor thing!' exclaimed Gwyzno, 'what good will that do thee?' Then Taliesin himſelf anſwered and ſaid, 'this will be of more value to him than ever the weir was to thee.' Then Gwyzno cried, 'what! canſt thou ſpeak, and yet ſo little?'—'I can ſpeak of more than thou art able to aſk.'—'Let me hear what thou canſt ſay,' replied Gwyzno. Thereupon Taliesin ſung:—

'Ar y dwr mae cyvlwr cant bendigav,' &c.
'On the water is the ſtate of a hundred of the moſt bleſſed,' &c.

Then Gwyzno demanded if he was a man or a ſpirit? whereupon he ſang his hiſtory, ſaying,

'Priv varz cyfredin,
'Wyv vi i Elfin,' &c.
'A primary and univerſal bard am I to Elphin,' &c.

The probable part of the above tale is true; for Taliesin was an orphan, brought up by Elphin, and afterwards patronized by different princes, particularly Urien Reged, as it appears from pieces extant, addreſſed to that hero. What is fiction is founded upon the bardic ſyſtem of tranſmigation; of which ſyſtem Taliesin makes more uſe than any ancient bard, of whoſe works we have any remains.

An Extract from a Diſſertation on the primitive Religion of the Hindus, together with ſome Extracts from the Vedas, by Sir William Jones; publiſhed for the firſt Time in the 6th Volume of his Works.

BUT that I may not ſeem to appropriate the merit of diſcoveries which others have previouſly made, I think it neceſſary to ſay, that the original Gayatri, or holieſt verſe in the Veda, has already been publiſhed, though very incorrectly, by Fra Manuel da Aſſomcaon, a ſucceſsful miſſionary from Portugal, who may have received it, as his countrymen aſſert, from a converted Brâhman; that the ſame venerable text was ſeen in the hand

of Mr. Wilkin, who no doubt well underſtood it, by two pandits of my acquaintance; and that a paraphraſe of it in Perſian, may be found in the curious work of Daraſhucuh, which deſerves to be mentioned very particularly. That amiable but impolitic prince, who ſacrificed his throne and his life to a premature declaration of his religious opinions, had employed ſix months, as he tells us, at Benares, in tranſlating and explaining fifty-one Upaniſhads, or ſecrets of the old Indian ſcripture; but he tranſlated only the verbal interpretations of his pandits, and blended the text of the Veda with different gloſſes, and even with the converſation, I believe, of his living Hindû expoſitors, who are naturally ſo loquacious, that when they have began talking, they hardly know how to cloſe their lips.

Of this book I procured, with the aſſiſtance of colonel Poliar, a complete copy, corrected by a learned rajah, named Anandaram, with whom the colonel was very intimate: but though ſublime and majeſtic features of the original were diſcernible, in parts, through folds of the Perſian drapery; yet the Sanſcrêet names were ſo barbarouſly written, and the additions of the tranſlator have made the work ſo deformed, that I reſolved to poſtpone a regular peruſal of it till I could compare it with the Sanſcrêet original. * * * * * *

Iſavaſyam; or, an Upaniſhad, from the Yajur Veda.

1 By one ſupreme ruler is this univerſe pervaded; even every world in the whole circle of nature. Enjoy pure delight, O man! by abandoning all thoughts of this periſhable world; and covet not the wealth of any creature exiſting.

2. He who in this life continually performs his religious duties, may deſire to live a hundred years; but even to the end of that period thou ſhouldeſt have no other occupation here below.

3. To thoſe regions where evil ſpirits dwell, and which utter darkneſs involves, all ſuch men ſurely go after death, as deſtroy the purity of their own ſouls.

4. There is one ſupreme ſpirit, which nothing can ſhake, more ſwift than the thought of man. That primeval mover, even divine intelligences cannot reach: that ſpirit, though unmoved, infinitely tranſcends others, how rapid ſoever their courſe.

5. That ſupreme ſpirit moves at pleaſure, but in itſelf is immoveable: it is diſtant from us, yet very near us; it pervades this whole ſyſtem of worlds, yet is infinitely beyond it.

6. The man who conſiders all beings as exiſting even in the ſupreme ſpirit, and the ſupreme ſpirit as pervading all beings, henceforth views no creature with contempt.

7. In him who knows that all ſpiritual beings are the ſame in kind with the ſupreme ſpirit, what room can there be for deluſion of mind? or what room for ſorrow when he reflects on the identity of ſpirit?

8. The pure enlightened ſoul aſſumes a luminous form with no groſs body, with no perforation, with no veins or tendons, unblemiſhed, untainted by ſin, itſelf being a ray from the infinite ſpirit, which knows the paſt and the future, which pervades all, which exiſted with no cauſe but itſelf, which

created all things as they are in ages very remote.

9. They who are ignorantly devoted to the mere ceremonies of religion are fallen into thick darkneſs; but they ſurely have a thicker gloom around them who are ſolely attached to ſpeculative ſcience.

10. A diſtinct reward, they ſay, is reſerved for ceremonies; and a diſtinct reward, they ſay, for divine knowledge; adding, 'this we have heard from ſages who declared it to us."

11. He alone is acquainted with the nature of ceremonies, and with that of ſpeculative ſcience, who is acquainted with both at once; by religious ceremonies he paſſes the gulph of death, and by divine knowledge he attains immortality.

12. They who adore only the appearances and forms of the Deity are fallen into thick darkneſs, but they ſurely have a thicker gloom around them who are ſolely devoted to the abſtract eſſence of the divine eſſence.

13. A diſtinct reward, they ſay, is obtained by adoring the forms and attributes, and a diſtinct reward, they ſay, by adoring the abſtract eſſence; adding, "this we have heard from ſages who declare it to us."

14. He only knows the forms and the eſſence of the Deity who adores both at once; by adoring the appearances of the Deity, he paſſes the gulph of death, and by adoring his abſtract eſſence he attains immortality.

15. Unveil, O thou who giveſt ſuſtenance to the world, that face of the true ſon, which is now hidden by a vaſe of golden light! ſo that we may ſee the truth, and know our whole duty!

16. O thou who giveſt ſuſtenance to the world! thou ſole mover of all; thou who reſtraineſt ſinners, who pervadeſt yon great luminary, who appeareſt as the ſon of the creator! hide thy dazzling beams, and expand thy ſpiritual brightneſs, that I may view thy moſt auſpicious, moſt glorious, real form.

"Om, remember me, divine ſpirit!"

"Om, remember my deeds."

17. That all-pervading ſpirit, that ſpirit which gives light to the viſible ſun, even the ſame in kind, am I, though infinitely diſtant in degree. Let my ſoul return to the immortal ſpirit of God, and then let my body, which ends in aſhes, return to duſt!

18. O ſpirit who pervadeſt fire, lead us in a ſtraight path to the riches of beatitude! Thou, O God, poſſeſſeſt all the treaſures of knowledge: remove each foul taint from our ſouls; we continually approach thee with the higheſt praiſe and the moſt fervid adoration.

From the Yajur Veda.

1. As a tree, the lord of the foreſt, even ſo, without fiction, is man: his hairs are as leaves; his ſkin, as exterior bark.

2. Through the ſkin flows blood; through the rhind, ſap: from a wounded man, therefore, blood guſhes, as the vegetable fluid from a tree that is cut.

3. His muſcles are as interwoven fibres; the membrane round his bones, as interior bark, which is cloſely fixed: his bones are as the hard pieces of wood within; their marrow is compoſed of pith.

4. Since the tree, when felled, ſprings again, ſtill freſhers, from the root, from what root ſprings mortal

mortal man when felled by the hand of death?

5. Say not, he ſprings from ſeed; ſeed ſurely comes from the living. A tree, no doubt, riſes from ſeed, and after death has a viſible renewal,

6. But a tree which they have plucked up by the root, flouriſhes individually no more. From what root then ſprings mortal man when felled by the hand of death?

7. Say not he was born before; he is born: who can make him ſpring again to birth?

8. God, who is perfect wiſdom, perfect happineſs. He is the final refuge of the man who has liberally beſtowed his wealth, who has been firm in virtue, who knows and adores that Great One.

A Hymn to the Night.

Night approaches, illumined with ſtars and planets, and, looking on all ſides with numberleſs eyes, overpowers all meaner lights. The immortal goddeſs pervades the firmament, covering the low valleys and ſhrubs, and the loſty mountains and trees, but ſoon ſhe diſturbs the gloom with celeſtial effulgence. Advancing with brightneſs, at length ſhe recals her ſiſter, morning; and the nightly ſhade gradually melts away.

May ſhe, at this time, be propitious! ſhe, in whoſe early watch, we may calmly recline in our manſion, as birds repoſe on the tree.

Mankind now ſleep in their towns; now herds and flocks peacefully ſlumber, and winged creatures, even ſwift falcons and vultures.

O night! avert from us the ſhewolf and the wolf; and, oh! ſuffer us to paſs thee in ſoothing reſt.

O morn! remove, in due time, this black, yet viſible, overwhelming darkneſs, which at preſent infolds me, as thou enableſt me to remove the cloud of their debts.

Daughter of heaven! I approach thee with praiſe, as the cow approaches her milker; accept, O night! not the hymn only, but the oblation of thy ſuppliant, who prays that his foes may be ſubdued.

The following fragment is a tranſlation from a Sanſcreet work, intituled,

The ignorant inſtructed.

1. Reſtrain, O ignorant man! thy deſire of wealth, and become a hater of it in body, underſtanding, and mind: let the riches thou poſſeſſeſt be acquired by thy own good actions; with thoſe gratify thy ſoul.

2. The boy ſo long delights in his play, the youth ſo long purſues his beloved, the old ſo long brood over melancholy thoughts, that no man meditates on the ſupreme being.

3. Who is thy wife, and who thy ſon? How great and wonderful is this world!—whoſe thou art, and whence thou comeſt? meditate on this, my brother, and again on this.

4. Be not proud of wealth and attendants, and youth; ſince time deſtroys all of them in the twinkling of an eye: check thy attachment to all theſe illuſions like Maya; fix thy heart on the foot of Brahmà, and thou wilt ſoon know him.

5. As a drop of water moves on the leaf of the lotus; thus, or more ſlippery, is human life: the company of the virtuous endures

here but for a moment; that is the vehicle to bear thee over land and ocean.

6. To dwell in the manſion of gods at the foot of a tree; to have the ground for a bed, and a hide for a veſture; to renounce all ties of family or connections; who would not receive delight from this devout abhorrence of the world?

7. Set not thy affections on foe or friend; on a ſon, or a relation; in war, or in peace; bear an equal mind towards all; if thou deſireſt it, thou wilt ſoon be like Viſhnû.

8. Day and night, evening and morn, winter and ſpring, depart and return! time ſports, age paſſes on, deſire and the wind continue unreſtrained.

9. When the body is tottering, the head grey, and the mouth toothleſs; when the ſmooth ſtick trembles in the hand which it ſupports, yet the veſſel of covetouſneſs remains unemptied.

10. So ſoon born, ſo ſoon dead! ſo long lying in thy mother's womb! ſo great crimes are committed in the world! How then, O man! canſt thou live here below with complacency?

11. There are eight original mountains, and ſeven ſeas: Brahmâ, Indra, the ſun, and Kudra. Theſe are permanent; not thou, not I, nor this or that people: what, therefore, ſhould occaſion our ſorrow?

12. In thee, in me, in every other, Viſhnû reſides; in vain art thou angry with me, not bearing my approach: this is perfectly true, all muſt be eſteemed equal; be not, therefore, proud of a magnificent palace.

This is the inſtruction of learners; delivered in twelve meaſures: what more can be done with thoſe, whom this work doth fill with devotion?

Thus ends the book, named Mohadmudgara, or the ignorant inſtructed (properly the mallet of the ignorant), compoſed by the holy, devout, and proſperous Sancar Acharya.

Two Letters of James VI. of Scotland, to Queen Elizabeth.

RICHT, &c. This berare, our couſing, the earl of Caſſillis, ane young nobleman of great accompt and expectatioun, being diſpoſed to viſit forrane countries, for his better experience and ſicht of civile behaviour; we haif accordit to accompanie him with this our recommendacioun, affectcouſlie requeiſting yow, oure deareſt ſuſter and couſing, to gif directioun, that he, his tryne, and ſervands, may courtiouſlie be uſed and entreated, during the tyme of thair reſidence within your realme; and haif ſic favourable and ample paſport and conduct, as is requeſtit, for their reddie and ſure paſſage throw the ſame. And thus, richt heich, &c. From our palace of Halyrudhous, the penul day of December 1595.

Your maiſt loving and affectionat broder and couſing,

James R.

Richt excellent &c. This berare George Montgomerie, a gentleman of honourable raice and parentage, having ſpent ten or twelf yeiris within your realme, his duteful behaviour and deſert has procured ſic favour and good will, that the reſpect therof, with the veritie and pleaſour to be reaped in that

ſwill,

ſoill, has animat and allured him, (gif therewith he can enjoy that preferment expected,) to continou his reſidence and habitatioun within the ſamyn. Quhais good intention we have willinglie accordit to further be this our recommendacioun; affectiouſle requeſting yow, our deareſt ſuſter and couſing, to gif ordour to infrank and indemnize him, with the accuſtumat immunities and libertie of ſic ſtrangeris inhabiting within your realme, quhairby he may be capable of quhatſumever prefrement or benefit his good deſert can acquyre, of yourſelf or any your loyall and worthie ſubjectis. And heirwithall that, by your moyen and directions, he may reape the favorable admiſſioun of the eccleſiaſtical governours, to that quhairunto he ſal happin to be preferrit. Thus richt, &c. From our palace of Halyrudhous, xii Marche 1595, and of our reigne the xxix.

Your maiſt loving and affectionat broder and couſing,

James R.

Curious Privilege to the Ship of the King's Painter; from the Latin.

JAMES, by the grace of God king of Scots, to all and ſingular whom knowledge of theſe preſents intereſt, or may intereſt, ſafety. We deſire it to be known, and teſtified to you by theſe preſents, that the ſhip called the Sun, Maſter John Johnſon, of France, pertains by right to Hadrian Wanſon, our painter,* a citizen of Edinburgh: wiſhing to requeſt you, all and ſingular, preſerving to each his dignity, that the ſaid ſhip of the above citizen, our ſervant and painter, may be acknowledged as his property: and it, with its freight, ſailors, merchandize, and all its apparel, with your grace and favour, and other kind offices uſually paid by friendly nations, may on our account be honoured and reſpected. And whatever labour or favour to our ſaid painter (whom for many reaſons we greatly favour, and wiſh him well) may be granted or indulged by you in this buſineſs, we ſhall eſteem as rendered to ourſelves.

Given under our ſignet, from our palace of Holyrood-houſe, the 20th day of November, the year of grace, 1594.

Jacobus R.

* "*Ad Hadrianum Wanſonium pictorem noſtrum.*" This high favour could hardly be beſtowed on a houſe-painter. The name ſeems to be Van Son, of which there are latter painters of Antwerp.

MISCELLANEOUS ESSAYS.

A true Love Story; from the Works of Horatio Walpole, Earl of Orford.

IN the height of the animosities between the factions of the Guelfs and Ghibellines, a party of Venetians had made an inroad into the territories of the Viſcontis, ſovereigns of Milan, and had carried off the young Orondates, then at nurſe. His family were at that time under a cloud, though they could boaſt of being deſcended from Canis Scaliger, lord of Verona. The captors ſold the beautiful Orondates to a rich widow of the noble family of Grimaldi, who, having no children, brought him up with as much tenderneſs as if he had been her ſon. Her fondneſs increaſed with the growth of his ſtature and charms, and the violence of his paſſions were augmented by the ſignora Grimaldi's indulgence. Is it neceſſary to ſay, that love reigned predominantly in the ſoul of Orondates? or that in a city like Venice, a form like that of Orondates met with little reſiſtance?

The Cyprian queen, not content with the numerous oblations of Orondates on her altars, was not ſatisfied while his heart remained unengaged. Acroſs the canal, over againſt the palace of Grimaldi, ſtood a convent of Carmelite nuns, the abbeſs of which had a young African ſlave, of the moſt exquiſite beauty, called Azora, a year younger than Orondates. Jet and japan were tawney and without luſtre, when compared to the hue of Azora. Afric never produced a female ſo perfect as Azora; as Europe could boaſt but of one Orondates.

The ſignora Grimaldi, though no bigot, was pretty regular at her devotions; but as lanſquenet was more to her taſte than praying, ſhe hurried over her maſſes as faſt as ſhe could, to allot more of her precious time to cards. This made her prefer the church of the Carmelites, ſeparated only by a ſmall bridge, though the abbeſs was of a contrary faction. However, as both ladies were of equal quality, and had had no altercations that could countenance incivility, reciprocal curtſies always paſſed between them, the coldneſs of which each pretended to lay on their attention to their devotions, though the ſignora Grimaldi attended but little to the prieſt, and the abbeſs was chiefly employed in watching and criticiſing the inattention of the ſignora.

Not ſo Orondates and Azora. Both conſtantly accompanied their miſtreſſes to maſs, and the firſt moment they ſaw each other was deciſive in both breaſts. Venice ceaſed to have more than one fair

in the eyes of Orondates, and Azora had not remarked till then that there could be more beautiful beings in the world than ſome of the Carmelite nuns.

The ſecluſion of the abbeſs, and the averſion between the two ladies, which was very cordial on the ſide of the holy one, cut off all hopes from the lovers. Azora grew grave, and penſive, and melancholy; Orondates ſurly and intractable. Even his attachment to his kind patroneſs relaxed. He attended her reluctantly but at the hours of prayer. Often did ſhe find him on the ſteps of the church ere the doors were opened. The ſignora Grimaldi was not apt to make obſervations. She was content with indulging her own paſſions, ſeldom reſtrained thoſe of others; and though good offices rarely preſented themſelves to her imagination, ſhe was ready to exert them when applied to, and always talked charitably of the unhappy at her cards, if it was not a very unlucky deal.

Still it is probable that ſhe never would have diſcovered the paſſion of Orondates, had not her woman, who was jealous of his favour, given her a hint; at the ſame time remarking, under affectation of good will, how well the circumſtances of the lovers were ſuited, and, that as her ladyſhip was in years, and would certainly not think of providing for a creature ſhe had bought in the public market, it would be charitable to marry the fond couple, and ſettle them on her farm in the country.

Fortunately madame Grimaldi always was open to good impreſſions, and rarely to bad. Without perceiving the malice of her woman, ſhe was ſtruck with the idea of a marriage. She loved the cauſe, and always promoted it when it was honeſtly in her power. She ſeldom made difficulties, and never apprehended them. Without even examining Orondates on the ſtate of his inclinations, without recollecting that madame Capello and ſhe were of different parties, without taking any precautions to guard againſt a refuſal, ſhe inſtantly wrote to the abbeſs to propoſe a marriage between Orondates and Azora.

The latter was in madame Capello's chamber when the note arrived. All the fury that authority loves to conſole itſelf with for being under reſtraint, all the aſperity of a bigot, all the acrimony of party, and all the fictitious rage that prudery adopts when the ſenſual enjoyments of others are concerned, burſt out on the helpleſs Azora, who was unable to divine how ſhe was concerned in the fatal letter. She was made to endure all the calumnies that the abbeſs would have been glad to have hurled at the head of madame Grimaldi, if her own character and the rank of that offender would have allowed it. Impotent menaces of revenge were repeated with emphaſis; and as nobody in the convent dared to contradict her, ſhe gratified her anger and love of prating with endleſs tautologies. In fine, Azora was ſtrictly locked up, and bread and water were ordered as ſovereign cures for love. Twenty replies to madame Grimaldi were written and torn, as not ſufficiently expreſſive of a reſentment that was rather vociferous than eloquent; and her confeſſor was at laſt forced to write one, in which he prevailed to have ſome holy cant inſerted, though forced to compound for a heap of irony that related to the antiquity

tiquity of her family, and for many unintelligible alluſions to vulgar ſtories which the Ghibelline party had treaſured up againſt the Guelfs. The moſt lucid part of the epiſtle pronounced a ſentence of eternal chaſtity on Azora, not without ſome ſarcaſtic expreſſions againſt the promiſcuous amours of Orondates, which ought in common decorum to have baniſhed him long ago from the manſion of a widowed matron.

Juſt as this fulminatory mandate had been tranſcribed and ſigned by the lady abbeſs in full chapter, and had been conſigned to the confeſſor to deliver, the portreſs of the convent came running out of breath, and announced to the venerable aſſembly, that Azora, terrified by the abbeſs's blows and threats, had fallen in labour and miſcarried of four puppies: for be it known to all poſterity, that Orondates was an Italian greyhound, and Azora a black ſpaniel.

Of Hiſtory and Poetry; from the Works of Lord Dreghorn.

IF Mr. Godwin's ſyſtem, or even the pacific agricultural ſyſtem, were to be adopted by nations, a great revolution muſt, of courſe, take place in the republic of letters.

It would nearly annihilate hiſtory, for that of a nation of huſbandmen would not be much more intereſting than Swift's Gazette of a Farm.

The alteration, however, though fatal to the hiſtoriographer and the hero, would be moſt beneficial to men in general; for the hiſtory of every country has, hitherto, proved a ſeverer ſatire on the human race than any in Juvenal.

It would alſo put an end to epic poetry; that, indeed, ſeems already in a great meaſure to have ſpent itſelf; but the French revolution may again ſet it a-going for ſome time. It affords a number of new topics, and ſuch a genius as Lucan would ſuit it admirably. It probably will be attempted by poets in different countries.

I never could ſee any ſolid reaſon for making verſe eſſential to epic poetry; nor when ſuch poems are written in verſe, for uſing the long one of ten ſyllables, that of eight would anſwer juſt as well. Nobleneſs of thought and expreſſion, not length of verſe, are neceſſary to grandeur and ſublimity.

> To have the power to forgive,
> Is empire and prerogative;
> And 'tis in crowns a nobler gem,
> To grant a pardon, than condemn.

Would any word of addition to each of theſe verſes improve them?

The length of the verſe frequently obliges the poet to uſe a number of expletives, generally epithets, which may be left out without injuring the verſe, which is then reduced to eight ſyllable. Take, for example, the beginning of Pope's tranſlation of the Iliad—.

> Achilles' wrath to Greece, the *direful* ſpring
> Of woes unnumber'd, *heavenly* goddeſs ſing;
> That wrath which hurl'd to Pluto's *gloomy* reign
> The ſouls of *mighty* chiefs untimely ſlain;
> Whoſe limbs unburied on the *naked* ſhore,
> Devouring dogs, and *hungry* vultures, tore.

The ſix adjectives, or epithets, in italics, may be left out withou injuring

injuring the ſenſe, and the verſes then become doggerel.

Achilles' wrath to Greece the ſpring
Of woes unnumber'd, goddeſs ſing, &c.

How different is the following paſſage in his Eſſay on Man!

Pride then was not, nor arts, that pride has made:
Man walk'd with beaſt, joint tenant of the ſhade;
The ſame his table, and the ſame his bed;
No murder fed him, and no murder clad.
In the ſame temple, the reſounding wood,
All vocal beings hymn'd their equal god;
The ſhrine, with gore unſtain'd, with gold undreſt,
Unbrib'd, unbloody, ſtood the blameleſs prieſt:
Heav'n's attribute was univerſal care,
And man's prerogative to rule, but ſpare.
Ah! how unlike the man of times to come!
Of half that live, the butcher and the tomb;
Who, foe to nature, hears the general groan,
Murders their ſpecies, and betrays his own.
But juſt diſeaſe to luxury ſucceeds,
And ev'ry death its own avenger breeds;
The fury-paſſions from that blood began,
And turn'd on man, a fiercer ſavage, man.

In this paſſage there are but few epithets, and none of them expletive; there are three indeed in one line, but each of them is an argument. Pope is ſuperior in this paſſage both to Ovid and Thomſon, who have treated the ſubject, and very well too. This tranſlation of the Iliad is, in truth, much ſuperior to the original, with which I have often compared it in many of the moſt trying paſſages.

In the preface to the fifth volume of Gronov. Theſaur. Antiq. here is a particular and curious account of the way and manner in which Piſiſtratus put together the poems called Homer's. It is taken from an unpubliſhed Commentary of Diomedes Scholaſticus, on the Grammar of Dionyſius the Thracian. It is in ſubſtance as follows: Piſiſtratus not being able to find the poems of Homer entire, but that one man had one hundred, another two hundred, and a third one thouſand of his verſes; advertiſed over all Greece, that, whoever brought to him verſes of Homer, ſhould receive ſo much a line; all who brought them received the promiſed reward, even thoſe who brought lines which he had already got from others. Sometimes people brought him verſes of their own for thoſe of Homer; theſe are now marked with an obeliſk.

After having thus made a collection, he employed ſeventy-two grammarians, to put together the verſes of Homer in the manner that they thought beſt, allowing them a handſome gratification. After each had ſeparately arranged the verſes as he thought beſt, he brought them altogether, and made each ſhew to the whole his own particular work. They having all in a body examined them carefully and impartially, gave the preference to the compoſitions of Ariſtarchus and Zenodotus, and determined that the former had made the beſt of the two. They were not deceived by the verſes that were not Homer's; theſe were furniſhed merely to increaſe the number of lines, and amount of the reward, but they marked them with an obeliſk.

Of the Ideas of Nomadic Tribes, concerning Nobility; from Selections from foreign Literary Journals.

OF all the ſhepherd-nations throughout the world, the Arabian Beduines have long been, and

and ſtill are, the moſt famous, moſt numerous, and moſt remarkable. All the Beduines eſteem themſelves nobler than their countrymen that inhabit towns, becauſe they regard the dwelling in towns and permanent habitations, as a loſs or a limitation of their freedom. The Beduines conſiſt of common and noble Arabs, or of ſheiks, who again are divided into little and great ſheiks, or ſheiks and emirs.* The noble Arabs ſeldom marry,† and they never take to wife a Turkiſh or Mooriſh female, becauſe they deteſt the Turks as unjuſt oppreſſors, and the Moors as degenerate men. Neither will a great ſheik, or emir, ever marry the daughter of a ſmall one, and ſtill leſs the daughter of an ignoble Arabian;‡ but in this matter the inhabitants of towns are leſs ſtrict than the Beduines, as they pay more attention to money than to birth. The Arabs of high and ancient nobility ſeldom have complete genealogical regiſters to produce; but they underſtand the art of tracing up their pedigree to ſuch perſons as are known to be deſcended from ancient and noble families. In this manner, there are ſtill many families in Arabia, and that among the Beduines as among the inhabitants of towns, who can prove themſelves to be ſprung from Mohammed, or from the race of the Koreiſh.§

As the Arabians‖ know nothing of patent-nobility, ſo there can be no other reaſon why they imagine the ſheiks, who have the command over a certain number of families, to be nobler than the reſt, than becauſe their foreſathers roſe to be chieftains by ſignal deſert, and have propagated thoſe advantages of mind and body which they poſſeſſed, and with them the privileges thereby acquired, in their poſterity. In like manner we may explain how it comes to paſs that the emirs, or great ſheiks, are accounted nobler than the petty ſheiks that are ſubject to them. But ſtill more noble than the mightieſt emirs are the deſcendants of Mohammed, who, in Arabia, are commonly called ſcheriffs, and in Turkey are eminently ſtyled emirs.** Theſe deſcendants of Mohammed are ſuperior to all other ſheiks and emirs of the Arabians, not only on account of their lineage from the moſt ancient and nobleſt families of the Arabians, but in general from the common opinion: that the more than human virtues and endowments of the prophet are tranſmitted to his poſterity; and this curious reaſon for nobility, an imagined ſuperior origin, obtains as we ſhall ſee by and by, in ſeveral kingdoms where no other nobility is in being.

The moſt honoured of all are the ſcheriffs of Hedſias, as they have here leſs than any where elſe mixed with foreign blood. One of theſe ſcheriffs †† may venture to go among the enemy in the midſt of a battle, without needing to fear being deſignedly killed or injured. And they are ſo ſecure from robbers, that they have no occaſion for locks or even doors to their houſes. Even the Turkiſh Sultan cannot put to death any of theſe that are ſprung from the pure blood

* Niebuhr, deſcription of Arabia, p. 10, & ſeq. Arvieux, vol. iii. p. 149, & ſeq.
† Arvieux, vol. iii. p. 150. ‡ Niebuhr, p. 15. § Niebuhr, p. 17, 18.
‖ Niebuhr, ubi ſupra. ** Niebuhr, p. 11. †† Niebuhr, loc. cit.

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of Mohammed, be they never ſo turbulent; at moſt, he can only have them brought to Conſtantinople and kept in priſon. Such great reverence, however, is not ſhewn to all ſcheriffs, eſpecially in the countries ſubject to the Porte, as they have there too frequently mixed with ignoble blood; numbers alſo give themſelves out for ſcheriffs, or at leaſt wear a green turban, the honourable badge of the ſcheriffs, without being deſcended from Mohammed. Whereas in Arabia only ſuch are acknowledged for genuine ſcheriffs, as have not only a ſcheriff for father, but likewiſe a ſcheriſa for mother. Niebuhr, aſking a Turk, whether one whoſe father was a ſcheriff, but his mother a ſlave, could adopt the title of his father; the Turk anſwered him by another queſtion: Whether gold did not always remain gold, if kept either in a fine or a coarſe purſe? But though the family of Mohammed be ſunk ſo low in Turkey, yet they will not truſt the ſcheriffs with any office of importance, as the people always retain a certain reverence for them, and therefore there is reaſon to fear, leſt ſome one or other of the ſcheriffs ſhould take it into his head to aim at ſovereignty, after the example of the prophet. For ſmaller offences againſt the law, the ſcheriffs, even in the Turkiſh towns, are not brought before the ordinary magiſtrate, the paſha or cadi, but are tried by their own nakib, or chief, choſen from among themſelves; and principally for this reaſon, or becauſe they hope to receive more eleemoſynary donations, many of the middling or lower ſtations wiſh to be able to wear the green turban. Since the Arabians are ſo proud of their nobility, it is ſomewhat ſurpriſing that they give the honourable title of ſheik, not only to the learned, or the deſcendants of pretended ſaints, but alſo to every perſon that ſhares in the magiſtracy of towns and villages, nay even to the elders of the Jews in the Arabian towns.*

Either from the Arabians, or from the German tribes that ſettled in Africa after the downfal of the Roman empire, ſprung the inhabitants of the Canary iſlands, that were met with by the Spaniards on their firſt diſcovery of them. Theſe iſlanders were divided into three ſeveral claſſes:† that of perſons of the royal family, that of nobles or freemen, and, laſtly, that of the vulgar. The king of Teneriff could not marry but with one of equal rank, and if no other were to be found, he married his own ſiſter. Neither could the nobles, any more than the king, contract marriage with one beneath their rank. This great difference of ranks, they account for from the following tradition. In the beginning God created mankind of earth and water, as many women as men, and beſtowed upon them all cattle, and every other neceſſary of life. But the number of people, thus created, appeared afterwards to God to be not ſufficient. He therefore formed more, but gave them nothing; and, on their begging him for ſheep and goats, he bade them be gone, and go and ſerve their elder brethren.

On the iſle of Canaria it was not enough to be born of noble parents, but they were obliged to be declared ſo ſolemnly by the high-

* Niebuhr, p. 14. Arvieux, vol iii. p. 152. † Claſs, p. 65, 147, 149.

prieſt,

prieſt, if they would enjoy the prerogatives of a nobleman.—When the ſon of a noble felt himſelf ſtrong enough to bear the dangers and hardſhips of war, he went to the prieſt, and declared his intention of being publiſhed a warrior. The prieſt then called all the nobles of the iſland together, and cauſed them to be ſolemnly ſworn that they would utter the truth in regard to the young warrior. After the oath was adminiſtered, the prieſt aſked the nobles: Whether they had ever ſeen the youth dreſſing victuals, or keeping the flocks, and milking or ſlaying the cattle? Whether, to the beſt of their knowlege, he had ever purloined or ſtolen any thing, or had behaved himſelf uncivilly, ſlanderouſly, and diſhoneſtly, particularly towards women? When all theſe queſtions were anſwered in the negative, the prieſt cut ſhort the young man's hair about the neck, and declared him, before all the people, to be a noble and a warrior. If, on the other hand, he was found chargeable with any baſe or diſhoneſt action, his head was ſhaven, and he was pronounced for ever incapable of nobility.

Next to the Arabians, the Kurdes and Turcomans are the moſt powerful ſhepherd-nation of the weſtern Aſia. The latter of them concerned themſelves but little about nobility; while the Kurdes eſteemed and preſerved it as much as the ſheiks among the Arabians*. As the quality, or agas, among the Kurdes do not readily take a wife of mean extraction, daughters are a treaſure, ſince, for a noble virgin, fifty purſes, or between five and ſix thouſand pounds, of our money, is demanded. The Kurdes ſeem to be like the inhabitants of Caucaſus, as well as the Turcomans, all ſhepherd-tribes of Tartarian origin who wander eaſtwards from the Caſpian ſea. Among the Kirguiſes, Karacalpacs, Ghivans, &c. riches, power, and perſonal merit, are of more value than hereditary nobility;† whereas, among the Mingrelians, Circaſſians, and Georgians, noble birth is prized as much, or even more than among the Kurdes and Arabians; at leaſt, the not-noble, or vaſſals, are infinitely more oppreſſed than among the Kurdes and Arabians. According to every account, whether ancient or modern, the moſt ill-treated Ruſſian or Poliſh boor may be pronounced happy, in compariſon of the Georgians, Mingrelians, and their neighbours, as they are leſs ſpared, and more frequently ſold and killed than cattle.‡

Such abuſe of power on one ſide, and more than human patience on the other, were common for many ages throughout all, even the braveſt and moſt enlightened, nations of our quarter of the world. For, how could the humble and unarmed yeoman defend himſelf againſt the great man of his village, the noble lurking for him like a bird of prey, but by ſurrendering his freedom, in order to find reſt under the walls of his caſtle, and protection from his ſword? But it is far more extraordinary, that a ſhepherd-people, who, as M. Pallas has very finely obſerved, purſue a mode of life moſt adapted to human liberty, that theſe people ſhould, from time immemorial, be in ſubjection to the unlimited power

* Niebuhr's Travels, vol. ii. p. 420. † See Orenburg, Topography, p. 125.
‡ See Reinegg's Accounts in Pallas's Supplement, vol. iii. p. 324.

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of princes.* The only inſtances of it in Aſia are the Calmucs and their brethren the Mongoles; and neither in their hiſtorical books, nor in their traditions, is the ſmalleſt trace to be found of any ſuch liberty, or rather licentiouſneſs, as the ſhepherd-tribes of Tartars enjoyed, and in conſequence whereof they ſlew their princes and chiefs on the ſlightest occaſions, and ſtill continue the practice, or at leaſt abandon them, wherefore the khans, far from levying tribute upon them, rather flatter and make preſents to their maſters.

The moſt powerful of all the Mongolian ſheperd-nations in eaſtern Aſia are ſtill the Calmucs. Princes, who in quality of elders of their race are proprietors and rulers of ſeparate hords, are ſtyled taidſhi. The moſt powerful of theſe princes keep the leſs powerful in a ſort of dependance upon them, and therefore aſſume the title of khans, or are honoured by the Dalai Lama with the title of a khan taidſhi, or ſwan-prince, receive appeals from the ſubjects of the leſs powerful, and even ſend them their orders; but theſe orders are always executed only in proportion to the prepollent power of the ſtronger. Otherwiſe the taidſhi have an unlimited ſway over their ſubjects, can diſpoſe of them at pleaſure, can inflict upon them the ſevereſt corporal puniſhments, cut off their noſes and ears, or amputate their limbs, only not publicly put them to death, as this is forbidden by the religion of Lama. With a not leſs unlimited authority do the younger brothers of a taidſhi, and the remoter branches of the reigning family, rule over the ſmaller multitudes that are allotted to them, but which are always regarded as component parts of the main body of the people from which they have been ſevered, as theſe poſſeſſors of ſmaller hordes, who bear the honourable title of noiam or lord, are always conſidered as the vaſſals of the elder brother, or reigning prince. Now theſe taidſhi and noiams compoſe the high nobility among the Calmucs, for they alone poſſeſs the nation over which they reign, as their property, and can diſpoſe of it as peculiarly their own. The lower nobility conſiſts of what are called the ſaiſſans. To theſe ſaiſſans ſeveral hundred families are committed by the taidſhi and noians, from whom they take tribute in the name of the prince, and among whom they adjuſt all ſmaller differences and diſputes. They receive indeed to themſelves a part of the tribute which the ſubjects are obliged to pay, but cannot diſpoſe of it at will, unleſs they are of princely blood, and poſſeſs their aimacs by hereditary right. The prince may raiſe the meaneſt Calmuc to be a ſaiſſan, and degrade him again; and it ſeems as if the nobility which they acquired with their dignity is loſt again with it.

As the princely ſaiſſans among the Calmucs have no hereditary nobility, ſo neither have the clergy or lamas, though the clergy, as a ſtate diſtinct from the reſt of the people, poſſeſs ſeveral privileges, from which we might juſtly infer nobility. The clergy, as deſcendants of princely race, or ſprung from white bones, are exempt from tribute, and the high prieſt of every uluſs, or one of

* Pallas, Mongol. Tribes, vol. i. p. 185.

every

every tribe, has the undoubted right of ſitting in the ſupreme council of the prince, which generally conſiſts of eight, the other members whereof are choſen from the noiams, or ſaiſſans, by the prince. This council decides all law-ſuits in the laſt inſtance, lays its propoſals and deciſions before the prince for his confirmation, prepares the commands of the prince, and therefore, under weak princes, governs with an almoſt unbounded ſway, as, under more ſelf-ſufficient regents, it is intirely independent on their ſuggeſtions. Accordingly, among the Calmucs, there is a hereditary and perſonal, ſuperior and inferior, temporal and ſpiritual nobility; and the nobility of this people aroſe not merely from inheritance of perſonal merits, but likewiſe from the favour of princes, and even from a religion that grants its miniſters certain peculiar prerogatives beyond the reſt of the people.

Criticiſm on the Hiſtorians of England; from Coote's Hiſtory of England.

IMPELLED by the love of fame, by views of pecuniary emolument, or by motives of a more diſintereſted nature, many writers have, at different times, uſhered themſelves into public notice, as narrators of the remarkable events of England. From ſome of theſe hiſtorians, it would be invidious and unjuſt to withhold the tribute of admiration and applauſe: but a ſhort critique, on the productions of the moſt modern of theſe writers, will conſtitute, perhaps, the moſt ſatisfactory apology for the appearance of a new work on the ſame ſubject.

Hume, as a hiſtorian, has long enjoyed an extraordinary ſhare of popularity; and his performance ſeems to be conſidered, by the majority of readers, as the beſt account of the affairs of this nation. His abilities were perhaps competent to the production of a hiſtory which might have far ſurpaſſed all the efforts of his Britiſh predeceſſors; and, if his talents had been exerted with a juſt regard to candour and impartiality, and with the ſole view of exhibiting a fair and accurate delineation of the tranſactions of former days, his hiſtoric fame would have reſted on a more ſolid baſis than that which now ſupports it. The ſpirit of philoſophy which animates his work, gives it a manifeſt ſuperiority over moſt of the Engliſh hiſtories by which it was preceded. His ſtyle is elegant, without affectation; and nervous, without an appearance of labour. His arguments, in defence of a favourite hypotheſis, poſſeſs all the acuteneſs of ſophiſtry, though their force is diſarmed by the application of ſound logic, and the adduction of undiſtorted facts. Under the pretext of expoſing the deluſions of fanaticiſm, the weakneſs of bigotry, and the arts of ſelfiſh and deſigning eccleſiaſtics, he indirectly endeavours to ſap the fabric of religion itſelf, and undermine the deareſt intereſts of ſociety. His political principles are adverſe to the claims of freedom; and, under the cloak of impartial diſcuſſion, he vilifies the exertions of the patriot, and depreſſes the generous flame of liberty.

The reputation of Rapin is now on the wane. The multiplicity of his

his errors, his want of animation, and his injudicious use of his materials, have occasioned the decline of that eminence which he once enjoyed, and which produced an unprecedented sale of his voluminous work. His general impartiality was the original cause of the success of his history; but that quality is not so conspicuous in this author as his advocates pretend; nor, on the other hand, is his performance so defective in this respect as some later historians have insinuated.

Though Carte is supposed to have employed more time and labour on his history than any preceding or subsequent writer, his success did not correspond with his hopes. The well-known prejudices entertained by him precluded the obvious requisite which such a work demands; and the public could not be expected to cherish a very high opinion of the sagacity or penetration of that author, who, in an enlightened age, could decisively attribute the imaginary cure of the *scrofula*, by the royal touch, to a sanative virtue conferred by heaven on anointed sovereignty. Carte, however, where his prepossessions do not intervene, is a faithful and accurate writer; but he rarely displays any portion of the graces or the energy of composition.

Guthrie was a good classical scholar, and an ingenious author. His history of England is no contemptible work; but it appears to have been written with too great rapidity, and too little attention of the mind. His remarks too frequently disgust, by the vanity with which they are offered; or merit censure, by the want of a deliberate examination of that point on which he confidently pronounces his sentiments.

But the charge of haste and inaccuracy, which we have ventured to fix on Guthrie, is more justly imputable to his countryman, Smollett, as the history compiled by the latter is solely borrowed from modern writers, whose misrepresentations he has copied, and whose errors he has multiplied. A comparison of his work with the historical labours of Rapin, Carte, and Guthrie, will perhaps convince the examinant, that he did not consult one of the original authors whom he has quoted in his margin. But his defects, as a historian, are in some measure palliated by that nervous elegance which often appears in his diction, and that judgement which prevents him from dwelling on occurrences of inferior moment.

Goldsmith wrote with spirit and ability; but his history of this kingdom is a mere *epitome*, and is calculated rather for the amusement of an idle hour, than for the improvement of those who aspire to a competent knowledge of English affairs.

Henry is an accurate and judicious author; but his plan is too detached and disjointed, to please the general reader; and that division of his work, which comprehends the civil and military history of Great Britain, is too concise, to be satisfactory.

Dissertation on the Origin of the English House of Commons, delivered before the Master, Fellows, and Scholars of Trinity-College, Cambridge, in June, 1777, by the Honourable Thomas Erskine; to which

which the first Prize of the Year was adjudged.

THE Engliſh houſe of commons aroſe gradually out of the feodal tenures as introduced at the conqueſt.

Many of the wiſeſt and warmeſt aſſertors of equal government have been fond of looking back to the Saxon annals for the origin of the Engliſh conſtitution; and, without the warrant of hiſtory or tradition, have conſidered the riſe of our liberties under the Normans, as only the reſtoration of immunities ſubverted by the conqueſt. This opinion however, has been propagated by its authors, neither from a decided conviction on the one hand, nor a blind admiration of antiquity on the other: a very generous, but miſtaken motive, has often rendered it popular and energetic; it has been oppoſed in time of public danger to the arguments of thoſe enemies to their country, and indeed to all mankind, who have branded the ſacred privileges wreſted by our patriot anceſtors from the firſt Norman princes, as the fruits of ſucceſsful rebellions.

But, although the principle is to be applauded, the error cannot; and in this enlightened age, happily need not be defended; the rights of mankind can never be made to depend on the times of their being vindicated with ſucceſs; they are ſacred and immutable; they are the gift of heaven; and whether appropriated for the firſt time to day, or enjoyed beyond the reach of annals, the title to them is equally incontrovertible: one individual may forfeit his property to another from ſupineneſs, and uſurpation may ſtrengthen into right by preſcription; but human privileges in the groſs cannot be ſo ſnatched away; there is no ſtatute of limitation* to bar the claims of nature: let us not, therefore, from a patriot zeal, involve ourſelves in the faint evidences of probability, but be contented to trace our political conſtitution from a ſource within the reach of moral demonſtration. There is more honour in having freed ourſelves from tyranny than in always having been free.

We know with certainty, that the Saxons had parliaments, but we know, with equal certainty, that the people at large had no repreſentative ſhare in them: the bulk of the nation were either vaſſals under the feodal lord, or Allodii† under the king's government; the firſt being abſolute ſlaves to their maſters, could not pretend to become political rulers, and the laſt being not even united by the feodal bond to the community, could have no ſuffrages in the feodal councils: the Saxon lords, indeed, were free, but for that very reaſon, there was no public liberty; the government was highly ariſtocratical, there was no ſhadow of that equal communion

* There are certain limitations of time fixed by ſtatute in the reigns of Henry VIII. and James I. beyond which the ſubject (and the king by a late act) cannot apply to the courts of juſtice to regain the poſſeſſion of landed property, to recover perſonal debts and damages, or to redreſs private wrongs. Theſe acts are called in law pleadings, the ſtatutes of limitation.

† Allodii were ſuch as held of no feodal ſuperior, *celles qui ne recognoiſſent ſuperieur en fœdalitie.* Theſe Allodial lands were all ſurrendered up at the Norman conqueſt, and received back to be held by feodal tenure, as appears by Doomſday-book.

of

of privileges founded on legiſlative inſtitutions, which conſtitutes freedom upon Engliſh principles, by which all who are the objects of the law muſt perſonally, or by repreſentation, be the makers of the laws: this principle, which may juſtly be denominated the very eſſence of our preſent government, neither did nor could poſſibly exiſt till the proud feodal chieftains, bending under an accidental preſſure, were obliged to ſacrifice their pride to neceſſity, and their tyranny to ſelf-preſervation.

But before our inquiries can be properly begun, at the period I have fixed,—before I can exhibit the elaſtic force of freedom rebounding under the preſſure of the moſt abſolute government, I muſt call your attentions to the genealogy of our feodal anceſtors.

They iſſued from that northern hive of fierce warriors who over-ran all Europe at the declenſion of the Roman empire; a race of men the moſt extraordinary that ever marked or diſtinguiſhed the ſtate of nature; a people who, in the abſence of every art and ſcience, carried the ſeeds of future perfection in their national genius and character; viſible even then in an unconquerable fortitude of mind, in an inherent idea of human equality, tempered with a voluntary ſubmiſſion to the moſt rigid ſubordination; the trial by jury too was underſtood and revered by all the northern inhabitants of Europe, when they firſt appeared among the degenerate nations that had loſt it. Liberty, driven from the haunts of ſcience and civilization, ſeems to have fled with this taliſman to the deſarts, and to have given it to barbarians to revenge her injuries, and to redeem her empire: in marking the proceſs of the conſtitution through the furnace of ſlavery, it muſt never be forgotten, that ſuch were our anceſtors.

When William had gained the victory of Haſtings, he marched towards London with his victorious Normans, and found (like other conquerors) an eaſy paſſage to the throne when the prince is ſlain and his army defeated; the Engliſh proffered him the peaceable poſſeſſion of a kingdom which he was in a condition to have ſeized by force; rather chooſing to ſee the brows of a victor encircled with a crown than with a helmet, and wiſhing rather to be governed by the ſceptre than the ſword: he was therefore inſtalled with all the ſolemnities of the Saxon coronation, and immediately afterwards annihilated all thoſe laws which theſe ſolemnities were inſtituted to perpetuate: he eſtabliſhed his own feodal ſyſtem (the only one he underſtood); he divided all the lands of England into knight's fees, to be holden of himſelf by military ſervice; and as few or none of the Engliſh had any ſhare in this general diſtribution, their eſtates being forfeited from their adherence to Harold, and by ſubſequent rebellions, it is plain they could have no political conſequence, ſince none but the vaſſals of the crown had ſeats in the feodal parliaments.

Could William have been contented thus to have ſhared with his Norman barons the ſpoils of the conquered Engliſh, and merely to have transferred his feodal empire from Normandy to Great Britain, the ſacred ſun of freedom had probablythen ſet upon this iſland, never to have ariſen any more; the Norman lords would have eſtabliſhed

that ariſtocracy which then diſtinguiſhed the whole feodal world, and when afterwards, by the natural progreſſion of that ſingular ſyſtem; when by the inevitable operation of eſcheats and forfeitures, the crown muſt have attracted all that property which originally iſſued from it; when the barons themſelves muſt have dropped like falling ſtars into the centre of power, and ariſtocracy been ſwallowed up in monarchy; the people already trained to ſubjection, without rights, and without even ſimilar grievances to unite them, would have been an eaſy prey to the prince in the meridian of his authority; and deſpotiſm, encircled with a ſtanding army, would have ſcattered terror through a nation of ſlaves.

But happily for us, William's views extended with his dominion: he forgot that his barons (who were not bound by their tenures to leave their own country) had followed him rather as companions in enterprize than as vaſſals: he confided in a ſtanding army of mercenaries, which he recruited on the continent; rivetted even on his own Normans, the worſt feodal ſeverities; and before the end of his reign, the Engliſh ſaw the oppreſſors themſelves among the number of the oppreſſed.

This plan, purſued and aggravated by his deſcendants, aſſimilated the heterogeneous bodies of which the kingdom was compoſed: Normans and Engliſh, barons and vaſſals, were obliged to unite in a common cauſe. Mr. de Lolme, citizen of Geneva, by comparing the riſe of liberty in England with the fall of it in France, has ſo clearly and ingeniouſly proved, that Magna Charta was obtained from this neceſſity, which the barons were under, of forming an union with the people, that I ſhall venture to conſider it as a fact demonſtrated, and ſhall proceed to an inquiry no leſs curious and important, where he and other writers have left a greater field for originality; I mean the riſe of the Engliſh houſe of commons, to its preſent diſtinct and repreſentative ſtate.

The ſtatute of Magna Charta, ſo often evaded, and ſo often ſolemnly re-eſtabliſhed, diſſeminated (it muſt be confeſſed) thoſe great and leading maxims on which all the valuable privileges of civil government depend; indeed the twenty-ninth chapter contains every abſolute right for the ſecurity of which men enter into the relative obligations of ſociety: but privileges thus gained, and only maintained by the ſword, cannot be called a conſtitution; after bearing a ſummer's bloſſom, they may periſh, as they grew, in the field of battle; of little conſequence are even the moſt ſolemn charters, confirmed by legiſlative ratifications, if they who are the objects of them do not compoſe part of that power, without whoſe conſent they cannot be repealed; if they have no peaceable way of preventing their infringement, nor any opportunity of vindicating their claims, till they have loſt the benefit of poſſeſſion: liberty, in this ſtate, is not an inheritance; it is little better than an alms from an indulgent or a cautious adminiſtration. It remains, therefore, to ſhew by what ſteps the people of England, without being drawn forth into perſonal action, were enabled to act with more than perſonal force; in what manner they acquired a political ſcale, in which they could depoſit the privileges

thus bravely and fortunately acquired, and into which every future accumulation of power flowing from the increaſe of property and the thriving arts of peace might ſilently and imperceptibly fall, bringing down the ſcale without convulſing the balance.

And here thoſe hiſtorians muſt be followed with caution, who have made this new order of the ſtate to ſtart up at the nod of Montfort or of Edward; neglecting the operations of the feodal ſyſtem, as thinking them, perhaps, more the province of the lawyer than the hiſtorian, they have miſtaken the effect for the cauſe, and have aſcribed this memorable event to a ſudden political neceſſity, which was in reality prepared and ripened by a ſlow and uniform progreſſion. This truth may be eaſily illuſtrated.

The law * of Edward I. ſtill remains on the records of parliament, by which the crown and the barons, in order to preſerve for ever their fond feodal rights, reſtrained the creation of any new ſuperiorities. By this act, the people were allowed to diſpoſe of their eſtates, but the original tenure was made to follow the land through all its alienations; conſequently, when the king's vaſſal divided his property, by ſale, into ſmaller baronies, the purchaſer had, from thenceforth, no feodal connection with the ſeller, but held immediately from the king, according to the ancient tenure of the land; and if theſe purchaſers alienated to others the land ſo purchaſed, ſtill the tenure continued and remained in the crown.

Now, when we reflect that every tenant of a barony, holden of the king *in capite*, had a ſeat in parliament, we ſee at once the ſtriking operation of this law; we ſee how little the wiſeſt politicians foreſee the diſtant conſequences of ambition: Edward and his barons, by this device, monopolized, it is true, the feodal ſovereignties, and prevented their vaſſals from becoming lords like themſelves, but they knew not what they were doing; they knew not, that, in the very act of abridging the property of the people, they were giving them a legiſlative exiſtence, which, at a future day, would enable them to overthrow whatever ſtood in the way of their power, and to level that very feodal ſyſtem which they were thus attempting to perpetuate: for the tenants *in capite*, who had a right to be ſummoned to parliament, ſoon became ſo numerous, by the alienation of the king's vaſſals (whoſe

* The ſtatute of the 18th Edward I chap. 1. commonly called *quia emptores terrarum*. The great barons were very preſſing to have this law paſſed, that the lands they had ſold before the act might not be ſubinfeud, but might return to themſelves by eſcheats, on failure of heirs, or by forfeiture in caſe of felony: but they did not foreſee that the multiplication of their own body would, in the end, annihilate its conſequence, and raiſe up a new order in the ſtate; indeed, the tenancies *in capite* were multiplying faſt before this act; for, when a large barony eſcheated, or was forfeited to the crown, it was generally divided, and granted to more than one; and frequently theſe baronies deſcended to ſeveral females, who inherited as co-partners; it was in conſequence of this multiplication of tenures *in capite* that the ſmaller barons were ſummoned *per vicecomites*, and not like the greater ones, as early as the reign of king John; their numbers being too great to addreſs writs to them all: but this multiplication would probably never have produced a genuine houſe of commons without the operation of this act, as will appear by and by, from the compariſon between the Engliſh and Scotch parliaments.

immenſe territories were diviſible into many leſſer baronies), that they neither could, nor indeed wiſhed, any longer to aſſemble in their own rights; the feodal peers were, in fact, become the people;* and the idea of repreſentation came forward by a neceſſary conſequence: parliament, from being ſingly compoſed of men who ſat, in their own rights, to ſave the great from the oppreſſion of the crown, and not the ſmall from the oppreſſion of the great, now began to open its doors to the patriot-citizen; the feodal and perſonal changed into natural and corporate privileges; and the people, for the firſt time in the hiſtory of the world, ſaw the root of their liberties fixed in the centre of the conſtitution.

As the multiplication of royal tenures, from the enfranchiſement of boroughs,† (but chiefly from the operation of this law) firſt gave riſe to popular repreſentation; ſo it is only in the continued operation of theſe principles, that we can trace the diſtinct exiſtence and growing power of the houſe of commons: we know that they aſſembled for a long time in the ſame chamber with the peers; that the ſeparation was not preconceived by the founders of the conſtitution, but aroſe from neceſſity, when their numbers became too great to form one aſſembly; and we know that they never thought of aſſuming popular legiſlative privileges, till, by this neceſſary diviſion, they became a diſtinct body from the lords. This, though a political accident, brought the Engliſh commons forth into action;

* The houſe of commons, and the ſpiritual lords, (who ſtill ſit in parliament as tenants *in capite*) are the only remains of the genuine feodal territorial peerage; for, when the tenants *in capite* became numerous and poor, ſuch an alloy was mixed with the ancient original nobility, that it would have been abſurd to have allowed tenure in chief to convey any longer a perſonal honour and privilege; the peerage, therefore, no longer paſſed with the fief, but, from being territorial and official, became perſonal and honorary; but, as tenure in chief was ſtill from the very nature of the feodal ſyſtem a legiſlative title, although its exerciſe was no longer perſonally practicable, from the multiplication of royal holdings, a repreſentation was naturally adopted.

The feodal ariſtocracy thus expanded, changed, by degrees, into a democracy, and the ariſtocratical part of the government would have been utterly extinguiſhed (on failure of the peers by preſcription) if the crown had not preſerved it, by conferring on a few, by perſonal inveſtiture, an hereditary right of legiſlation in the room of that territorial peerage that had branched out and become a popular right. This produced a great change in the orders of the ſtate, for the feodal baronage, after having produced the houſe of commons, continued to balance, and ſtruggle with, the prerogative as a democracy, in the ſame manner that it had reſiſted it before as an ariſtocratical body: whereas the monarchical peerage, which ſprung up on the decay of the feodal, is merely an emanation of the royal prerogative, intereſted in the ſupport of the crown, from which it derives it luſtre and its power, and has no connection with the feodal ſyſtem which conferred no legiſlative rights but by tenure *in capite*, which tenure, diffuſed among the multitude, conſtituted the houſe of commons.

† It is very probable, that burgage tenure firſt gave the idea of a repreſentation of the ſmaller barons: for, when the king enfranchiſed a town, and gave it lands from the royal demeſne, this inſtantly made the corporation a tenant *in capite*; but, as the corporation could not ſit in parliament, it elected a burgeſs. It is in conſequence of this burgage tenure, or tenancy *in capite*, of a corporation, that we now ſee ſuch an inſignificant village as Old Sarum, ſending two members to parliament, while ſuch a flouriſhing town as Mancheſter ſends none.

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their legiſlative exiſtence was the natural birth of the feodal ſyſtem, compreſſed by the crown.

To prove theſe truths, we have only to contemplate the hiſtory of our ſiſter kingdom of Scotland (governed, at that time, by the ſame laws), there being very little difference between the *Regiam Majeſtatem*, the Scotch code of thoſe days, and the work compiled by Glanville, chief juſtice to Henry II. The law of Edward I. which produced theſe great changes * in England, was tranſcribed by the Scotch parliament into the ſtatute-book of their Robert I. but the king of Scotland had not conquered that country as William had ſubdued England, conſequently he was rather a feodal chieftain than a monarch, and had no power to carry this law of Edward's into execution; for the Scotch barons, although they would not allow their vaſſals to ſubinfeud, yet when they ſold their own lands, they would not ſuffer the crown to appropriate the tenure, but obliged the purchaſers to hold as vaſſals to themſelves: by this weakneſs of the Scotch crown, and power of the nobles, the tenancies *in capite* were not multiplied as in England; the right to ſit in parliament was conſequently not much extended beyond the original numbers; and Scotland never ſaw a houſe of commons,† nor ever taſted the bleſſings of equal government. When the

* It may be aſked, what theſe changes were, which the act is ſaid to have produced, ſince the burgeſſes were called to parliament in the beginning of Edward's reign, before the act paſſed; and ſince the leſſer barons were ſummoned by the ſheriffs, as early as the reign of king John. To this it may be anſwered, that theſe parliaments were intirely feodal; the burgeſſes repreſenting thoſe corporations that were tenants *in capite*, and the ſummons of the leſſer barons, being by no means a popular election, but a proclamation for thoſe who held ſufficient lands of the king *in capite*, to aſſemble in their own rights: but when the ſtatute of *quia emptores* had ſo generally diffuſed the royal holding, that, from being a feodal privilege confined to a few, it came to be a popular and almoſt univerſal right; repreſentation of the multitude ſucceeded upon feodal principles to a perſonal right of legiſlation; the territorial peerage ſunk altogether, or rather dilated itſelf into a houſe of commons; and that power, which in other feodal countries, being condenſed like the rays of the ſun to a focus, conſumed the rights of mankind, produced, when thus ſcattered abroad, a plentiful harveſt of liberty. In Scotland, where the act of *quia emptores* was never enforced, the feodal baronage diffuſed itſelf, notwithſtanding, ſo as at leaſt to produce a repreſentation, but it continued to be a repreſentation merely feodal; the knights of the ſhires were repreſentative barons, not repreſentatives of the people; and never formed a diſtinct order in the ſtate: indeed, ſuch a third power could never have poſſibly ſprung up from a feodal conſtitution, on any other principle than that which is here laid down. There was no repreſentation of the Scotch barons till the year 1427, when it was enacted, by ſtatute, that the ſmaller barons needed not to come to parliament, provided they ſent commiſſioners.

† The repreſentative barons and burgeſſes never formed, in Scotland, a third eſtate (as has been obſerved in the laſt note), they were conſidered as repreſentatives of royal tenants, and not of the people at large; and, therefore, naturally aſſembled with the peers, who ſat by honorary creation: for tenures in chief, being confined to a very ſmall number, when compared with other tenures, ſtill continued to be the criterion of legiſlation; and, though extended beyond the practicability of perſonal exerciſe, was highly feodal, even when expanded to a ſtate of repreſentation. Whereas, in England, the ſtatute of *quia emptores* made tenure *in capite* almoſt univerſal, or, in other words, gave legiſlative privileges to the multitude, upon feodal principles; which conſequently produced

boroughs, indeed, in latter days, were enfranchiſed, they ſent their repreſentatives; but their numbers being inconſiderable, they aſſembled in the ſame houſe with the king and the peers; were awed by the pride of the lords, and dazzled by the ſplendor of the crown, they ſat ſilent in parliament, repreſenting the ſlavery and not the freedom of the people.

But this diſſemination * of property, which in every country on earth is ſooner or later creative of freedom, met with a ſevere check in its early infancy, from the ſtatute of entails; in this inſtance, even the crown of England had not ſufficient ſtrength to ripen that liberty which had ſprung up from the force of its rays; for, if Edward I. could have reſiſted this law, wreſted from him by his barons, to perpetuate their eſtates in their families, the Engliſh conſtitution, from an earlier equilibrium of property, had ſuddenly riſen to perfection; and the revolution in the reign of Charles I. had probably happened two centuries higher in our hiſtory, or, perhaps, from the gradual circulation of that power, which broke in at laſt with a ſudden and projectile force, had never happened at all; but the ſame effects had been produced without the effuſion of civil blood: for, no ſooner was the ſtatute of entails ſhaken, in the reign of Henry VII.† and finally deſtroyed by his ſucceſſor, than we ſee the popular tide, which had ebbed ſo long, begin to lift up its waves, till the mighty fabrics of prerogative and ariſtocracy paſſed away, in one ruin, together. This criſis, which ſhallow men then miſtook, and ſtill miſtake for anarchy, was but the fermentation of the unconquerable ſpirit of liberty, infuſed as early as *magna charta*, which, in working itſelf free from the impurities that oppreſſed it, was convulſing every thing around: when the fermentations ceaſed, the ſtream ran purer than before, after having, in the tumult, beat down every bank that obſtructed its juſt and natural courſe. The conſum-

duced a repreſentation, not of royal tenants, according to the principles of the feodal ſyſtem, but of the people, according to the natural principles of human ſociety. It is, probably, from this difference between theſe principles of legiſlation, that the right of voting is ſo different in the two countries: in Scotland, the common council, and not the body of the burgeſſes, are the electors; becauſe the corporation, as the tenant *in capite*, is repreſented, and not the individuals compoſing it: and no forty-ſhilling freeholder can vote for a knight of the ſhire, unleſs he holds immediately of the king; for, if his tenure be not royal, he muſt have four hundred pounds. Whereas, in England, the right of election (unleſs it has been otherwiſe fixed by preſcription) is in the whole body of the burgeſſes; and all forty-ſhilling freeholders vote for the knights of the ſhire; whether the tenure be of a king or a ſubject.

* By the diſſemination of property, in this place, is not meant, that which gave the right of legiſlation to the people on feodal principles, but that which is neceſſary to give weight and conſequence to a third eſtate ſo ariſen.

† The ſtatute of fines, paſſed in the fourth year of Henry VII. was purpoſely wrapped up in obſcure and covert expreſſions, in order to induce the nobility to conſent to it, who would otherwiſe have flung it out if they had thought it would have barred entails: but, in the thirty-ſecond year of Henry VIII. when the will of the prince was better obeyed, its real purpoſe was avowed, and the ſtatute then made had a retroſpective operation given to it, ſo as to include all entails barred by fines ſince the fourth year of the former reign.

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mation of these great events is too recent and notorious to demand farther illustration; their best commentary is the happiness and freedom which we enjoy at this day.

The subject proposed is, therefore, brought to its conclusion; but it is a subject too dear and important to be concluded without a reflection that arises very strongly out of it.

The English constitution will probably never more be attacked in front, or its dissolution attempted, by striking at the authority of the laws; and, if such attack should ever be made, their foundations are too deeply laid, and their superstructure too firmly cemented to dread the event of the contest: but the constitution is not therefore immortal, and the centinel must not sleep: the authority of the laws themselves may be turned against the spirit which gave them birth; and the English government may be dissolved with all the legal solemnities which its outward form prescribes for its preservation. This mode of attack is the more probable, as it affords respect and safety to the besiegers; and infinitely more dangerous to the people, as the consciences of good men are ensnared by it; the virtuous citizen, looking up with confidence to the banners of authority, may believe he is defending the constitution and the laws, while he is trampling down every principle of justice, on which both of them are founded. It is impossible, therefore, to conclude, without expressing a fervent wish, that every member of the community (at the same time that he bows with reverence to the supremacy of the state and the majesty of the laws) may keep his eyes for ever fixed on the spirit of the constitution, manifested, by the revolution, as the pole-star of his political course; that, while he pays the tribute of duty and obedience to government, he may know when the reciprocal duty is paid back to the public and to himself.

This concluding wish is, I trust, not misplaced when delivered within these philosophical walls: the sciences ever flourish in the train of liberty; the soul of a slave could never have expanded itself like Newton's over infinite space, and sighed in captivity at the remotest barriers of creation; in no other country under heaven, could Locke have unfolded with dignity the operations of an immortal soul, or recorded with truth the duties and privileges of society.

POETRY.

POETRY.

ODE *for the* NEW YEAR, 1798. *By* Henry James Pye, *Eſq. Poet Laureat.*

I.

WHEN genial Zephyr's balmy wing
Fans with ſoft plume the flowery vale,
Each tender ſcion of the ſpring,
Expanding, owns the foſtering gale,
And ſmiles each ſunny glade around,
With vegetable beauty crown'd;
But when the whirlwinds of the north
Burſt in tempeſtuous vengeance forth,
Before the thunder of the ſtorm
Each ſpreading tree of weaker form
Or bends to earth, or lies reclin'd,
Torn by the fury of the wind;
Then proudly, 'mid the quivering ſhade,
Stands the firm oak, in native ſtrength array'd,
Waves high his giant branches, and defies
The elemental war that rends the ſkies.

II.

Deep-rooted in this kindred ſoil,
So Freedom here, through many an age,
Has mock'd Ambition's fruitleſs toil,
And Treaſon's wiles, and Faction's rage;
And as the ſtormy ruin paſs'd,
Which Anarchy's rude breath had blown,
While Europe, bending to the blaſt,
Beholds her faireſt realms o'erthrown;
Alone, Britannia's happy iſle,
Bleſs'd by a patriot monarch's ſmile,
Amid ſurrounding ſtorms, uninjur'd ſtands,
Nor dreads the tempeſt's force that waſtes her neighbour lands.

III.

But ſee! along the darkling main
The gathering clouds malignant low'r,
And, ſpreading o'er our blue domain,
Againſt our ſhores their thunders pour:
While treach'rous friends and daring foes
Around in horrid compact cloſe;
Their ſwarming barks portentous, ſhade
With crowded ſails the watery glade;
When lo! imperial GEORGE commands—
Ruſh to the waves, Britannia's veteran bands!
Unnumber'd hoſts uſurp in vain
Dominion o'er his briny reign;
His fleets their monarch's right proclaim
With brazen throat, with breath of flame:
And captive in his ports their ſquadrons ride,
Or mourn their ſhatter'd wrecks deep whelm'd beneath the tide.

IV.

From ſhore to ſhore, from pole to pole,
Where'er wide Ocean's billows roll,
From holy Ganges' tepid wave
To ſeas that iſles Atlantic lave;
From hoary Greenland's frozen lands
To burning Libya's golden ſands;
Aloft the Britiſh enſign flies
In folds triumphant to the ſkies;
While to the notes that hail'd the iſle
Emerging from its parent main,
The ſacred Muſe, with raptur'd ſmile,
Reſponſive pours the exulting ſtrain—
"Rule, Britannia! rule the waves;
"Britons never will be ſlaves."

ODE *for his Majeſty's* BIRTH-DAY. *By* Henry James Pye, *Eſq. Poet-Laureat.*

I.

WHILE loud and near, round Britain's coaſts,
The low'ring ſtorm of battle roars,
In proud array while numerous hoſts
Inſulting threat her happy ſhores;
No ſtrains, with peaceful deſcant blown,
Now float around Britannia's throne—
The ſhouts from martial zeal that riſe,
The fires that beam from Glory's eyes,

The

The ſword that manly Freedom draws
In Freedom's patriot monarch's cauſe,
Shall with an angel's voice diſplay
How dear to Britain's ſons their GEORGE's natal day.

II.

Triumphant o'er the blue domain
Of hoary Ocean's briny reign,
While Britain's navies boldly ſweep,
With victor prow, the ſtormy deep;
Will Gallia's vanquiſh'd ſquadrons dare
Again to try the wat'ry war,
Again her floating caſtles brave,
Terrific, on the howling wave,
Or on the fragile bark adventure o'er,
Tempt her tempeſtuous ſeas, and ſcale her rocky ſhore?

III.

Or, ſhould the wind's uncertain gale
Propitious ſwell the hoſtile ſail;
Should the dim miſt, or midnight ſhade,
Invaſion's threaten'd inroad aid;
Shall Britain, on her native ſtrand,
Shrink from a foe's inferior band?
She vows by Gallia, taught to yield
On Creci's and on Poitier's field;
By Agincourt's high trophied plain,
Pil'd with illuſtrious nobles ſlain;
By wondering Danube's diſtant flood,
And Blenheim's ramparts, red with blood;
By chiefs on Minden's heaths who ſhone,
By recent fame at Lincelles won;
Her laurell'd brow ſhe ne'er will veil,
Or ſhun the ſhock of fight, though numerous hoſts aſſail.

IV.

The electric flame of glory runs
Impetuous through her hardy ſons.
See, ruſhing from the farm and fold,
Her ſwains in Glory's liſts enroll'd:
Though o'er the nations far and wide
Gallia may pour Oppreſſion's tide,
And, like Rome's tyrant-race of yore,
O'er-run each tributary ſhore;
Yet, like the Julian chief, their hoſts ſhall meet
Untam'd reſiſtance here, and foul defeat;
Shall, like Rome's rav'ning eagle, baffled fly
From Britain's fatal cliffs, the abode of Liberty.

Behold

V.

Behold on Windſor's oak-fring'd plain,
The pride of Albion's Sylvan reign,
Where oft the cheering hound and horn
Have pierc'd the liſtening ear of morn,
Rouz'd by the clarion's warlike ſound,
The heroes tread the tented ground:
Where chiefs, as brave as thoſe of yore,
Who Chivalry's firſt honours wore,
What time fair knighthood's knee around
Th' embroider'd zone victorious Edward bound,
Shall by their monarch's throne a bulwark ſtand,
And guard in George's crown the welfare of the land.

OCCASIONAL PROLOGUE, *to the Play of* ENGLAND PRESERVED, *performed at Covent-Garden Theatre, Feb.* 8, 1798, *in Aid of the Voluntary Contribution for the Defence of the Country.*

By William Boſcawen, *Eſq.*

WHEN Perſia's tyrant to th' Athenian coaſt,
Sent forth, indignant, his barbarian hoſt,
At Freedom's call, a firm and faithful band,
Undaunted, roſe to guard their native land:
Their valour forc'd unnumber'd foes to yield,
Purſued o'er Marathon's immortal field.
When Rome, ſuperior to the ſtorms of fate,
Saw Afric's chieftain thund'ring at her gate,
With dauntleſs ſoul ſhe brav'd th' impending blow,
Nor ſtoop'd to parley with the hated foe.
Lives there a Briton, bleſt with Freedom's laws,
Leſs firm, leſs faithful, to his country's cauſe?
Breathes there a ſoul, which patriot zeal inſpires,
But feels her wrongs, and glows with equal fires?
While, with gigantic ſtride, o'er Europe's plains,
Fell Rapine ſtalks, and Deſolation reigns;
While fierce Oppreſſion, with inſulting claim,
Mocks Freedom's rights, yet rules in Freedom's name;
This envied iſle alone its fury braves,
Safe in her valiant ſons and circling waves;
Crown'd with the bliſs that genuine Freedom knows,
She ſpurns th' inſidious boon of treach'rous foes,
And hears, unmov'd, the gath'ring tempeſt roar,
Though hoſts unnumber'd threat her ſeabeat ſhore.

Oh

Oh then, let each prepare, with dauntleſs heart,
At Britain's call, to act a Briton's part!
Ye gen'rous youths, whom active vigour fires,
Stand forth, and emulate our glorious ſires!
Like them, inſpir'd your Country's rights to ſhield,
Remember Agincourt and Blenheim's field!
Ye titled great, diſplay your native worth!
Let valour vindicate the claims of birth!
Ye ſons of wealth, with bounty chear the train,
Who guard our ſhore, or thunder on the main!
Ye fair, for whom we toil, for whom we bleed,
With ſmiles reward each bright heroic deed!
So ſhall one heart, one ſoul, inſpirit all,
Bravely to conquer, or as bravely fall:
So, crown'd with glory, may our perils ceaſe,
And reap their harveſt—a Triumphant Peace!

EPILOGUE *to the Comedy of* LOVERS VOWS.

OUR Drama now ended, I'll take up your time
Juſt a moment or two, in defence of my rhime;
Though I hope that among you are *ſome* who admir'd
What I've hitherto ſaid—dare I hope *none* are tir'd?
But whether you have, or have not heard enough,
Or whether nice critics will think it all ſtuff,
To myſelf rhime has ever appear'd, I muſt own,
In its nature a ſort of philoſopher's ſtone;
And if chymiſts would uſe it, they'd not make a pother,
And puzzle their brains to find out any other.
Indeed, 'tis moſt ſtrange and ſurpriſing to me,
That all folks in rhiming their int'reſt can't ſee;
For I'm ſure if its uſe was quite common with men,
The world would roll on juſt as pleaſant again.
'Tis ſaid, that while Orpheus was ſtriking his lyre,
Trees and brutes danc'd along to the ſound of the wire;
That Amphion to walls converted the glebes,
And they roſe, as he ſung, to a city call'd Thebes.
I ſuppoſe they were butlers (like me) of that time,
And the tale ſhews our ſires knew the virtue of rhime.
From time immemorial your lovers, we find,
When their miſtreſſes hearts have been proud and unkind,
Have reſorted to rhime, and indeed it appears
That a rhime would do more than a bucket of tears.
Of love, from experience I ſpeak—odds my life!
I ſhall never forget how I courted my wife;
She had offers in plenty, but always ſtood neuter,
Till I with my pen ſtarted forth as a ſuitor;

Yet

Yet I made no mean preſent of ribband or bonnet,
My preſent was caught from the ſtars—'twas a ſonnet,
And now you know this, ſure 'tis needleſs to ſay,
That proſe was rejected, and rhime won the day:
But its potent effects, you as well may diſcover
In the huſband and wife, as in miſtreſs and lover;
There are ſome of ye here who, like me, I conjecture,
Have been lull'd into ſleep by a good *curtain lecture*;
But that's a mere trifle, you'll ne'er come to blows,
If you'll only avoid that dull enemy, *Proſe*.
Adopt then my plan, and the very next time
That in words you fall out, let them fall into rhime;
Thus your ſharpeſt diſputes will conclude very ſoon,
And from jangling to jingling, you'll chime into *tune*.
If my wife were to call me a drunken old ſot,
I ſhould merely juſt aſk her, what Butler is not?
And bid her take care that *ſhe* don't go to pot.
So our ſquabbles continue a very ſhort ſeaſon;
If ſhe yields to my rhime, I allow ſhe has reaſon.
Independent of this I conceive rhime has weight
In the higher employments of church and of ſtate,
And would in my mind ſuch advantages draw,
'Tis a pity that rhime is not ſanction'd by law;
For 'twould really be ſerving us all to impoſe
A capital fine on the man who ſpoke *Proſe*.
Mark the pleader who clacks in his client's behalf,
With my lud, and his ludſhip, three hours and a half;
Or the fellow who tells you a long ſtupid ſtory,
And over and over the ſame lays before ye;
Or the prieſt who declaims till his audience are doſing;
What d'ye ſay of ſuch men? Why, you ſay they are *proſing*.
So, of courſe, if proſe is ſo tedious a crime,
It of conſequence follows, there's virtue in rhime.
But the beſt piece of proſe that I've ſeen a long while,
Is what gallant Nelſon has ſent from the Nile;
And had he but ſent his diſpatches in rhime,
What a thing 'twould have been! but perhaps he'd no time:
So I'll do it myſelf—O! moſt glorious news!
Nine ſhips of the line—juſt a ſhip for each muſe!

SONG *in the* STRANGER. *Written by* R. B. Sheridan, *Eſq.*

I Have a ſilent ſorrow here,
A grief I'll ne'er impart,
It breathes no ſigh, it ſheds no tear,
But it conſumes my heart!

This

This cheriſh'd woe, this lov'd deſpair,
My lot for ever be;
So, my ſoul's lord, the pangs I bear,
Be never known by thee!

And when pale characters of death
Shall mark this alter'd cheek,
When my poor waſted trembling breath
My life's laſt hope would ſpeak—

I ſhall not raiſe my eyes to Heav'n,
Nor mercy aſk for me;
My ſoul deſpairs to be forgiv'n,
Unpardon'd, love, by thee.

OCCASIONAL ADDRESS, *written by Mr.* Roſcoe; *and delivered by Mr.* Holman, *on the Night appropriated for the Benefit of the Children of the late Mr.* Palmer, *at the Theatre-Royal,* Liverpool.

YE airy ſprites, who oft, as fancy calls,
Sport 'mid the precincts of theſe haunted walls,
Light forms that float in Mirth's tumultuous throng,
And frolic dance, and revelry, and ſong—
Fold your gay wings—repreſs your wonted fire—
And from your fav'rite ſeats awhile retire.
And thou—whoſe pow'rs ſublimer thoughts impart,
Queen of the ſprings that move the human heart
With change alternate, at whoſe magic call
The ſwelling tides of paſſion riſe or fall—
Thou too withdraw—for, 'midſt thy lov'd abode,
With ſtep more ſtern, a mightier power has trod.
Here, on this ſpot, to every eye conſeſt,
Inrob'd with terrors ſtood the kingly gueſt;
Here, on this ſpot, death wav'd th' unerring dart,
And ſtruck his nobleſt prize—an honeſt heart.

What wond'rous links the human feelings bind!
How ſtrong the ſecret ſympathies of mind!
As Fancy's pictur'd forms around us move,
We hope or fear, rejoice, deteſt, or love—
Nor heaves the ſigh for ſelfiſh woes alone;
Congenial ſorrows mingle with our own.
Hence, as the poet's raptur'd eye-balls roll,
The fond delirium ſeizes all his ſoul,
And, whilſt his pulſe concordant meaſures keeps,
He ſmiles in tranſport, or in anguiſh weeps.

But,

But, ah! lamented ſhade! not thine to know
The anguiſh only of imagin'd woe:
Doom'd the lov'd partner of thy ſoul to mourn,
And fond parental ties untimely torn:
Then whilſt thy boſom, lab'ring with its grief,
From fabled ſorrows ſought a ſhort relief;
The fancied woes, too true to nature's tone,
Burſt the ſlight barrier, and became thine own;
In mingled tides the ſwelling paſſions ran,
Abſorb'd the actor, and o'erwhelm'd the man:
Martyr of ſympathy! more ſadly true
Than ever fancy feign'd, or poet drew!

Say why, by Heaven's acknowledg'd hand impreſt,
Such keen ſenſations actuate all the breaſt?
Why throbs the heart for joys that long have fled?
Why lingers hope around the ſilent dead?
Why ſpurns the ſpirit its encumbering clay,
And longs to ſoar to happier realms away?
Does Heaven, unjuſt, the fond deſire inſtil
To add to mortal woes another ill?
Are there no beings of etherial frame
That in ſoft whiſpers prompt the nightly dream?
Or, 'midſt lone muſings of remembrance ſweet,
Inſpire the ſecret wiſh—once more to meet?
There are—for, not by more determin'd laws
The ſympathetic ſteel the magnet draws,
Than the freed ſpirit acts with ſtrong controul
On its reſponſive ſympathies of ſoul;
And tells, in characters of truth unfurl'd,
There is another and a better world.

Yet, whilſt we ſorrowing tread this earthly ball,
For human woes a human tear will fall.
Bleſt be that tear—who gives it, doubly bleſt—
That heals with balm the orphan's bleeding breaſt.
Not all that breathes in morning's genial dew
Revives the parent-plant where once it grew;
Yet may thoſe dews, with timely nurture, aid
The infant flow'rets drooping in the ſhade,
Whilſt mem'ry of try'd worth, and manners mild,
A father's virtues, ſtill protect his child.

A LETTER *from the Keeper of a Circulating Library in an obſcure Town, to the Keeper of a Circulating Library at a faſhionable Watering Place.*

WHILE you, my friend, in ———'s bliſsful bow'rs,
With joyful profit glad the ſmiling hours;
While faſhionable crowds attend your will,
Your ſhew-glaſs empty, and your pockets fill;
O let compaſſion touch your tender mind
For one to ſhores leſs fortunate confin'd;
Think of the place to which I'm chain'd by fate,
And image (if you can) my cruel ſtate!
For, here no beaux the library frequent,
Who purchaſe uſeleſs toys at cent. per cent.
In this dull town no belles at raffles ſhine;
O town unworthy of a ſhop like mine!
In vain the modiſh volumes I arrange,
And wait, all day, to give and to exchange;
In vain with Birmingham's gay wares I gild
My ſhining ſhelves, and ſee my ſhew-glaſs fill'd;
The ſtupor of the place confounds my care,
And ſkill like mine but labours to deſpair.
While thus my melancholy lot I mourn,
Hourly to thee my envious thoughts are borne;
While our poor nymphs, in vulgar dulneſs ſunk,
Scarce know the far-fam'd title of "The Monk."
Your well-bred fair take each new tale to-bed,
And not a novel crowds your ſhelves unread.
Oft in my dreams, admiring, I ſurvey
Your evening-ſhop with well-dreſt loungers gay;
I ſee the rafflers preſs, by thouſands, round;
I hear the die's ſtill profitable ſound:
Behind her counter, mark'd by nameleſs grace,
And matchleſs intrepidity of face,
My friend diſpenſing her rich wares I view,
Still ſwearing bad is good, and old is new:
While the kind purchaſers, ſo civil grown,
Truſt to her ſenſes, and renounce their own.
O glorious ſcene! yes, ſoon my feet ſhall rove,
To realize the ſpectacle I love!
Thy friendly ſummons I'll with joy obey,
And taſte the comforts of one ſocial day.
Wedneſday (kind Heav'n till then protract my date!)
Shall ſee me bleſt, and ſmiling at thy gate;
Meantime, no trifling cuſtomer ſhall fret;
Meantime, no duns alarm me, though they threat;
Each fear I'll huſh, each ſorrow I'll ſubdue,
And only think of happineſs and you.

The

The TIMES *of* EUROPE; *from the Imperial Epiſtle from Kien Long, Emperor of China, to George III. King of Great Britain.*

——FAR other ſcenes are near:
Darkneſs and diſcontent, diſtruſt and fear,
And brooding policy, in novel forms,
Call o'er the deep of empire clouds and ſtorms.
And wild thoſe ſtorms would rend Britannia's field,
Should patriot bands the rod of faction wield,
While law, religion, property, they ſeize,
And ſenates tremble at their own decrees;
Sweeping with Reformation's iron ſway
They'd cruſh each land that ſcrupled to obey;
From Splendour's robe each proud diſtinction wipe,
And place a barren bauble in thy gripe.
Then mitred father's, and the ermin'd peer,
And anceſtry, and all to honour dear,
The fond, well-earn'd, rewards of ancient worth,
All, ſpirits diſembodied, leave the earth.
Theſe are ſtate-blots, which, in their dread intent,
Should be ras'd out in their firſt parliament;
For all empiricks, quacks of ſtate or church,
Now hate all truths, but truths of great reſearch;
They round their phraſe with twiſted nothings, call
Sophiſtic pomp, and meaner minds appal:
Then, unawares, the ſtrong concluſion draw,
The maſter of the prince is maſter of the law.
Nor Thou, in fancied ſtrength too ſafely wiſe
Their baſe-born, dark original deſpiſe.
Whence draws the ſun dire vapour? Whence conſpire
The thund'rous tempeſt, and the lightning's fire?
From lake and lazy pool, and weeds obſcene,
The abode of putrid peſtilence unclean,
The elemental fury from afar
Collects, and ſcatters wide, ethereal war,
Raging without confine, without controul;
Ev'n Heav'ns own firmament oft ſeems to roll,
And from the fated momentaneous ſhock
Eternal impreſs marks the riven rock;
The arch of majeſty, the temple's dome,
The pillar'd hall, the peaſant's low-rooft home,
Alike in undiſtinguiſh'd ruin fall,
And ſhapeleſs deſolation equals all.
Through Europe's bounds, 'tis her devoted age,
Fires from within, and central thunders rage.

On Gallia's ſhore, I mark the unhallow'd power,
Her godleſs regents feel the madd'ning hour,
Dread architects of ruin and of crime,
In revolution's permanence ſublime,
And cruel nonſenſe! O'er the aſtoniſh'd world
The flag of dire Equality unfurl'd,
Drizzling with blood of millions, ſtreams in air,
The ſcroll, *Fraternal Freedom, Death, Deſpair.*
They paſs; nor Rhine nor Rubicon they know,
Torrents may roar, or tranquil ſtreams may flow;
In unappall'd protruſion, on they burſt,
All nations curſing, by all nations curſt.
Lo! Belgium yields to unreſiſted fate;
Within her miniſters of terror wait:
Nature, with rod petrific, ſmites the land,
And binds the floods in adamantine band,
Till Gallia's chief, in right of William ſways,
And Freedom, once with life-drops bought, obeys.
See where, diſmember'd, trembling Spain reſigns
Golconda's radiance and Potoſi's mines;
The pillars of the eternal city bow,
And the tiara from the pontiff's brow
Drops to the duſt; no more in Peter's fane
The conſiſtorial brotherhood ſhall reign.
Yet ſee: the turban nods, by factions torn;
A length'ning, ſad, and ſullen ſound is borne
Around Sophia's hallow'd conſcious walls,
Mutt'ring the doom denounc'd; her creſcent falls.
Still view, in weſtern climes, Death's paleſt horſe
With peſtilence and ſlaughter marks his courſe;
While duſky tribes, with more than maniac rage,
Rending their brazen bonds, in war engage;
For France ſtill burns to make, with dire intent,
Hell and this world one realm, one continent.
Yet once attend, great Brunſwick, nor in vain
Hear thy imperial brother's cloſing ſtrain;
Thee from thy people may no thought divide!
The ſtateſman's raſhneſs, or reformer's pride;
Reaſon, and her fond virtues, ſtill diſtruſt;
What but experience makes a kingdom juſt?
Fix'd on her ancient baſe, let England reſt,
And public danger arm the public breaſt;
On Britiſh ſenſe depend. On foreign fame
To proud Verſailles the fatal ſtranger came,
New law, new policy, new truth to tell;
And by new maxims the vaſt fabric fell.
Oh, ſhould this nation ſlight her juſt alarms,
Nor Gallic *truths* dread more than Gallic arms,

Thy

Thy diadem muſt fade; the Tyrian dye
Sink in the ſcarlet of democracy:
All dignities of brighter times will fail;
No wiſdom o'er the midnight-lamp grow pale,
But knowledge, fancy, genius, all retire,
And, faint and death-ſtruck, learning will expire.
Look round the world, there nothing ſhall be found
But ſwords to guard, and ploughs to till, the ground.
—Though *now* awhile, beneath the afflictive rod,
Supernal power, may bid thy Albion nod,
Humbl'd in due proſtration may ſhe bend,
And her far-fam'd beneficence extend;
Then, all her ancient energies, erect,
Strength from herſelf and from her God expect,
And, on her rocky ramparts bold, alone
Maintain *her* laws, and vindicate *thy* throne.

ODE *to* APOLLO. *From the New Edition of* Cowper's *Poems,*

On an Ink-Glaſs dried in the Sun.

PATRON of all thoſe luckleſs brains,
That, to the wrong ſide leaning,
Indite much metre with much pains,
And little or no meaning.

Ah why, ſince oceans, rivers, ſtreams,
That water all the nations,
Pay tribute to thy glorious beams,
In conſtant exhalations;

Why, ſtooping from the noon of day,
Too covetous of drink,
Apollo, haſt thou ſtol'n away
A poet's drop of ink?

Upborne into the viewleſs air,
It floats a vapour now,
Impell'd through regions denſe and rare,
By all the winds that blow.

Ordain'd, perhaps, ere ſummer flies,
(Combin'd with millions more)
To form an iris in the ſkies,
Though black and foul before.

Illuſtrious drop! and happy then
Beyond the happieſt lot
Of all that ever paſs'd my pen,
So ſoon to be forgot!

Phœbus, if ſuch be thy deſign,
To place it in thy bow,
Give wit, that what is left may ſhine
With equal grace below.

VERSES *to a Friend on his Marriage. By Mr. Rogers.*

ON thee, bleſt youth! a father's hand confers
The maid thy earlieſt, fondeſt wiſhes knew.
Each ſoft enchantment of the ſoul is hers;
Thine be the joys to firm attachment due.

As on ſhe moves, with heſitating grace,
She wins aſſurance from his ſoothing voice;
And, with a look the pencil could not trace,
Smiles through her bluſhes, and confirms the choice.

Spare the fine tremors of her feeling frame!
To thee ſhe turns—forgive a virgin's fears!
To thee ſhe turns with ſureſt, tendereſt claim;
Weakneſs that charms, reluctance that endears!

At each reſponſe the ſacred rite requires,
From her full boſom burſts the unbidden ſigh.
A ſtrange myſterious awe the ſcene inſpires;
And on her lips the trembling accents die.

O'er her fair face what wild emotions play!
What lights and ſhades in ſweet confuſion blend!
Soon ſhall they fly! glad harbingers of day,
And ſettl'd ſunſhine on her ſoul deſcend!

Ah ſoon, thine own confeſt, extatic thought!
That hand ſhall ſtrew each flinty path with flowers;
And thoſe blue eyes, with mildeſt luſtre fraught,
Gild the calm current of domeſtic hours!

ELEGIAC BALLAD, *on an Act of Parliament relating to Marriages. By Sir* William Temple.

WAKE, all you dead! what ho! what ho!
How ſoundly they ſleep whoſe pillows lie low!

They

They mind not poor lovers, walking above,
On the decks of the world, in the ſtorms of love.

No whiſper, there, no glance, can paſs,
Through wickets, or through panes of glaſs;
For the windows and doors are ſhut up and barr'd.—
Lie cloſe in the church, and in the church-yard!

In every grave, make room! make room!
The world's at an end! we come! we come!

The ſtate is, now, love's foe, love's foe;
Has ſeiz'd on his arms, his quiver, and bow;
Has pinion'd his wings, and fetter'd his feet;
Becauſe he made way for lovers to meet.

But, oh! ſad chance! the judge was old.
Hearts cruel grow when blood grows cold.
No man, being young, love's proceſs would draw.
Ah! heavens! that love ſhould be ſubject to law!

Lovers, go woo the dead, the dead!
Lie two in a grave! and to bed, to bed!

ADDRESS *from the Glacier Goddeſs to Dr. Darwin. By* Miſs Williams.

NATIVE of that green iſle, where Darwin waves
His magic wand o'er Nature's vernal reign,
Her airy eſſence, and her central caves,
Her fires electric, and her Nereid train,

Go, tell him, ſtranger, had his muſe explor'd
My realms, new marvels had enchain'd her eye;
Go, tell him, in my ſunleſs fanes are ſtor'd
Treaſures no vulgar glance ſhall e'er deſcry.

Ye Nymphs of Fire! around your glowing brows
What laviſh wreaths your poet loves to twine!
Know, partial bard! philoſophy allows
That one bright chaplet might belong to mine!

Ah, why a veſtal to a 'fiend'* tranſform,
Bid to my ſteeps thy glitt'ring bands repair;
Direct, with cruel aim, their arrowy ſtorm,
And change a goddeſs to the 'northern bear?'

* Botanic Garden, Canto 1ſt. v. 442.

Stay thy raſh ſteps! my potent hand impels
The ruſhing Avalanche to gulphs below!
I can transfix thee numb'd, in icy cells,
Or ſhroud thee in unfathom'd folds of ſnow!

Come not in hoſtile garb!—with ſofter art,
With dearer power, my yeilding ſpirit ſeize,
Wake thy rich lyre, and melt my gelid heart
With incenſe ſweeter than the weſtern breeze.

Thy muſe ſhall mount my Lammer-Geyer's wing,
Paſs o'er my untrod heights, with daring courſe,
While the cold genii of each new-born ſpring
For thee unlock the river's viewleſs ſource.

For thee my ſylphs, with tender care, ſhall mark
The printleſs pathway of the ſecret rills;
And light, with lambent ray, the caverns dark
Where chemic nature myſtic wealth diſtils.

For thee, my ſylphs, in diſtant lands, ſhall trace,
Where, far diffus'd, my vivifying powers
Awake, ungrateful bard, in bluſhing grace,
To life and love, awake my wedded flowers.

For thee,—but ah, my penſive form he flies
For nymphs of golden rocks, and florid hue!
No charms have ſnow-white tints, or azure eyes.
—She wept, and, folded in a cloud, withdrew.

THE ENTAIL, *a Fable. From the Works of the Earl of* Orford.

IN a fair ſummer's radient morn,
A butterfly divinely born,
Whoſe lineage dated from the mud
Of Noah's or Deucalion's flood,
Long hov'ring round a perfum'd lawn,
By various guſts of odour drawn,
At laſt eſtabliſh'd his repoſe
On the rich boſom of a roſe.
The palace pleas'd the lordly gueſt;
What inſect own'd a prouder neſt?
The dewy leaves luxurious ſhed
Their balmy eſſence o'er his head,
And with their ſilken tap'ſtry fold
His limbs enthron'd on central gold.

He

He thinks the thorns embattled round
To guard his caſtle's lovely mound,
And all the buſh's wide domain,
Subſervient to his fancied reign.
Such ample bleſſings ſwell'd the fly!
Yet in his mind's capacious eye
He roll'd the change of mortal things,
To common fate of flies and kings.
With grief he ſaw how lands and honours
Are apt to ſlide to various owners;
Where Mowbrays dwelt how Grocers dwell,
And how cits buy what barons ſell.
"Great Phœbus, patriarch of my line,
Avert ſuch ſhame from ſons of thine!
To them confirm theſe roofs," he ſaid;
And then he ſwore an oath ſo dread,
The ſtouteſt waſp that wears a ſword,
Had trembled to have heard the word!
"If law can rivet down entails,
Theſe manors ne'er ſhall paſs to ſnails.
I ſwear"—and then he ſmote his ermine—
"Theſe tow'rs were never built for vermin."
A Caterpillar grovel'd near,
A ſubtle ſlow conveyancer,
Who, ſummon'd, waddles with his quill
To draw the haughty inſect's will.
None but his heirs muſt own the ſpot,
Begotten, or to be begot:
Each leaf he binds, each bud he ties
To eggs of eggs of Butterflies.
When lo! how fortune loves to teaze
Thoſe who would dictate her decrees!
A wanton boy was paſſing by;
The wanton child beheld the fly,
And eager ran to ſeize the prey:
But, too impetuous in his play,
Cruſh'd the proud tenant of an hour,
And ſwept away the Manſion Flow'r.

Account of Books for 1798.

An Account of the Engliſh Colony in New South Wales; with Remarks on the Diſpoſitions, Cuſtoms, Manners, &c. of the Native Inhabiants of that Country. To which are added, ſome Particulars of New Zealand; compiled, by Permiſſion, from the MSS. of Lieutenant-Governor King. By David Collins, Eſq. Judge-Advocate and Secretary of the Colony. Illuſtrated by Engravings. 1798. 4to.

FEW productions more naturally fix the attention of the generality of readers, than a well-written account of the foundation and progreſs of an infant colony. We are pleaſed with tracing new modes of life, diveſted of the forms which a long-eſtabliſhed ſociety impoſes; and we become intereſted for thoſe who are deſtined to encounter the dangers and difficulties, which are inſeparable from attempts at introducing civilized eſtabliſhments in the untrodden deſart; or which is traverſed only by untutored ſavages. The eſtabliſhment of the Engliſh colony in New South Wales muſt have been attended with more than ordinary difficulties, ariſing from the character of thoſe perſons on whoſe exertions its ſucceſs was to depend, and from the peculiar circumſtances in which the new coloniſts were placed. Of ſuch dangers and difficulties, the copious volume before us affords a minute detail, which will, no doubt, be received by the public with that approbation to which the great induſtry and accuracy of the author entitle it. He has written it in the manner of a journal, comprehending the tranſactions of each month in their order, and it is brought down from the commencement of the colony in 1788, to the cloſe of the year 1796. It is alſo illuſtrated by a chart of the three harbours of Botany Bay; and by twenty-three engravings of views in different parts of the ſettlement.

Captain Collins went out as judge-advocate, with the firſt fleet which ſailed for New South Wales; and he completed his voyage in eight months and one week. On the 25th of January, 1788, the governor (captain Arthur Phillips) anchored in Port Jackſon, the place ſelected for the ſettlement.

The ſpot choſen for this purpoſe, was at the head of the cove, near a run of freſh water, which ſtole ſilently along through a very thick wood, the ſtillneſs of which had then, for the firſt time, ſince the creation, been interrupted by the rude ſound of the labourer's axe, and the downfal of its ancient inhabitants;—a ſtillneſs and tranquillity which, from that day, were to give place,

place to the voice of labour, the confuſion of camps and towns, and 'the buſy hum of its new poſſeſſors.' That theſe did not bring with them

'Minds not to be changed by time or place,'

was fervently to have been wiſhed; and, if it were poſſible, that on taking poſſeſſion of nature, as we had thus done, in her ſimpleſt, pureſt garb, we might not ſully that purity by the introduction of vice, profaneneſs, and immorality. But this, though much to be wiſhed, was little to be expected; the habits of youth are not eaſily laid aſide, and the utmoſt we could hope in our preſent ſituation was to oppoſe the ſoft harmoniſing arts of peace and civilization to the baneful influence of vice and immorality.

In the evening of this day the whole of the party that came round in the Supply were aſſembled at the point where they had firſt landed in the morning, and on which a flag-ſtaff had been purpoſely erected and an union jack diſplayed, when the marines fired ſeveral vollies; between which the governor and the officers who accompanied him drank the healths of his majeſty and the royal family, and ſucceſs to the new colony. The day, which had been uncommonly fine, concluded with the ſafe arrival of the Sirius, and the convoy from Botany Bay,—thus terminating the voyage with the ſame good fortune that had from its commencement been ſo conſpicuouſly their friend and companion.

The diſembarkation of the troops and convicts took place from the following day until the whole were landed. The confuſion that enſued will not be wondered at, when it is conſidered, that every man ſtepped from the boat literally into a wood. Parties of people were every where heard and ſeen variouſly employed; ſome in clearing ground for the different encampments; others in pitching tents, or bringing up ſuch ſtores as were more immediately wanted; and the ſpot which had ſo lately been the abode of ſilence and tranquillity, was now changed to that of noiſe, clamour, and confuſion: but after a time order gradually prevailed every where. As the woods were opened, and the ground cleared, the various encampments were extended, and all wore the appearance of regularity.

The public ſtock, conſiſting of one bull, four cows, one bull-calf, one ſtallion, three mares, and three colts (one of which was a ſtone-colt) were landed on the eaſt point of the cove, where they remained until they had cropped the little paſturage it afforded; and were then removed to a ſpot at the head of the adjoining cove, that was cleared for a ſmall farm, intended to be placed under the direction of a perſon brought out by the governor.

As ſoon as the hurry and tumult neceſſarily attending the diſembarkation had a little ſubſided, the governor cauſed his majeſty's commiſſion, appointing him to be his captain-general and governor-in-chief in and over the territory of New South Wales and its dependencies, to be publicly read, together with the letters patent for eſtabliſhing the courts of civil and criminal judicature in the territory; the extent of which, until this publication of it, was but little known even among ourſelves. It was now found to extend from Cape York (the extremity of the coaſt to the northward),

ward), in the latitude of 20 deg. 37 min. ſouth, to the South Cape (the ſouthern extremity of the coaſt), in the latitude of 43 deg. 39 min. ſouth; and inland to the weſtward, as far as 135 degrees of eaſt longitude, comprehending all the iſlands adjacent in the Pacific ocean, within the latitudes of the above-mentioned capes.

The theſts and other enormities committed by the convicts almoſt immediately on their being landed, ſoon ſhewed a neceſſity for eſtabliſhing courts of judicature; the conſtitutions and functions of which are particularly deſcribed by our author, who held the appointment of judge-advocate of the ſettlement, and had alſo a warrant from the admiralty conſtituting him judge-advocate to the marine detachment.

About the middle of February lieut. King, of the Sirius, was ſent off to Norfolk Iſland, where a ſettlement was to be formed, of which he was appointed ſuperintendant and commandant.

The convicts at Sydney were now actively employed (by taſk-work) in clearing ground, and erecting buildings of various deſcriptions, and for ſundry uſes, among which was an obſervatory.

The latitude of the obſervatory was 33 deg. 52 min. 30 ſec. S.

The longitude, from Greenwich, 151 deg. 19 min. 30 ſec. E.

Governor Phillips, having been very much preſſed for time when he firſt viſited this harbour, had not thoroughly examined it. The completion of that neceſſary buſineſs was left to captain Hunter, who, with the firſt lieutenant of the Sirius, early in the month of February, made an accurate ſurvey of it. It was then found to be far more extenſive to the weſtward than was at firſt imagined, and captain Hunter deſcribed the country as wearing a much more favourable countenance toward the head or upper part, than it did immediately about the ſettlement. He ſaw ſeveral parties of the natives, and, treating them conſtantly with good humour, they always left him with friendly impreſſions.

It was natural to ſuppoſe that the curioſity of theſe people would be attracted by obſerving, that, inſtead of quitting, we were occupied in works that indicated an intention of remaining in their country; but during the firſt ſix weeks we received only one viſit, two men ſtrolling into the camp one evening, and remaining in it for about half an hour. They appeared to admire whatever they ſaw, and, after receiving each a hatchet (of the uſe of which the eldeſt inſtantly and curiouſly ſhewed his knowledge, by turning up his foot, and ſharpening a piece of wood on the ſole with the hatchet), took their leave, apparently well pleaſed with their reception. The fiſhing boats alſo frequently reported their having been viſited by many of thoſe people when hauling the ſeine, at which labour they often aſſiſted with cheerfulneſs, and in return were generally rewarded with part of the fiſh taken.

Every precaution was uſed to guard againſt a breach of this friendly and deſirable intercourſe, by ſtrictly prohibiting every perſon from depriving them of their ſpears, fizgigs, gum, or other articles, which we ſoon perceived they were accuſtomed to leave under the rocks, or looſe and ſcattered about upon the beaches. We had, however, great

great reaſon to believe, that theſe precautions were firſt rendered fruitleſs by the ill conduct of a boat's crew, belonging to one of the tranſports, who, we were told afterwards, attempted to land in one of the coves at the lower part of the harbour, but were prevented, and driven off with ſtones by the natives. A party of them, conſiſting of ſixteen or eighteen perſons, ſome time after landed on the iſland * where the people of the Sirius were preparing a garden, and with much artifice, watching their opportunity, carried off a ſhovel, a ſpade, and a pick-axe. On their being fired at, and hit on the legs by one of the people with ſmall ſhot, the pick-axe was dropped, but they carried off the other tools.

To ſuch circumſtances as theſe muſt be attributed the termination of that good underſtanding which had hitherto ſubſiſted between us and them, and which governor Phillips laboured to improve whenever he had an opportunity. But it might have been foreſeen that this would unavoidably happen: the convicts were every where ſtraggling about, collecting animals and gum to ſell to the people of the tranſports, who at the ſame time were procuring ſpears, ſhields, ſwords, fiſhing-lines, and other articles, from the natives, to carry to Europe; the loſs of which muſt have been attended with many inconveniences to the owners, as it was ſoon evident that they were the only means whereby they obtained or could procure their daily ſubſiſtence; and although ſome of theſe people had been puniſhed for purchaſing articles of the convicts, the practice was carried on ſecretly, and attended with all the bad effects which were to be expected from it. We alſo had the mortification to learn, that M. De la Peyrouſe had been compelled to fire upon the natives, at Botany Bay, where they frequently annoyed his people who were employed on ſhore. This circumſtance materially affected us, as thoſe who had rendered this violence neceſſary, could not diſcriminate between us and them. We were, however, perfectly convinced that nothing ſhort of the greateſt neceſſity could have induced M. De la Peyrouſe to take ſuch a ſtep, as we heard him declare, that it was among the particular inſtructions that he received from his ſovereign, to endeavour, by every poſſible means, to acquire and cultivate the friendſhip of the natives of ſuch places as he might diſcover or viſit; and to avoid exerciſing any act of hoſtility upon them. In obedience to this humane command, there was no doubt but he forebore uſing force until forbearance would have been dangerous; and he had been taught a leſſon at Maoum, one of the Iſles des Navigateurs, that the tempers of ſavages were not to be truſted too far; for we were informed, that on the very day and hour of their departure from that iſland, the boats of the two ſhips, which were ſent for a laſt load of water, were attacked by the natives with ſtones and clubs, and M. De l'Angle, the captain of the Aſtrolabe, with eleven officers and men, were put to death; thoſe who were ſo fortunate as to get off in the ſmall boats that attended on the watering launches (which were deſtroyed)

* Since known by the name of Garden Iſland.

eſcaped

eſcaped with many wounds and contuſions, ſome of which were not healed at the time of their relating to us this unfortunate circumſtance. It was conjectured, that ſome one of the ſeamen, unknown to the officers, muſt have occaſioned this outrage, for which there was no other probable reaſon to aſſign, as the natives, during the time the ſhips were at the iſland, had lived with the officers and people on terms of the greateſt harmony. And this was not the firſt misfortune that thoſe ſhips had met with during their voyage; for on the north-weſt coaſt of America they loſt two boats with their crews, and ſeveral young men of family, in a ſurf.

We have now ſeen our countrymen fairly ſettled in their new domain, and ſhall therefore content ourſelves in the remainder of our account of the preſent volume, merely to notice a few of the moſt remarkable tranſactions. The work is far too copious to admit of any ſatisfactory analyſis, that could poſſibly be brought within the limits of our account.

The moſt ſtriking parts of the narrative for ſome time are compoſed of conteſts with the natives, in which many of the convicts were wounded, and ſome loſt their lives; but the captain ſeems to be of opinion, that the provocation was generally given by our people. The frequent offences and puniſhment of the convicts alſo occupy much of the narrative.

In November a new ſettlement was eſtabliſhed at the head of the harbour of Port Jackſon, and named Roſe-Hill.

To a large bay on the north ſhore, contiguous to Sydney Cove, governor Phillips gave the name of Neutral Bay.

Early in the month of April, 1789, and throughout its continuance, the people whoſe buſineſs called them down the harbour daily reported, that they found, either in excavations of the rock, or lying upon the beaches and points of the different coves which they had been in, the bodies of many of the wretched natives of this country. The cauſe of this mortality remained unknown until a family was brought up, and the diſorder pronounced to have been the ſmall-pox. It was not a deſirable circumſtance to introduce a diſorder into the colony, which was raging with ſuch fatal violence among the natives of the country; but the ſaving the lives of any of theſe people was an object of no ſmall importance, as the knowledge of our humanity, and the benefits which we might render them, would, it was hoped, do away the evil impreſſions they had received of us. Two elderly men, a boy, and a girl, were brought up, and placed in a ſeparate hut at the hoſpital. The men were too far overcome by the diſeaſe to get the better of it; but the children did well from the moment of their coming among us. From the native who reſided with us, we underſtand that many families had been ſwept off by this ſcourge, and that others, to avoid it, had fled into the interior parts of the country. Whether it had ever appeared among them before could not be diſcovered, either from him or from the children; but it was certain that they gave it a name (gal-gal-la); a circumſtance which ſeemed to indicate a pre-acquaintance with it.

Of the native boy and girl, who had been recovered from the ſmall-pox, the latter was taken to live with the clergyman's wife, and the boy with Mr. White, the ſurgeon, to whom, for his attention during the cure, he ſeemed to be much attached.

While the eruptions of this diſorder continued upon the children, a ſeaman belonging to the Supply, a native of North America, having been to ſee them, was ſeized with it, and ſoon after died; but its baneful effects were not experienced by any white perſon of the ſettlement, although there were ſeveral very young children in it at the time.

From the firſt hour of the introduction of the boy and girl into the ſettlement, it was feared that the native who had been ſo inſtrumental in bringing them in, and whoſe attention to them during their illneſs excited the admiration of every one that witneſſed it, would be attacked by the ſame diſorder; as on his perſon were found none of thoſe traces of its ravages which are frequently left behind. It happened as the fears of every one predicted; he fell a victim to the diſeaſe, in eight days after he was ſeized with it, to the great regret of every one who had witneſſed how little of the ſavage was found in his manner, and how quickly he was ſubſtituting in its place a docile, affable, and truly amiable deportment.

The frequent reduction of the rations, mentioned in this work, owing to ſcarcity of proviſions, affords the mind of the reader ample ſubject for contemplation. In the firſt five or ſix years of the colony, we often find the inhabitants reduced to ſuch an allowance of food as was barely ſufficient to keep ſoul and body together; and, from the failure, by accident or other cauſes, of arrivals from England, the continuance even of that ſcanty allowance for a week longer was ſometimes doubtful. Added to the inadequacy of the ſupply for fair conſumption, great havoc was at ſome times made in the ſtores by armies of rats, and at others by the depredations of the ſlothful and diſhoneſt.

Among the moſt ſtriking traits in the conduct of this ſettlement, we obſerve the attention of governor Phillips to the morals and manner of the convicts; the promptitude with which he always cheriſhed and rewarded the ſmalleſt advances towards reformation; and with what difficulty he brought himſelf to ſanction capital puniſhments, where repentance, or probability of amendment, could be diſcerned. His benevolence ſhewed itſelf in a thouſand inſtances, but perhaps in none more clearly than in times of ſcarcity: on one occaſion, we find that he gave up 3 cwt. of flour, his private property, declaring, that he wiſhed not to ſee any thing more at his table than the ration which was received in common from the public ſtore, without any diſtinction of perſons; and to this reſolution he rigidly adhered, "wiſhing (as capt. Collins ſays) that if a convict complained, he might ſee that want was not unfelt even at Government-houſe."

On the 20th of April, 1790, the ration iſſued from the public ſtore to each man for ſeven days, or to ſeven people for one day, was two pounds and a half of flour, two pounds of rice, and two pounds of

pork;

pork; the two pounds of pork, when boiled, from the length of time it had been in ſtore, ſhrunk away to nothing; and, when divided among ſeven people for their day's ſuſtenance, barely afforded three or four morſels to each. What a ration for a labouring man! The inevitable conſequences of this ſcarcity of proviſions enſued: labour ſtood nearly ſuſpended, for want of energy to proceed; and the countenances of the people plainly beſpoke the hardſhips they underwent. A female convict, coming from Roſe-Hill was robbed of her week's proviſions; and, as it was impoſſible to replace them from the public ſtore, ſhe was left to ſubſiſt on what ſhe could obtain from the bounty of others, who, though almoſt famiſh'd themſelves, commiſerated her ſituation.

Another female convict occaſioned her own death, by overloading her ſtomach with flour and greens, of which ſhe made a meſs during the day, and ate heartily; but, not being ſatisfied, ſhe roſe in the night, eagerly finiſhed it, and died in conſequence.

On the 12th of May, a man dropped down at the ſtore, whither he had repaired with others to receive his day's ſubſiſtnce. Fainting with hunger, he was carried to the hoſpital, where he died the next morning. On being opened, his ſtomach was found quite empty. It appeared, that not having any utenſil of his own wherein to cook his proviſions, nor a ſhare in any, he was frequently compelled, ſhort as his allowance for the day was, to give a part of it to any one who would ſupply him with a veſſel to dreſs his victuals; and at thoſe times when he did not chooſe to afford this deduction, he was accuſtomed to eat his rice and other proviſions undreſſed, which brought on indigeſtion, and at length killed him.

On the 7th of September, governor Phillips was wounded by one of the natives, who, in a conference, miſtook the intentions of the governor. The latter, meaning to take particular notice of this man, ſtepped forward to meet him, holding out both his hands. The ſavage, not underſtanding this civility, and perhaps thinking that he was going to ſeize him as a priſoner, liſted a ſpear from the graſs with his foot, and fixing it on his throwing-ſtick, in an inſtant darted it at the governor. The ſpear entered a little above the collar-bone, and had been diſcharged with ſuch force, that the barb of it came through on the other ſide. Fortunately, we find that the ſpear being extracted, his excellency was only temporarily diſordered by the accident.

On the 3d of November, 1792, three warrants of emancipation paſſed the ſeal of the territory; one of which was in favour of a man whoſe name will be familiar to moſt of our readers; a man who, our author tells us, "whatever might have been his conduct when at large in ſociety, had here not only demeaned himſelf with the ſtricteſt propriety, but had rendered eſſential ſervices to the colony—George Barrington. He came out in the Active; on his arrival, the governor employed him at Toongabbe, and in a ſituation which was likely to attract the envy and hatred of the convicts, in proportion as he might be vigilant and inflexible. He was firſt placed as a ſubordinate, and ſhortly after as a princi-

pal watchman; in which ſituation he was diligent, ſober, and impartial; and had rendered himſelf ſo eminently ſerviceable, that the governor reſolved to draw him from the line of convicts; and, with the inſtrument of his emancipation, he received a grant of thirty acres of land, in an eligible ſituation near Parramatta.* Here was not only a reward for paſt good conduct, but an incitement to a continuance of it; and Barrington found himſelf, through the governor's liberality, though not ſo abſolutely free as to return to England at his own pleaſure, yet enjoying the immunities of a free man, a ſettler, and a civil officer, in whoſe integrity much confidence was placed."

On the 11th of December, in the ſame year, governor Phillips quitted the iſland, in the Atlantic tranſport, for England, and the care of the ſettlement devolved on Francis Groſe, eſq. as lieutenant-governor.

This gentleman left the ſettlement on the 15th of November, 1794; and the direction of the colony was aſſumed, *pro tempore*, by the officer higheſt in rank then on ſervice there, captain William Patterſon, of the New South Wales corps.

Governor Hunter arrived in the Reliance, on the 7th of September, 1795, and took on him the government-in-chief of the ſettlement on the 11th of the ſame month.

Many of our readers will recollect, that when governor Phillips returned to England he was accompanied by two natives of New South Wales; their names, we find, were Ben-nil-long and Yem-me-ra-wan-nie; "two men (ſays our author) who were much attached to his perſon, and who withſtood, at the moment of their departure, the diſtreſs of their wives, and the diſmal lamentation of their friends."

Of the former of thoſe natives, we find a very neatly engraved portrait: and on this man's return to his own country, in company with governor Hunter, captain Collins makes the following remarks:

"On his firſt appearance, he conducted himſelf with a poliſhed familiarity toward his ſiſters and other relations; but to his acquaintance he was diſtant, and quite the man of conſequence. He declared, in a tone and with an air that ſeemed to expect compliance, that he ſhould no longer ſuffer them to fight, and cut each other's throats, as they had done; that he ſhould introduce peace among them, and make them love each other. He expreſſed his wiſh, that when they viſited him at Government-houſe they would contrive to be ſomewhat more cleanly in their perſons, and leſs coarſe in their manners; and he ſeemed abſolutely offended at ſome little indelicacies which he obſerved in his ſiſter Car-rang-ar-rang, who came in ſuch haſte from Botany-Bay, with a little nephew on her back, to viſit him, that ſhe left all her habiliments behind her.

"Ben-nil-long had certainly not been an inattentive obſerver of the manners of the people among whom he had lived; he conducted himſelf with the greateſt propriety at table, particularly in the obſervance of thoſe attentions which are chiefly requiſite in the preſence of

* "He was afterwards ſworn in as a peace-officer."

women. His dreſs appeared to be an object of no ſmall concern with him; and every one who knew him before he left the country, and who ſaw him now, pronounced, without heſitation, that Ben-nil-long had not any deſire to renounce the habits and comforts of the civilized life which he appeared ſo readily and ſo ſucceſsfully to adopt.

"His inquiries were directed, immediately on his arrival, after his wife, Go-roo-bar-roo-bool-lo; and her he found with Caruey. On producing a very faſhionable roſe-coloured petticoat and jacket, made of a coarſe ſtuff, accompanied with a gypſey bonnet of the ſame colour, ſhe deſerted her lover, and followed her former huſband. In a few days, however, to the ſurprize of every one, we ſaw the lady walking unincumbered with clothing of any kind, and Ben-nil-long was miſſing. Caruey was ſought for; and we heard that he had been ſeverely beaten at Roſe Bay by Ben-nil-long, who retained ſo much of our cuſtoms, that he made uſe of his fiſts inſtead of the weapons of his country, to the great annoyance of Caruey, who would have preferred meeting his rival fairly in the field, armed with the ſpear and the club. Caruey being much the younger man, the lady, every inch a woman, followed her inclination, and Ben-nil-long was compelled to yield her without any farther oppoſition. He ſeemed to have been ſatisfied with the beating he had given Caruey, and hinted that, reſting for the preſent without a wife, he ſhould look about him, and at ſome future period make a better choice.

"His abſences from the governor's houſe now became frequent, and little attended to. When he went out, he uſually left his clothes behind, reſuming them carefully on his return, before he made his viſit to the governor."

In January, 1796, "ſome of the more decent claſs of priſoners, male and female, having ſome time ſince obtained permiſſion to prepare a play-houſe* at Sidney, it was opened on Saturday, the 16th, under the management of John Sparrow, with the play of The Revenge, and the entertainment of The Hotel. They had fitted up the houſe with more theatrical propriety than could have been expected, and their performance was far above contempt. Their motto was modeſt and well choſen — "We cannot command ſucceſs, but will endeavour to deſerve it." Of their dreſſes, the greater part was made by themſelves; but we underſtood that ſome veteran articles from the York theatre were among the beſt that made their appearance.

"At the licenſing of this exhibition they were informed, that the ſlighteſt impropriety would be noticed, and a repetition puniſhed by the baniſhment of their company to the other ſettlements: there was, however, more danger of improprieties being committed by ſome of the audience than by the players themſelves. A ſeat in their gallery, which was by far the largeſt

* "The building coſt upwards of one hundred pounds. The names of the principal performers were, H. Green, Sparrow (the manager), William Fowkes, G. H. Hughes, William Chapman, and Mrs. Davis. Of the men, Green beſt deſerved to be called an actor."

place

place in the houſe, as likely to be the moſt reſorted to, was to be procured for one ſhilling. In the payment of this price for admiſſion, one evil was obſervable, which in fact could not well be prevented; in lieu of a ſhilling, as much flour, or as much meat or ſpirits, as the manager would take for that ſum, was often paid at the gallery door. It was feared that this, like gambling, would furniſh another inducement to rob; and ſome of the worſt of the convicts, ever on the watch for opportunities, looked on the play-houſe as a certain harveſt for them, not by picking the pockets of the audience of their purſes or their watches, but by breaking into their houſes while the whole family might be enjoying themſelves in the gallery. This actually happened on the ſecond night of their playing."

In March, 1796, we hear again of Ben-nil-long, who occaſionally ſhook off the habits of civilized life, and in native nudity went for a few days into the woods with his friends. "He now ſent in word, that he had had a conteſt with his boſom friend, Cole-be, in which he had been ſo much the ſufferer, that until his wounds were healed he could not with any pleaſure to himſelf appear at the governor's table. This notification was accompanied with a requeſt, that his clothes, which he had left behind him when he went away, might be ſent him, together with ſome victuals, of which he was much in want.

"On his coming among us again, he appeared with a wound on his mouth, which had divided the upper lip, and broke two of the teeth of that jaw. His features, never very pleaſing, now ſeemed out of all proportion, and his pronunciation was much altered. Finding himſelf badly received among the females (although improved, by his travels, in the little attentions that are ſuppoſed to have their weight with the ſex), and not being able to endure a life of celibacy, which had been his condition from the day of his departure from this country until nearly the preſent hour, he made an attack upon his friend's favourite, Boo-re-a, in which he was not only unſucceſsful, but was puniſhed for his breach of friendſhip, as above related, by Cole-be, who ſarcaſtically aſked him, "if he meant that kind of conduct to be a ſpecimen of Engliſh manners?"

On the 29th of September, 1796, our author left Port Jackſon, for England, and his journal concludes with the following paragraph:

"The account of the Engliſh colony of New South Wales muſt here be cloſed, for a time, the writer being embarked in the Britannia, on his return to England. On reviewing the pages he has written, the queſtion involuntarily ariſes in his mind, In what other colony, under the Britiſh government, has a narrator of its annals had ſuch circumſtances to record? No other colony was ever eſtabliſhed under ſuch circumſtances. He has, it is true, occaſionally had the gratification of recording the return of principle in ſome, whoſe want of that ingredient, ſo neceſſary to ſociety, had ſent them thither; but it has oftener been his taſk to ſhow the predilection for immorality, perſeverance in diſſipation, and inveterate propenſity to vice, which prevailed in many others. The difficulty, under ſuch diſadvantages, of eſtabliſhing the bleſſings of a regu-

lar and civil government muſt have occurred to every well-informed mind that has reflected on our ſituation. The duties of a governor, of a judge-advocate, and of other magiſtrates and civil officers, could not be compared with thoſe in other countries. From the diſpoſition to crimes, and the incorrigible characters of the major part of the coloniſts, an odium was, from the firſt, illiberally thrown upon the ſettlement; and the word "Botany Bay" became a term of reproach that was indiſcriminately caſt on every one who reſided in New South Wales. But let the reproach light on thoſe who have uſed it as ſuch. Theſe pages were written to demonſtrate, that the bread of government has not been eaten in idleneſs by its different officers; and that if the honour of having deſerved well of one's country be attainable by ſacrificing a good name, domeſtic comforts, and deareſt connections, in her ſervice, the officers of this ſettlement have juſtly merited that diſtinction."

The next article in the volume preſents us with the particulars of the ſtate of Norfolk Iſland, drawn up from the papers of lieutenant-governor King; to which is added, ſome account of New Zealand, comprizing much curious and uſeful information.

To readers in general our author's copious Appendix will probably be the moſt intereſting part of his work. He ſeems to have thought it expedient to keep his remarks on the habits, cuſtoms, &c. of the natives, unmixed with the tranſactions of the Engliſh ſettlers; and, in our opinion with great judgement, has reſerved what peculiarly regarded the iſlanders for a ſeparate diſcuſſion.

The Appendix is divided into twelve parts, which treat of, 1. Government and Religion; 2. Stature and Appearance; 3. Habitations; 4. Mode of Living; 5. Courtſhip and Marriage; 6. Cuſtoms and Manners; 7. Superſtition; 8. Diſeaſes; 9. Property; 10. Diſpoſitions; 11. Funeral Ceremonies; and 12. Language.

Memoirs of the Life and Adminiſtration of Sir Robert Walpole, Earl of Orford; with original Correſpondence, and authentic Papers, never before publiſhed; by William Coxe, M. A. F. R. S. F. A. S. 4to. 3 vol. 1798.

IT can ſcarcely be neceſſary for us to make any general or introductory remarks on the ſubject of theſe volumes. The importance of the period, of which they elucidate the hiſtory, is ſufficiently obvious; and its near approximation to our own times renders any authentic documents reſpecting it more than uſually intereſting. In regard to the author of the work, alſo, he is ſo generally known in the literary world, and his reputation is ſo well eſtabliſhed, that we need only obſerve that this publication will procure for him additional fame, on account of the induſtry and abilities which it exemplifies.

The firſt of theſe volumes, conſiſting of nearly 800 pages, contains the memoirs, and the two other volumes contain the papers and correſpondence. The main ſubject of the work, comprehending Walpole's life of 69 years, and his

his adminiſtration of 27, is divided, by Mr. Coxe, into the following eight periods.—From his birth to the acceſſion of George I. 1676-1714.—Thence to the commencement of the South-Sea ſcheme in 1720.—Thence to the death of George I. in 1727.—From the acceſſion of George II. to the reſignation of lord Townſend, 1727-1730.—Thence to the diſſolution of the parliament in 1734.—Thence to the death of queen Caroline in 1737.—Thence to the reſignation of ſir Robert Walpole in 1742; and thence to his death in 1745. The letters and other documents contained in the ſecond and third volumes are, alſo, for the facility of reference, divided into eight periods;—applying to the ſubjects of the correſponding periods in the narrative.

In a prefatory explanation of the circumſtances which led him to this undertaking, Mr. Coxe makes a full diſplay of the ample unpubliſhed materials which have enabled him, in treating the reigns of the firſt and ſecond kings of the houſe of Hanover, to trace motives of action unknown to former hiſtorians, and to place, in a new light, the foreign and domeſtic tranſactions of the cabinet. The papers belonging to the different branches of the Walpole and Townſend families naturally make the principal figure in the liſt; but, anxious to hear thoſe who oppoſed, as well as thoſe who ſupported, the meaſures of ſir Robert, Mr. Coxe applied for and obtained communications of the Stanhope, Middleton, Melcombe, and Egremont papers. Theſe he has printed as he has found them, not omitting a ſingle invective, but leaving the reader to judge between the partial eulogiums of Hervey and the acrimonious reproaches of Bolingbroke.

Of printed authorities, Mr. Coxe ſays that he has principally conſulted Tindal's, or rather Birch's continuation of Rapin. He regards Smollett as a careleſs or partial writer, who appears never to have examined the journals, and but ſuperficially to have peruſed the parliamentary debates. Belſham he thinks a copyiſt of Smollett as to facts; although differing from him in ſpeculations, Mr. Coxe has not relied on either as an authority.

In examining the Walpole and Orford papers, the author finds convincing proof of the authenticity and general accuracy of Chandler's parliamentary proceedings. From the year 1735, the ſpeeches in parliament were given in the Gentleman's Magazine, by Guthrie, and in the London Magazine, by Gordon, both of whom conſtantly attended in the gallery of the houſe, and received information from members. From the year 1740, many of the debates in the Gentleman's Magazine were written by Dr. Johnſon. His biographers, prone to credulity and wonder, have repreſented theſe ſpeeches as fictitious; and Johnſon is ſaid to have confeſſed that they were chiefly the work of his own imagination: but the truth is, as Mr. Coxe aſſerts, that 'Johnſon conſtantly received notes and heads of the ſpeeches from perſons employed by Cave, and particularly from Guthrie.'—'The preſent biſhop of Saliſbury,' adds Mr. Coxe, 'recollects that he has ſeen ſeveral of theſe notes, which Guthrie communicated to him on the very day on which he obtained them.'

Of this vaſt maſs of materials, printed and in manuſcript, the author appears to us to have made a very judicious uſe. Walpole's ſpeeches in parliament indeed, as well as thoſe of his opponents, are given at greater length than is warranted by the example of the beſt modern hiſtorians; but it muſt be remembered, that the preſent memoirs are intended not merely to relate the general hiſtory of ſir Robert's adminiſtration, but to diſplay the character of the man; his prudence, his ſagacity, his paſſionate love of peace, and his unwearied exertions, both in and out of parliament, for preſerving that ineſtimable bleſſing. If the obſervation, therefore, ſtigmatiſing Thucydides, that "in his work more is ſaid than done," be, in ſome meaſure, applicable to Mr. Coxe, let it not be forgotten, that the latter is alſo deſerving of a place among thoſe whom the Greeks diſtinguiſhed as pragmatic hiſtorians; chiefly becauſe the ſpeeches, interwoven in their narratives, exhibited the practice, as well as the theory, of public buſineſs; illuſtrated the conduct of parties; explained the obſtacles which lay in the way of great deſigns; and exemplified the manner in which thoſe obſtacles might be encountered and ſurmounted.

The firſt period of the hiſtory is from the year 1676 to 1714, which includes an account of lord Orford's family. He was the eighteenth male, in a lineal deſcent from the conqueſt, of a reſpectable family, which took its ſurname from the town of Walpole, in Norfolk. He was the third ſon of Robert Walpole, eſq. and was born the 26th of Auguſt, 1676, at Houghton. He received the firſt rudiments of learning at a private ſeminary at Maſſingham, in Norfolk, and completed his education on the foundation at Eton. On the 22d of April, 1696, he was admitted a ſcholar of King's College, Cambridge, but reſigned his ſcholarſhip on the 25th of May, 1698, on becoming the heir of his father's eſtate, by the death of his elder brother. On leaving the univerſity he returned home, and addicted himſelf to purſuits which had no reference to learning or politics. On the 30th of July, 1700, he married the daughter of ſir John Shorter, lord mayor of London, a woman of exquiſite beauty and accompliſhed manners; and the amuſements of London ſucceeded the more active employments of the country. Soon after his marriage his father died, and he inherited the family eſtate, the rent-roll of which exceeded 2000*l.* a year.

On the death of his father he was elected member for Caſtle Riſing, and ſat for that borough in the two ſhort parliaments, which aſſembled in the two laſt years of the reign of king William. He ſoon became an active member, particularly in what reſpected the county of Norfolk, and joined himſelf to the whig party, to which he adhered during life. On the acceſſion of queen Anne he was again returned for Caſtle Riſing, which he repreſented until he was advanced to the peerage. He now became a conſpicuous figure in the houſe of commons, and was noticed by lord Godolphin and the duke of Marlborough. In 1705 he, with ſeveral of the whig party, was brought into office as one of the council to prince George of Denmark, lord high admiral of England. In the year 1705 he

he was inſtrumental in reconciling lord Godolphin to the whigs, and in 1708 ſucceeded ſir John, afterwards lord Bolingbroke, as ſecretary at war, on the recommendation of the duke of Marlborough. On the deceaſe of ſir Thomas Lyttleton he was appointed treaſurer of the navy, which office, for a ſhort time, he held with that of ſecretary at war.

In 1710 he was a manager for the impeachment of Sacheverel, and principally conducted that imprudent buſineſs in the houſe of commons. The event of this trial was different from what was expected, and the miniſtry, in conſequence of intrigues and cabals, was ſoon after diſmiſſed. Mr. Walpole might have continued in his office, to which he was ſolicited by Harley; but he rejected every advance made to him, and treated with contempt the threats thrown out againſt him. So unwilling was the new miniſtry to come to hoſtilities with him, that he was ſuffered to continue in his poſt of treaſurer of the navy ſeveral months after his friends were completely diſmiſſed.

His oppoſition to the new miniſtry was ſo violent and determined, that it was thought adviſable to ſilence him by any means whatever; and Bromley, a tory member, declared, that his expulſion was the *unum neceſſarium*, as they could not carry on the buſineſs, if he was ſuffered to continue in the houſe. "It is no wonder, therefore," ſays Mr. Coxe, "that his enemies, who could command a majority, ſhould find a plauſible pretext. The commiſſioners of public accounts laid a charge of venality and corruption againſt him for forage contracts in Scotland, while he was ſecretary at war. They accuſed him of having taken in two contracts, two notes of hand, one for 500 guineas, the other for 500*l.* the firſt of which had been paid, and a receipt given in his name, and of the other 400*l.* was paid. It appeared, on examination of the witneſſes on oath, that the contractors, rather than admit into their partnerſhip Robert Mann, agent for Walpole, who, according to the tenor of the original agreement, reſerved a ſhare for a friend to have the benefit of a fifth part, if not redeemed by the contractors with a ſum of money, had preferred paying the 500 guineas and 500*l.* and that Mann had received the money for the firſt note, and had obtained the ſecond note as a depoſit for the ſum ſpecified to be paid.

In conſequence of theſe reports, Walpole was heard in his own defence, though no particulars of his ſpeech are preſerved in the proceedings of parliament: after he had withdrawn, a warm debate took place, which laſted till paſt ten at night. His friends, on this occaſion, ſupported him with ſo much zeal, that the houſe was divided four times in the ſame ſitting; and the miniſters, who carried all political queſtions in this ſeſſion with only a trifling oppoſition, gained the motions for his condemnation and expulſion by ſmall majorities. On the firſt diviſion, in which Pultney (then his intimate friend, afterwards his moſt bitter opponent) was teller, to leave out the words "and notorious corruption," was negatived by a majority of 52. The main queſtion paſſed in the affirmative by 57. The motion for committing him to the Tower by

only 12; and his expulſion was decreed by 20. Theſe ſmall majorities ſufficiently prove, either that Walpole poſſeſſed great perſonal influence in the houſe; or, that many of the tories conſidered his accuſation a ſcandalous proſecution, and would not give their votes againſt him. The houſe, however, reſolved, "That Robert Walpole, eſquire, was guilty of a high breach of truſt and notorious corruption; that he ſhould be committed priſoner to the Tower of London;" and on a ſubſequent motion, which was carried only by a majority of 20 votes, "That he ſhould be expelled."

On the next morning, Walpole ſurrendered himſelf a priſoner, and was committed to the Tower. It was expected that he would have petitioned, and ſubmitted himſelf to the cenſure of the houſe; but he refuſed making any conceſſion, which would imply a conſciouſneſs of guilt, and he therefore remained a priſoner until the prorogation of parliament. In the mean time, a new writ being iſſued for Lynn, he was rechoſen for that borough; but a petition being preferred againſt the return by Samuel Taylor, the oppoſing candidate, the commons reſolved, "that, having been expelled this houſe for a high breach of truſt in the execution of his office, and notorious corruption, when ſecretary at war, he was incapable of being re-elected a member to ſerve in the preſent parliament."

While he remained a priſoner, he was conſidered as a martyr to the cauſe of the whigs, and repeatedly viſited by perſons of the higheſt diſtinction and abilities; particularly by the duke and ducheſs of Marlborough, Godolphin, Sunderland, Somers, and Pultney, and his apartment exhibited the appearance of a crouded levee.

During his confinement he had ſufficient leiſure to compoſe a clear and judicious vindication of himſelf, which was publiſhed under the title of "The Caſe of Mr. Walpole, in a Letter from a Tory Member of Parliament to his Friend in the Country." In this maſterly defence he fully juſtifies himſelf, and appeals to evidence taken upon oath, from the two principal charges,—high breach of truſt, and notorious corruption.

The ſeſſion was prolonged beyond the uſual time for the purpoſe of retaining him in priſon, from whence he was not releaſed until the 8th of July, 1713. The remainder of this firſt period of his life was employed in writing, and otherwiſe oppoſing the miniſtry, in every way which offered itſelf.

The ſecond period commences with the acceſſion of George I. in 1714, and ends with the commencement of the South-Sea ſcheme in 1720. On the elevation of the new ſovereign, the whigs immediately expelled their opponents, and took their places, and Mr. Walpole was appointed paymaſter of the forces. The miniſter, who at this period took the lead, was Charles, viſcount Townſend.

With this miniſter Mr. Walpole acted for two years, and, during that buſy period, was very active againſt the miniſters of the four laſt years of queen Anne. He drew up the report of the ſecret committee, was the chief manager of the impeachments, and, on the 11th of October, 1715, was appointed firſt lord commiſſioner of the treaſury, and chancellor of the exchequer.

In

In the year 1716, the famous ſeptennial bill was paſſed; a meaſure which appears to have had the approbation of the great lord Somers. The remainder of the time of the adminiſtration of lord Townſend was filled up with the intrigues of the ducheſs of Kendal, and ſome Germans, who came over with the king, and acted with intolerable rapacity. A coolneſs and difference of opinion ſoon took place between Walpole and Townſend, which ended in the diſmiſſion of the latter.

The diſmiſſion of lord Townſend created ſome diſcontent, and alarmed his opponents, who prevailed on him to accept the office of lord-lieutenant of Ireland, but without procuring from him any cordial ſupport, and he was ſoon afterwards diſmiſſed from his ſituation. On this event ſir Robert Walpole reſigned, and this was followed by an almoſt total change in the adminiſtration. The reſigners immediately became oppoſitioniſts, and by his eloquence and influence the peerage-bill, a meaſure ſupported by the court, was rejected.

The third period of Mr. Coxe's Memoirs is from the year 1720 to 1727, and includes the hiſtory of the riſe and progreſs of the South-Sea ſcheme, which occaſioned ſo much ruin and confuſion in the kingdom. In the ſettling this buſineſs ſir Robert Walpole was an active agent, and, in the progreſs of it, again came into adminiſtration as paymaſter of the forces. His conduct at this important criſis was moderate, firm, and conciliating, and his conſequence was univerſally admitted by all parties. On the death of earl Stanhope, and the accuſation of Sunderland, the re-eſtabliſhment of Townſend and Walpole took place; the former as ſecretary of ſtate, and the latter as firſt lord of the treaſury. The king appears to have had ſo firm a reliance on ſir Robert, that, on an attempt to remove him, he declared, he had once parted with him againſt his inclination, but that he would never part with him again ſo long as he was willing to ſerve him. In this period Atterbury's plot occurred, of which a diſtinct account is given. In 1724, ſir Robert Walpole was created a knight of the bath, and in 1726 was inſtalled a knight of the garter. The intrigues of the court during this time are minutely detailed, and the return of lord Bolingbroke, and his efforts to ſupplant his antagoniſt, the miniſter, form not the leaſt intereſting part of this work. Theſe are followed by an accurate report of the proceedings relative to Wood's halfpence, the ſimple narrative of which, ſtripped of the exaggerated dreſs in which the malignant wit of Swift has inveſted it, is reduced to a ſhort compaſs.

The remainder of this period is employed in relating the tumults in Scotland, the treaties of Vienna and Hanover, and their conſequences; the cabals of the ducheſs of Kendal and lord Bolingbroke to remove Walpole, with the death of the king.

The fourth period comprehends the hiſtory of the miniſter from the year 1727 to 1730, and includes his confirmation in his office by the new king; a character of ſir Spencer Compton; the treaty of Seville; the claims of Spain for the reſtoration of Gibraltar; the hiſtory of the duke of Ripperda; and the diſ-

agreement

agreement of Townſend and Walpole, which ended in the retirement of the former.

The fifth period includes the tranſactions of four years, from 1730 to 1734, and contains accounts ſubſequent to the treaty of Seville; the origin and progreſs of the miſunderſtanding between the miniſter and Pultney; the ſtate of the ſinking fund, and the alienation of it; the exciſe-ſcheme, and the arguments for and againſt it, both in and out of parliament; and the ſtate of foreign affairs during that time.

The ſixth period of this work includes the tranſactions between the years 1734 to 1737, and comprehends the ſtate of foreign affairs, and of the complicated negociations carried on at that period; the riots at Edinburgh; the murder of captain Porteus, and the proceedings in conſequence thereof; ſir John Bernard's ſcheme for the reduction of intereſt; on the licentiouſneſs of the ſtage; and the origin and progreſs of the playhouſe-bill. In this detail we obſerve ſome inaccuracies. This is followed by a copious and intereſting account of the origin and progreſs of the miſunderſtanding between the king and the prince of Wales, and concludes with a circumſtantial narrative of the illneſs and death of the queen, and anecdotes relative to her.

The ſeventh period is not the leaſt important ſeries of the preſent work. It comprehends the events which too place from the death of the queen to the reſignation of ſir Robert in 1742, and includes a narrative of the leading circumſtance which brought on the war with Spain; debates on a propoſed reduction of the army; the prohibition of printing the debates; the caſe of captain Jenkins; the convention, and the debates thereon; the ſeceſſion of the minority; the oppoſition of the duke of Argyle; an account of him; the declaration of war; the diviſions in the cabinet, and the offer of ſir Robert to reſign in conſequence. It alſo contains accounts of the meeting of parliament; and of the return of the ſeceders; the efforts of oppoſition; and the embarraſments of Walpole; the ſtate of foreign affairs; the invaſion of Sileſia; the motion for the removal of ſir Robert; and the conduct of William Shippen and others on that occaſion.

Foreign affairs, and particularly thoſe relating to Auſtria, ſucceed, and the period is wound up by the circumſtances which led to, and the meaſures which brought on, the reſignation of the miniſter, who was created earl of Orford on the 9th of February, 1742, two days before he quitted his office.

The diſmiſſion of the miniſter had been againſt the opinion of his ſovereign, and we accordingly find that his influence ſtill remained, and he continued to be conſulted on moſt affairs of importance. The remaining part of the work takes in the public tranſactions from the reſignation of ſir Robert until the time of his death, in 1745, and concludes with diſquiſitions on the principles of Walpole's adminiſtration; his public character; account of his publications; his private character, in the ſeveral articles of perſon, dreſs, addreſs, temper, affability, gaiety, converſation, manners, unreſervedneſs, conſiſtency, profuſion, hoſpitality, diſintereſtedneſs, love of field-ſports, ſocial qualities

lities, neglect of men of letters, and conduct in retirement.

This work, on the whole, furniſhes a great body of Engliſh hiſtory, affording both entertainment and information. Much new evidence is adduced; many facts are ſet in a new light; and many circumſtances, which hitherto have been involved in obſcurity, are now cleared up. The biographer has alſo availed himſelf of the materials intruſted to him with laudable induſtry, and without any very apparent partiality. He appears not to have concealed any thing from prejudice, and diſcovers little of party bias. As he is fuller and more copious than the hiſtorians who have preceded him, his work will be found more uſeful than any of his predeceſſors for the purpoſe of reference, relating to facts within the period to which he is confined; a period which, every day, becomes more important to be known by every Briton, and every lover of his country, who enjoys the bleſſings of the preſent conſtitution.

The Life of Edmund Burke, comprehending an impartial Account of his literary and political Efforts; and a Sketch of the Conduct and Character of his moſt eminent Aſſociates, Co-adjutors, and Opponents, by Robert Biſſet, L. L. D. 8vo. 1798.

IN our laſt volume, we expreſſed our diſſatisfaction with Mr. M'Cormick's Life of Burke, and are glad to find in the preſent work (which we then announced as about to appear) that more has been done towards gratifying the rational curioſity of the reader without diſguſting him with the ſplenetic and perſonal abuſe which diſgraced the former work. Dr. Biſſet may, poſſibly be accuſed of running into the oppoſite extreme; at all events, it is the leaſt blameable error.

Having, under the head of Characters, in this volume, ſo amply abridged the leading features of Mr. Burke's public and private life, we ſhall content ourſelves with offering a few obſervations with reſpect to the work itſelf as a literary production.

Conſidering it, therefore, in this view, perhaps it does not add much to the doctor's former reputation, yet it poſſeſſes conſiderable merit. Though what may properly be called the life of Burke is involved in this compoſition with a great variety of extraneous matter, yet that matter is frequently amuſing and inſtructive; and, taken all together, it affords ſomething like a general idea of our hiſtory, during the period which it comprehends. Throughout the volume, indeed, we meet with the ſtrongeſt proofs not only that the doctor has attentively ſtudied whatever relates to the immediate ſubject of which he treats, but that he poſſeſſes a very conſiderable fund of general obſervation. The peruſal of his book would however have been productive of more pleaſure if it diſplayed leſs of a ſtudied phraſeology.

Of his learning, and of his critical ſkill, the doctor alſo ſeems too profuſe: the analyſis of Cicero's eloquence, and the compariſon of it with that of Mr. Burke, might have been ſpared; and we cannot help thinking that his frequent review of the ſtate of letters, at different periods, ſeems in a biographer rather an encroachment on the province

province of the hiſtorian; and more calculated to diſplay his own knowledge than to illuſtrate his ſubject. Without imputing this deſign to Dr. Biſſet, however, we will only farther remark, that had he appeared leſs learned, and been more ſimple, in this compoſition, it would probably have become a much greater favorite with the public.

A Voyage of Diſcovery to the North Pacific Ocean, and round the World; in which the Coaſt of North-Weſt America has been carefully examined and accurately ſurveyed. Undertaken, by his Majeſty's Command, principally with a View to aſcertain the Exiſtence of any navigable Communication between the North Pacific and North Atlantic Oceans; and performed in the Years 1790, 1791, 1792, 1793, 1794, *and* 1795, *in the Diſcovery Sloop of War, and armed Tender Chatham, under the Command of Captain George Vancouver.* 4*to*, 3 *Vol.* 1798.

THE advantages of a fur-trade with China, from the weſtern coaſts of North America, though for a conſiderable length of time known to the Ruſſians, were very little underſtood and wholly unattempted by other European nations, before the voyage of captain Cook to thoſe parts. The information obtained by that excellent navigator not only encouraged mercantile expeditions from moſt maritime countries, but revived the expectations of thoſe who were advocates for the ſuppoſed exiſtence of a north-weſt paſſage through America; and theſe expectations were ſtrengthened by ſubſequent diſcoveries, attributed to ſome of the late enterprizing adventurers. To examine into the truth of theſe as well as of the more early accounts, and to complete a ſurvey of the weſtern coaſt of North America, from the latitude of 30° N. to 60° north, with the additional purpoſe of executing the articles of the convention made between the Britiſh and the Spaniſh courts, reſpecting Nootka Sound, were the propoſed objects of the expedition of which the narrative is now before us. The voyage had been planned, and preparations for it had been made, ſome time before theſe diſputes, between the courts of London and Madrid, aroſe, and was ſuſpended till the adjuſtment of them was to take place.

The ill health of the late captain Vancouver, for ſome time previouſly to his deceaſe, is aſſigned as the cauſe of the publication being ſo long delayed after the return of the ſhips. His brother Mr. John Vancouver, has performed the office of editor; and he lays before the public, in an advertiſement prefixed to the firſt volume, the ſtate of the work when the indiſpoſition of his brother rendered him incapable of continuing his attention to it. From this advertiſement, it appears that the firſt and ſecond volumes, (the introduction excepted,) and as far as the 288th page of the third volume, were then printed, and had undergone his examination. He had alſo prepared the introduction, and a farther part of his journal, to page 408 of the laſt volume; which comprehended the whole of his geographical diſcoveries.

In the introduction is given an account of the equipment, and a copy of the admiralty inſtructions, dated

dated March 8th, 1791, under which captain Vancouver ſailed. By theſe orders, he was directed to proceed immediately to the Sandwich Iſlands in the north Pacific-ocean, there to remain during the enſuing winter; in the courſe of which it was intended that he ſhould be joined by a veſſel, to be diſpatched from England, conveying to him the king's orders reſpecting the poſſeſſions on the coaſt of America that were to be reſtored to his majeſty's ſubjects, agreeably to the convention above-mentioned; but, (ſay the inſtructions,) "if no ſuch orders ſhould be received by you previous to the end of January, 1792, you are not to wait for them at the Sandwich Iſlands, but to proceed, in ſuch courſe as you may judge moſt expedient for the examination of the coaſt above-mentioned," &c.

The language of the inſtructions evinces that ſtrong hopes were entertained of a communication being diſcovered, between the Atlantic-ocean and the ſea, weſt of America.

The moſt liberal conduct and the greateſt openneſs of communication were directed to be obſerved towards any veſſels which might be met, belonging to other nations. It was calculated that the propoſed ſurvey would occupy two ſummers on the coaſt of America; and in the return, which was ordered to be by Cape Horn, it was recommended, if practicable, to examine the weſtern coaſt of South America, beginning at the ſouth point of the iſland of Chiloe, in latitude 44° ſouth. That no cauſe of diſcontent nor of complaint might be given to the Spaniards, the commander was ſtrictly charged that, in the execution of his inſtructions, he ſhould not on any account (diſtreſs excepted) touch at any port on the continent of America between the latitudes of 30° north and 44° ſouth.

The veſſels appointed for the expedition were named the Diſcovery and the Chatham. The former was a ſhip of 340 tons burthen, commanded by captain George Vancouver, carrying 10 guns, with a complement of 100 men:—The other was a brig, commanded by lieutenant (now captain) W. R. Broughton, carrying 4 guns and 45 men. A native of the Sandwich Iſlands, named Towereroo, who had been brought thence by one of our trading veſſels in July, 1789, was ſent on board by the admiralty, with orders to captain Vancouver, to convey him to his native land. This man, he ſays, 'while in England, lived in great obſcurity, and did not ſeem in the leaſt to have benefited by his reſidence in this country.'

On the 1ſt of April, 1791, they ſailed from Falmouth; on the 10th of July they arrived at the Cape of Good Hope; which place they left Auguſt 17th; and on the 26th of September, they made the ſouth-weſt coaſt of New Holland, in latitude 35° ſouth, and longitude 116° eaſt. Having ſailed 35 leagues along the coaſt, which in this part was but very imperfectly known before, they diſcovered a harbour to which was given the name of King George the Third's Sound; where they remained nearly a fortnight. They met with none of the natives, but found deſerted huts. The moſt remarkable objects that they ſaw were black ſwans, of which the following account is given: 'As we proceeded to the upper part of the harbour, our attention was directed

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to ſeveral large black ſwans in very ſtately attitudes ſwimming on the water, and, when flying, diſcovering the under part of their wings and breaſts to be white: this is all the deſcription we were enabled to give of them, ſince they were exceſſively ſhy, and we very indifferent markſmen.'

After their departure from King George the Third's Sound, bad weather prevented their keeping near the coaſt, which they only ſaw in detached parts. Towards the end of October they paſſed Van Dieman's land, and on the 3d of November, anchored in Duſky Bay, in the ſouth iſland of New Zealand. This place, which, in the former voyages, had been found inhabited, appeared now entirely deſerted. In a three days' excurſion, ſeveral ſpots, formerly the reſidence of the natives, were viſited: but no traces of people were ſeen, nor any circumſtance which in the leaſt indicated that the country was at preſent inhabited.—The veſſels left Duſky Bay on the 22d, and during the next night they were ſeparated by a gale, and did not meet again till their arrival at Otaheite. After their ſeparation, the Chatham diſcovered land in latitude 43° 48′ S. and longitude 183° eaſt.

This new diſcovered land is of conſiderable magnitude: the part which they ſaw extended nearly 40 miles from eaſt to weſt; and the appearance of the country, according to the deſcription given, is very promiſing. In many reſpects, the natives reſemble thoſe of New Zealand; from which country they are diſtant about 100 leagues: but their ſkins were deſtitute of any marks, and they had the appearance of being cleanly in their perſons. Their dreſſes were of ſeal or ſea-bear ſkin, and ſome had fine woven mats faſtened round the waiſt. 'They ſeemed a cheerful race, our converſation frequently exciting violent burſts of laughter amongſt them. On our firſt landing, their ſurprize and exclamations can hardly be imagined; they pointed to the ſun, and then to us, as if to aſk, whether we had come from thence.' Their arms were ſpears, clubs, and a ſmall weapon reſembling the New Zealand patoo.—The bay in which lieutenant Broughton landed, he named Skirmiſh Bay.

A ſmall iſland was likewiſe found by the Diſcovery, in the paſſage to Otaheite, in latitude 27° 36′ S. and longitude 215° 49′ E. inhabited by a people, who, on account of their language and their reſemblance to the Friendly Iſlanders, captain Vancouver ſays, were evidently of the Great South-Sea nation. Nevertheleſs, their language (as appears in the narrative) was ſo little underſtood by our navigators, that, though they exerted their whole ſkill in endeavouring to obtain from the natives the name of their iſland, they were each unable to comprehend the other's meaning; and the name of Oparro was adopted, as the one which captain Vancouver thought had the beſt chance of being right. A very material difference, which was likewiſe obſerved between theſe iſlanders and the inhabitants of the other iſlands with which we are acquainted in the South Seas, was, that not any of theſe people were tattowed.—Of the iſland, captain Vancouver ſays, 'Its principal character is a cluſter of high craggy mountains, forming, in ſeveral places, moſt romantic pinnacles, with perpendicular cliffs

nearly from their ſummits to the ſea; the vacancies between the mountains would more probably be termed chaſms than vallies.' The circumſtance moſt worthy of obſervation, however, was that,

'The tops of ſix of the higheſt hills bore the appearance of fortified places, reſembling redoubts; having a ſort of block-houſe, in the ſhape of an Engliſh glaſs-houſe, in the centre of each, with rows of palliſadoes a conſiderable way down the ſides of the hills, nearly at equal diſtances. Theſe, over-hanging, ſeemed intended for advanced works, and apparently capable of defending the citadel by a few againſt a numerous hoſt of aſſailants. On all of them, we noticed people, as if on duty, conſtantly moving about. What we conſidered as block-houſes, from their great ſimilarity in appearance to that ſort of building, were ſufficiently large to lodge a conſiderable number of perſons, and were the only habitations we ſaw. Yet from the number of canoes that in ſo ſhort a time aſſembled round us, it is natural to conclude, that the inhabitants are very frequently afloat, and to infer from this circumſtance that the ſhores, and not thoſe fortified hills which appeared to be in the centre of the iſland, would be preferred for their general reſidence.'

Above thirty canoes were ſeen. The iſland was eſtimated to be 6½ miles in length, and no other appeared in ſight. Whether the fortified places, here deſcribed, were intended for defences of the iſlanders againſt each other, or againſt attacks from ſome more powerful neighbours, could only be conjectured: but the latter idea ſeems the moſt probable.—It was not aſcertained whether this iſland afforded anchorage:—but appearances were thought favourable for that purpoſe near the N. W. part.

On the 30th of December, the Diſcovery anchored at Otaheite, and rejoined the Chatham, which had arrived there a few days before.

The natives of Otaheite received our voyagers in the moſt friendly and cordial manner. The original intention of the commander was to have waited here no longer than was neceſſary to procure a ſmall ſupply of freſh proviſions; and then to have proceeded without farther loſs of time to the Sandwich Iſlands, agreeably to the inſtructions received from the admiralty: thoſe iſlands lying nearly a month's ſail from Otaheite, and the end of January being the time limited for the expectation of a veſſel from England with additional inſtructions. The preſent ſituation, however, appeared to poſſeſs ſo much eaſe and convenience, that it was determined to remain, and here to finiſh whatever repairs were neceſſary, in preparation for the American coaſt.

Some months previouſly to captain Vancouver's arrival here, the Britiſh ſhip of war the Pandora, which had been ſent in queſt of the mutineers of the Bounty, had left Otaheite; and nothing was known there concerning Mr. Chriſtian, and his remaining companions, ſince that period: but it appears that, while they lived at Otaheite, they aſſiſted the chiefs in their wars; and captain Vancouver relates, that he frequently ſaw the 'objects of their particular regard, by whom they have children.'

Captain Vancouver gives a full and not unentertaining account of the political views and enterprizes of

of ſome of the chiefs: but, in his relation, he ſometimes ſpeaks of them with all the reſpect due to royal perſonages, and at others treats them with too little ceremony.—It was remarked that many alterations had taken place in the manners, cuſtoms, and even perſons of theſe people, ſince the time of captain Cook's laſt viſit to them. The wives of the chiefs, but no other women, were privileged to eat with the men. On the acceſſion of the preſent chief to the Maro, or girdle of royalty,

'A very conſiderable alteration took place in their language, particularly in the proper names of all the chiefs, to which, however, it was not ſolely confined, but extended to no leſs than forty or fifty of the moſt common words which occur in converſation, and bearing not the leaſt affinity whatever to the former expreſſions.

'This new language every inhabitant is under the neceſſity of adopting; as any negligence or contempt of it is puniſhed with the greateſt ſeverity. Their former expreſſions were, however, retained in their recollection; and, for our better communication, were, I believe, permitted to be uſed in converſation with us, without incurring diſpleaſure.'

Here it is proper to mention a cuſtom, remarked, in former voyages, to have been in very common practice among the natives of the South-Sea Iſlands, in their intercourſe with Europeans, of adopting ſuch pronunciation of their own language as was in uſe and beſt underſtood by the new-comers, for the convenience of more ready communication; this adoption, no doubt, being attended with much leſs trouble than the endeavour to correct. So far has this practice been known to prevail, that, when ſhips have been viſited by people from the more diſtant parts of an iſland, it became neceſſary to have recourſe to the natives with whom they had been longeſt acquainted, to act as interpreters between them.

The veſſels quitted Otaheite on the 24th of January, 1792; and on the 1ſt of March they arrived in ſight of the Sandwich Iſlands, among which they remained till the 16th. They heard no tidings of the ſtore-ſhip which they expected to have called here for them,—but received information that no veſſels had arrived ſince the preceding autumn, when one Britiſh and three American traders had touched at the iſlands. Towereroo, the native, whom they carried from England, was left at Owhyhee, under the protection of a chief named Tianna, who had viſited China, and of whom mention is made in the narrative of captain Meares's voyage. On the 9th, the ſhips anchored at one of the iſlands, named Attowai, where they found part of the crew of an American trader, who had been left here by their commander, for the purpoſe of collecting ſandal wood and pearls: with the former of which the iſlands abound, and a great price is given for it in India.

Many of theſe iſlanders, from their commerce with the European veſſels which have been employed in the American fur-trade, are provided with fire-arms; which they are more deſirous of obtaining in return for their refreſhments than any other European commodity. Some of the chiefs produced written

ten certificates of good behaviour, with recommendations from the commanders of trading veſſels: but many of theſe directed that ſtrangers, in their intercourſe with the natives, ſhould obſerve the greateſt circumſpection, and keep conſtantly on their guard; and for theſe cautions, our people learnt there had been very ſufficient reaſon, attempts having been made by the natives to capture ſeveral veſſels, one of which, an American ſchooner, unfortunately became their prey, and the crew were all, except one man, put to death.—At Attowai, the chiefs propoſed to viſit captain Vancouver's ſhip; but, before they would venture on board, they required hoſtages.

Seeds of different kinds were left with the natives; and there is every probability of their thriving, as theſe people are very intelligent and careful in their huſbandry. Among other inſtances of their ingenuity, an aqueduct was ſeen on a well-conſtructed wall of ſtone and clay, 24 feet high, for the purpoſe of watering their plantations.

April 17th, the ſhips made the American coaſt in latitude 39° 15′ N. and ſtood to the northward, keeping in ſight of the ſhore, and preſerving their ſtation during the nights, that no part of the coaſt might be paſſed unobſerved.

When the ſhips had proceeded along the coaſt as far as 47° 37′ N. they fell in with an American veſſel, named the Columbia, commanded by Mr. Robert Gray, the ſame perſon who had formerly commanded a ſloop called the Waſhington; and of whoſe diſcoveries mention is made in the admiralty inſtructions to captain Vancouver. The information which they obtained from Mr. Gray differs very materially from what was publiſhed concerning him in England; it is thus related:

"It is not poſſible to conceive any one to be more aſtoniſhed than was Mr. Gray, on his being made acquainted, that his authority had been quoted, and the track pointed out that he had been ſaid to have made in the ſloop Waſhington. In contradiction to which, he aſſured the officers, that he had penetrated only 50 miles into the ſtraits in queſtion, in an E. S. E. direction; that he found the paſſage 5 leagues wide; and that he underſtood, from the natives, that the opening extended a conſiderable diſtance to the northward; that this was all the information he had acquired reſpecting this inland ſea, and that he returned into the ocean by the ſame way he had entered at. The inlet he ſuppoſed to be the ſame that De Fuca had diſcovered, which opinion ſeemed to be univerſally received by all the modern viſitors."

Another piece of intelligence obtained from Mr. Gray was, that he had been off the mouth of a river in the latitude of 46° 10′ N. which he had, for nine days, endeavoured to enter, but was at length obliged to relinquiſh his purpoſe in conſequence of a conſtant ſtrong out-ſet. This opening captain Vancouver had ſeen as he ſailed by that part of the coaſt, but he had deemed it inacceſſible; not on account of a current, but from breakers, which ſeemed to him to extend quite acroſs the entrance.—The land which they had hitherto paſſed is deſcribed as preſenting a proſpect of great fertility, and abounding with woods: but, excepting the place at which a few canoes

came off to them, as already mentioned, no inhabitants were ſeen on the whole extent of the coaſt; nor did they meet 'with any circumſtance that, in the moſt diſtant manner, indicated a probability of the country being inhabited.' Where they had now arrived, however, ſeveral villages were ſeen ſcattered along the ſhore; and on the evening of the 29th of April, they were off the entrance of the celebrated ſtraits of Juan de Fuca.

An adequate, or even an intelligible, idea of the ſurvey in which captain Vancouver and his companions were now engaged, can only be obtained by an examination and compariſon of the charts with the narrative. As they advanced within the opening of the ſtraits, their progreſs was greatly retarded by the number of inlets into which the entrance branched in every direction; and moſt of theſe were examined by the boats, which were frequently abſent from the ſhips on this ſervice for ſeveral days together. In the midſt of their labours, they were ſurpriſed by the ſight of two Spaniſh veſſels of war, employed, like themſelves, in ſurveying this inlet, the examination of which had been begun by them in the preceding year. By the officers of theſe veſſels, captain Vancouver was informed that the commandant at Nootka waited his arrival there, 'in order to negociate the reſtoration of thoſe territories to the crown of Great Britain;' and meaſures of mutual aſſiſtance were concerted between the captains of the two nations, for the proſecution of the ſurvey, in which each agreed to communicate to the other their diſcoveries. Not one of the many arms of the inlet, nor of the channels which they explored in this broken part of the coaſt, was found to extend more than a hundred miles to the eaſtward of the entrance into the ſtrait. After having ſurveyed the ſouthern coaſt, on which ſide a termination was diſcovered to every opening, by following the continued line of the ſhore, they were led to the northward, and afterward towards the N. W. till they came into the open ſea through a different channel, from the ſtrait of Juan de Fuca, by which they had commenced this inland navigation.

Thus it appeared, that the land forming the north ſide of that ſtrait is part of an iſland, or of an archipelago, extending nearly 100 leagues in length from S. E. to N. W. and, on the ſide of this land, moſt diſtant from the continent, is ſituated Nootka-Sound. The moſt peculiar circumſtance of this navigation is the extreme depth of water, when contraſted with the narrowneſs of the channels. The veſſels were ſometimes drifted about by the currents, during the whole of a night, cloſe to the rocks, without knowing how to help themſelves, on account of the darkneſs, and the depth being much too great to afford them anchorage.

In the courſe of this ſurvey, the voyagers had frequent communications with the natives, whom they met ſometimes in canoes and ſometimes at their villages. In their tranſactions with Europeans, they are deſcribed as 'well verſed in the principles of trade, which they carried on in a very fair and honorable manner.' In other reſpects, they were leſs honeſt. At one village, 200 ſea otter-ſkins were purchaſed of them by the crews of the veſſels

in the courſe of a day; and they had many more to ſell in the ſame place, as alſo ſkins of bears, deer, and other animals. One party of Indians, whom they met, had the ſkin of a young lioneſs; and theſe ſpoke a language different from that uſed in Nootka-Sound. Veniſon was ſometimes brought for ſale; and a piece of copper, not more than a foot ſquare, purchaſed one whole deer and part of another. Among other articles of traffic, two children, ſix or ſeven years of age, were offered for ſale. The commodities moſt prized by the natives were fire-arms, copper, and great coats. Beads and trinkets they would only receive as preſents, and not as articles of exchange. Many of them were poſſeſſed of fire-arms. In one part, it is related, that, after a chief had received ſome preſents, 'he, with moſt of his companions, returned to the ſhore; and, on landing, fired ſeveral muſkets, to ſhew, in all probability, with what dexterity they could uſe theſe weapons, to which they ſeemed as familiarized as if they had been accuſtomed to fire-arms from their earlieſt infancy.'

The dreſſes of theſe people, beſides ſkins, are a kind of woollen garments; the materials compoſing which are explained in the following extract:

'The dogs belonging to this tribe of Indians were numerous, and much reſembled thoſe of Pomerania, though, in general, ſomewhat larger. They were all ſhorn as cloſe to the ſkin as ſheep are in England; and ſo compact were their fleeces, that large portions could be lifted up by a corner without cauſing any ſeparation. They were compoſed of a mixture of a coarſe kind of wool, with very fine long hair, capable of being ſpun into yarn. This gave me reaſon to believe, that their woollen clothing might in part be compoſed of this material mixed with a finer kind of wool from ſome other animal, as their garments were all too fine to be manufactured from the coarſe coating of the dog alone.'

Of other animals alive, deer only were ſeen in any abundance by our people.

The number of inhabitants computed to be in the largeſt of the villages, or towns, that were diſcovered, did not exceed ſix hundred. Captain Vancouver conjectured the ſmall-pox to be a diſeaſe common, and very fatal, among them: many were much marked; and moſt of theſe had loſt the right eye.—Their method of diſpoſing of their dead is very ſingular:

'Baſkets were found ſuſpended on high trees, each containing the ſkeleton of a young child; in ſome of which were alſo ſmall ſquare boxes filled with a kind of white paſte, reſembling ſuch as I had ſeen the natives eat, ſuppoſed to be made of the ſaranne root; ſome of theſe boxes were quite full, others were nearly empty, eaten probably by the mice, ſquirrels, or birds. On the next low point, ſouth of our encampment, where the gunners were airing the powder, they met with ſeveral holes, in which human bodies were interred, ſlightly covered over, and in different ſtates of decay, ſome appearing to have been very recently depoſited. About half a mile to the northward of our tents, where the land is nearly level with high-water mark, a few paces within the ſkirting of the wood, a canoe was found ſuſpended be-

tween two trees, in which were three human ſkeletons.

'On each point of the harbour, which, in honour of a particular friend, I call Penn's Cove, was a deſerted village; in one of which were found ſeveral ſepulchres formed exactly like a centry-box. Some of them were open, and contained the ſkeletons of many young children tied up in baſkets; the ſmaller bones of adults were likewiſe noticed, but no one of the limb-bones could here be found, which gave riſe to an opinion, that theſe, by the living inhabitants of the neighbourhood, were appropriated to uſeful purpoſes, ſuch as pointing their arrows, ſpears, or other weapons.'

However honourably theſe people have been repreſented in their conduct as traders, it appeared on ſeveral occaſions that it was unſafe to depend on their good-will alone; and ſome inſtances occurred of their making every preparation for an attack, from which they deſiſted only on being doubtful of the event: yet immediately on relinquiſhing their purpoſe, they would come with the greateſt confidence to trade, appearing perfectly regardleſs of what had before been in agitation. The boats, as already noticed, were frequently at a great diſtance from the ſhips; and on ſuch occaſions, when large parties of Indians have firſt ſeen them, they generally held long conferences among themſelves before they approached the boats; probably for the purpoſe of determining the mode of conduct which they judged it moſt prudent to obſerve.

On the 9th of Auguſt, the veſſels had again reached the open ſea, and proceeded along the coaſt to the northward. On the 17th, in latitude of 52° N. they met a Britiſh trading veſſel, which had lately left Nootka: from whom they learnt that the Dædalus ſtore-ſhip had arrived from England; and a letter, which was ſent to captain Vancouver, informed him of the unfortunate death of lieutenant Hergeſt, her commander, who had been killed by the inhabitants of Woahoo, one of the Sandwich Iſlands, with Mr. William Gooch, the aſtronomer. In conſequence of this intelligence, captain Vancouver determined to abandon, for the preſent ſeaſon, the farther proſecution of the ſurvey to the northward, and to make the beſt of his way towards Nootka-Sound; at which port he anchored on the 28th.

The time, at Nootka, was fully occupied by negociation concerning the territories, of which reſtitution was to have been made by the Spaniards. Diplomatic hiſtory, however, is a kind of forbidden ground; and, as the ſubject of this does not afford much matter of entertainment, it may be ſufficient to remark that, with great mutual civilities, very little progreſs was made towards an adjuſtment; till at length it was agreed by both parties to refer the buſineſs back to their reſpective courts.

The ſhips ſteered along the coaſt to the S. E. towards the river mentioned to them by Mr. Gray, commander of the Columbia, in latitude 46° 10′ N. which river is diſtinguiſhed in the chart by the name of Columbia. On the 17th they were off its mouth, within which the Chatham entered: but the Diſcovery was prevented by the currents and broken water, and on the 21ſt was forced to ſea by bad weather. Captain Vancouver continued his courſe to the ſouthward, leaving the

Chatham

Chatham in Columbia river, and on the 14th arrived at Port St. Francisco. This settlement is described to be in a very unimproved state. 'Except its natural pastures, the flocks of sheep, and herds of cattle, there is not an object to indicate the most remote connection with any European or other civilized nation.' The character drawn of the natives is by no means a flattering picture: —'under the middle size, ill made, their faces ugly, presenting a dull, heavy, and stupid countenance,—the same horrid state of uncleanliness and laziness seemed to pervade the whole,' &c. Captain Vancouver visited the mission of St Clara, (of which he gives a description,) 18 leagues distant from St. Francisco; in which journey, though the country presented a prospect of luxuriant fertility, 'there was neither house, hut, nor any place of shelter, excepting such as the spreading trees afforded.' Oaks were seen in great abundance. On his return to St. Francisco, captain Vancouver found that the Chatham had arrived there.

Lieutenant Broughton, who was left in the entrance of Columbia river, when he saw the Discovery forced to sea, judiciously determined to take advantage of his situation, and proceeded to examine the river. The navigation was so interrupted by shoals, that, in the course of a few leagues, the vessel had twice taken the ground. This determined Mr. Broughton to continue his examination in boats; and accordingly, after having fixed the Chatham in a place of safety, he set out with his cutter and launch. They advanced in an eastern and southern direction, for seven days, following what appeared to be the main branch of the river: for several other rivers fell into this. During the first part of the time, they had some assistance from the flood tides: but latterly they had found the current constantly running towards the sea, though the rise and fall of the tide was very discernible by the shores. They had met with people in their way up, and at one time 'were surrounded by twenty three canoes, carrying from three to twelve persons each, all attired in their war-garments, and in every other respect prepared for combat,' —but, after having discoursed with some friendly Indians who had before joined the English, they laid aside their war-dress, and with great civility exchanged some of their arms, and other articles, for such things as were presented to them, 'but would neither part with their copper swords, nor a kind of battle-axe made of iron.' Some of these strangers advised the voyagers to go no farther, making signs that, if they persisted, they would meet people who would cut off their heads. This was on the fourth day of their expedition. At the end of the 7th day, the rapidity of the stream increasing against them, and their provisions being nearly expended, Mr. Broughton found it impracticable to proceed farther. The breadth of the river here was a quarter of a mile, with soundings across from 6 to 2 fathoms. Some of the natives, from whom they endeavoured to procure intelligence, made signs which Mr. Broughton understood to mean that, higher up the river, they would meet with waterfalls, but that the source was very distant.—Such are the particulars of the interesting information gained by Mr. Broughton concerning Columbia river.

The obſervations made by captain Vancouver, reſpecting port St. Franciſco, open another field for conjecture.

'The little we had ſeen (ſays he) of Port St. Franciſco, enabled us to decide that it was very extenſive in two directions: one ſpacious branch took its courſe eaſt and ſouth-eaſtward to a great diſtance from the ſtation we had quitted in the morning: the other, apparently of equal magnitude, led to the northward. In this were ſeveral iſlands.'—'Near the branch leading to the eaſt and ſouth-eaſtward before-mentioned is ſituated the miſſion of S^{ta}. Clara. Theſe gentlemen informed me, that this branch had been thoroughly examined, but that the branch leading to the north never had.'—'The port having been eſtabliſhed by Spain, I did not conſider it prudent to proſecute its examination without ſufficient authority for ſo doing.'

Here it may be remarked, that it does not appear, in the narrative, that permiſſion was demanded to make examination: but captain Vancouver ſtates that the weather was not favourable for ſuch an undertaking.

Leaving Port St. Franciſco, the ſhips ſailed to Monterey, another Spaniſh ſettlement. The Dædalus was now diſpatched to New South Wales; and captain Vancouver wrote to requeſt of governor Phillips, that ſhe might be ſent back to him at Nootka, with a ſupply of twelve months proviſions and ſtores. This ſhip was alſo ordered to call in her way at Otaheite, for ſome Engliſh ſeamen who had been caſt away in the ſhip Matilda, of London, on a ledge of rocks out of ſight of any land; after which accident, the crew, in their boats, found their way to Otaheite. From that iſland, the ſecond mate and two of the men had proceeded, in an open whale-boat, towards New South Wales, a diſtance of nearly 1200 leagues. Whether they ſucceeded in this hazardous and extraordinary undertaking, we do not find in the ſequel. The commander of the Matilda, with four others, had taken their paſſage from Otaheite, on board the Jenny, of Briſtol; which veſſel captain Vancouver met at Nootka-Sound.

Lieutenant Broughton was left at Monterey, with accounts for the board of admiralty, of all their tranſactions up to that time, with ſurveys, &c. Sen. Quadra promiſing to accommodate him with a paſſage by the way of New Spain to England. On the 13th of January, 1793, the ſhips ſailed from Monterey, and, on the 18th, ſteered from the American coaſt towards the Sandwich Iſlands.

The year 1792 is concluded by captain Vancouver with a relation of the circumſtances attending the death of lieutenant Hergeſt, the late commander of the Dædalus tranſport, and of the diſcoveries made by that officer.

We left the Diſcovery and the Chatham ſteering from the American coaſt, towards the Sandwich Iſlands. They arrived off the eaſtern part of Owhyhee, February 12th, 1793; when the two veſſels ſeparated, for the purpoſe of ſurveying each a ſide of the iſland, it being ſettled that they ſhould meet again at Karakakooa Bay, on the weſtern ſide. None of the natives came near the Diſcovery till the next morning, when a canoe paddled from the ſhore to them.

The

The people in this canoe reported that a general *taboo* (interdiction) had prevented the inhabitants from coming to the ſhip.

Theſe viſitors, however, regardleſs of the *taboo*, ſold a hog, and other refreſhments, for ſome iron; and it afterwards appeared that the chiefs, when it ſuited their purpoſes, ſcrupled not to diſpenſe, occaſionally, with the reſtrictions of the *taboo*, if it was not of a religious nature.

When the ſhips were nearly ready for ſea, a grand entertainment was given by the king of Owhyhee, at which, beſides many other formalities, was repreſented a battle. In ſome particulars of this repreſentation, we ſee a ſtriking reſemblance to the manners of the ancients. The arms uſed were wooden lances, or javelins, blunted for the occaſion; with long ſpears, by the natives called *pallaloo*, which were never to be quitted but in caſe of death, or defeat; and the performance began by the oppoſed parties advancing towards each other with reproachful ſpeeches and geſtures, and then throwing the lances.

The whole account of this exhibition is very entertaining, and, if nothing more were known of theſe iſlanders, would ſufficiently evince that they are a hardy and warlike people. Many hurts and ſlight wounds were received in the courſe of theſe exerciſes, which were borne with the utmoſt chearfulneſs and good humour.

The ſhips left the iſlands on the 30th of March, and on the 26th of April, were in ſight of Cape Mendocino, on the coaſt of New Albion. May 2d, they anchored in Porto de la Trinidada, latitude 41° 3′ N. Here they took in wood and water: but as a harbour, or a place affording ſhelter for ſhipping, they found it to be very inferior to what they had expected from the deſcription given in the journal of Don Franciſco Maurelli; a tranſlation of which has been preſented to the public by the hon. Daines Barrington. The identity of the port, captain Vancouver ſays, could not be doubted; for,

At Trinidada, they found an Indian village, and the natives viſited the ſhips. They were of a lower ſtature than any tribe of Indians before ſeen by our voyagers, but ſtoutly made.

From Porto de la Trinidada, they proceeded northward, and on the 20th of May, anchored in Nootka, where they ſtopped only three days. The Spaniards were increaſing their fortifications at this place, but they gave every aſſiſtance in their power for the accommodation of the two ſhips.

May the 26th, they arrived in Fitzhugh's Sound, and recommenced their examination at the part at which it had been diſcontinued in the preceding year. The ſurvey now made, in moſt of its circumſtances, reſembled the former. They found the ſame kind of broken coaſt, with inlets and channels almoſt innumerable; and the ſame extraordinary depth of water cloſe to the ſhores, and in places incloſed all round with land. One inſtance occurs, in which, in a channel only a mile in width, 'they traverſed repeatedly from ſhore to ſhore, without finding bottom with 185 fathoms of line, though within half a ſhip's length of the rocks.'—From the end of May to the 21ſt of September, the time occupied in this year by the northern ſurvey, they advanced

but little more than four degrees northward, leaving off between the 56th and 57th degree of north latitude. The greater part of the ſurvey was, as formerly, performed in boats; in which, beſides the hardſhips of being continually expoſed to the weather, our people ran great riſks from the diſpoſitions of the natives; the behaviour of ſome of the tribes which they met being extremely ferocious.

In one of the moſt intricate parts of their navigation, they met three Engliſh veſſels. The intelligence imparted to captain Vancouver, by Mr. Brown, who commanded them, is the moſt important matter relative to the object of the voyage, that occurred during the ſeaſon:

'He very obligingly communicated to me every information he had been able to obtain. The principal circumſtance was that of his having ſailed up a large opening, whoſe ſouthern entrance was in latitude 54° 45'.

'This is probably the ſame as that laid down in Sen^r. Caamanoe's chart, named *Eſtrecho de Almirante Fuentes*. Mr. Brown found it extend to the north-weſtward, with ſeveral arms branching from it in various directions to the latitude of 56° 20'; where, in a ſouth-weſterly direction, it again communicated with the north pacific. He had underſtood, from the natives, that there was in this neighbourhood a very extenſive inland navigation, communicating with a ſea to the northward, that employed the inhabitants nearly three months in reaching its extent, where they traded for whale-oil, ſea-otter ſkins, and other marine productions. This inland navigation Mr. Brown ſuppoſed to be in an extenſive arm, lying from hence towards the N.N.E. about nine leagues diſtant; the entrance of which he had viſited, and found it ſpacious and large, but had not penetrated any diſtance into it. At its ſouth-eaſt point of entrance a ſmall branch extended to the ſouth-eaſtward, up which he proceeded with his ſloop and ſchooner about ſix miles, where they anchored before a village of the natives.'

Two days after the receipt of this information, they arrived at the entrance of an opening in the continental ſhore, which they believed to be the one deſcribed by Mr Brown. The account of the coaſt and of the ſurvey is here not ſufficiently intelligible: but, perhaps, it was not poſſible to make it wholly clear. Captain Vancouver ſpeaks of a number of openings ſeen, in the following manner: 'The branch of the inlet we were now navigating was not of greater width, nor did it appear likely to become more extenſive, than that to the weſtward of us juſt diſcovered. This made it uncertain which to conſider as the main branch. Four other openings had been paſſed on the eaſtern ſhore, whoſe extent had not yet been aſcertained.' It is evident that, on the plan laid down for the ſurvey, every branch ſhould (in its turn) be regarded as the main branch, till experience had proved the contrary. This part of the narrative is defective in method; but the word *yet*, in the preceding extract, implies that it was not intended that any opening ſhould be paſſed unexamined. On applying to the charts, we ſee the line of continuation unbroken, except by two or three rivers, which are repreſented as not affording any reaſonable proſpect of a navigable communication; and no one

one of the channels, which they explored, carried them far in an eaſterly direction. In this ſervice, captain Vancouver was abſent from the ſhip, examining with the boats, at one time 23 days, having traverſed from their outſet to their return above 700 geographical miles. The captain's boat was attacked by a party of Indians, and two of his men were wounded. On this occaſion, an old woman, in one of the Indian canoes, gave directions, encouraged them to the attack, and ſeemed to be their principal leader. Indeed, the ſituation of our people was at one time extremely perilous, and principally owing to their own neglect.

'But, ſays captain Vancouver, having been ſo long accuſtomed to a ſeries of tranquil intercourſe with the ſeveral different tribes of Indians we had met with, our apprehenſions of any moleſtation from them were totally done away; and that attentive warineſs which had been the firſt object of my concern on coming amongſt theſe rude nations, had latterly been much neglected. For although we had now more arms than we were provided with during the preceding ſummer, namely, two wall-pieces cut ſhort for the purpoſe of being more handy in the boats, each of which was loaded with a dozen piſtol balls, yet theſe, as well as ſome of our muſkets, had been ſo neglected by diſuſe, that they were unſerviceable on this preſſing emergency.'

The launch, under the direction of lieutenant Swaine, had fortunately been more on its guard againſt the natives, and came up very opportunely to the captain's aſſiſtance.

While captain Vancouver was abſent on this ſurvey, another party, with two boats, went to examine ſome openings to the eaſtward, which had been paſſed in the ſhips. As channels in this direction are of the moſt importance to the main object of their ſurvey, we think it neceſſary to take notice of a river diſcovered in 55° N. latitude, in a ſhoal bay on the eaſtern ſide of the entrance of an arm of the ſea, by captain Vancouver, named Obſervatory Inlet. The river is deſcribed to be a ſmall opening in a ſhallow bank, not exceeding in width a ſhip's length: but the water had ſuddenly deepened from five feet to two and five fathoms, and through this narrow entrance the tide, both flood and ebb, ruſhed with great force. At the latter part of the ebb, however, the water was perfectly freſh, though not more than four miles from the main arm of the ſea.

After the 20th of September, they returned to the ſouthward, keeping at a diſtance from the continent, and to the weſtward of the land named Queen Charlotte's Iſlands. On the 5th of October, they anchored at Nootka; whence, continuing to the ſouthward, they called at Port St. Franciſco, and at Monterey:—but it now appeared to captain Vancouver that the attention and friendly diſpoſition of the Spaniards had been quite exhauſted in the preceding year. His reception was ſuch as convinced him that he was not a welcome viſitor; and he therefore left theſe places, and continued to the ſouthward, keeping the American ſhore in ſight. At other Spaniſh ſettlements near the ſea-coaſt, he experienced more friendly

friendly treatment, and obtained such supplies as he wanted.

This part of America is represented as a most fruitful country, very thinly inhabited. 'The number of the natives, at this period, who were said to have embraced the Roman Catholic persuasion, under the discipline of the Franciscan and Dominican orders of missionaries of New Albion, and throughout the peninsula of California, amounted to about twenty thousand, and they were estimated at an eighth or tenth of the whole native population of those countries.' The whole of the military establishment in this extent of territory is said not to exceed 400 men.

'The natives (says captain Vancouver) are not, nor can they be rendered tributary, because they possess no tribute to offer.' This is making very little account of a country which is fertile almost beyond example, and of which the coasts abound with sea-otters. All the labour of the natives, who are subject to the Spanish jurisdiction, is under the immediate direction and control of the missionaries, who act wholly under the authority of the Spanish government. Besides, we are told by M. de la Pérouse, that it was the plan of the viceroy at Mexico, to reserve for government the exclusive trade of sea-otter skins; of which, that unfortunate navigator says, the Spanish settlements furnish 10,000 annually, and are capable of furnishing, if the Spaniards choose to be at the trouble of collecting them, 50,000 annually. This surely may be esteemed as tribute.

Having finished the examination of the coast of New Albion, as far as to the 30th degree of latitude, the voyagers departed from the American coast, and steered towards the Sandwich Islands. On the 9th of January, 1794, they were again in sight of Owhyhee; and on the next morning, before the ships got into harbour, the friendly Tamaahmaah came off to welcome them. By the reports of the masters of some trading vessels then at Owhyhee, it appears that, in their conduct towards strangers, the islanders had latterly been more orderly and civil, and evinced a better disposition towards them than had ever before been experienced. This may chiefly be attributed to the mild character of their present ruler, Tamaahmaah: but that some of the credit ought to be placed to the account of the good understanding which captain Vancouver made it his study to cultivate with the chiefs, an extraordinary transaction which shortly afterward took place will sufficiently prove.

About a week after the arrival of our voyagers at Owhyhee, a meeting of chiefs, summoned from the different districts (by captain Vancouver called the grand council of the island), took place, to deliberate on 'its cession to the crown of Great Britain, which was unanimously desired.' This is the first mention of the subject that we find; and nothing farther, relative to it, occurs, till above a month afterward, when it is thus resumed; 'The domestic affairs of Tamaahmaah being settled, his mind was more at liberty for political considerations; and the cession of Owhyhee to his Britannic majesty became now an object of his serious concern. On my former visit, it had

had been frequently mentioned, but was at that time diſapproved of by ſome of the leading chiefs, who contended, that they ought not voluntarily to ſurrender themſelves, or acknowledge their ſubjection, to the government of a ſuperior foreign power, without being completely convinced, that ſuch power would protect them againſt the ambitious view of remote or neighbouring enemies. During our abſence, this ſubject had been moſt ſeriouſly diſcuſſed by the chiefs in the iſland; and the reſult of their deliberations was, an unanimous opinion, that, in order to obtain the protection required, it was important that Tamaahmaah ſhould make the ſurrender in queſtion formally to me, on the part of his majeſty; that he ſhould acknowledge himſelf and people as ſubjects of the Britiſh crown; and that they ſhould ſupplicate that power, to guard them againſt any future moleſtation.

'Under a conviction of the importance of theſe iſlands to Great Britain, in the event of an extenſion of her commerce over the Pacific Ocean, and in return for the eſſential ſervices we had derived from the excellent productions of the country, and the ready aſſiſtance of its inhabitants, I loſt no opportunity for encouraging their friendly diſpoſitions towards us, notwithſtanding the diſappointments they had met from the traders, for whoſe conduct I could invent no apology; endeavouring to impreſs them with the idea, that, on ſubmitting to the authority and protection of a ſuperior power, they might reaſonably expect they would in future be leſs liable to ſuch abuſes.

'Theſe people had already become acquainted with four commercial nations of the civilized world; and had been given to underſtand, that ſeveral others, ſimilar in knowledge and in power, exiſted in thoſe diſtant regions from whence theſe had come. This information, as may reaſonably be expected, ſuggeſted the apprehenſion, that the period was not very remote, when they might be compelled to ſubmit to the authority of ſome one of theſe ſuperior powers; and, under that impreſſion, they did not heſitate to prefer the Engliſh, who had been their firſt and conſtant viſitors.

'On a due conſideration of all the circumſtances (ſays captain Vancouver) I felt it to be an incumbent duty to accept, for the crown of Great Britain, the proffered ceſſion; and I had therefore ſtipulated, that it ſhould be made in the moſt unequivocal and public manner.' For this purpoſe, on the 25th of February, Tamaahmaah, with the chiefs of many of the diſtricts of the iſland, aſſembled on board the Diſcovery; all the officers of the two ſhips being preſent.

'Tamaahmaah opened the buſineſs in a ſpeech, which he delivered with great moderation and equal firmneſs. He explained the reaſons (already ſtated) that had induced him to offer the iſland to the protection of Great Britain; and recounted the numerous advantages that himſelf, the chiefs, and the people, were likely to derive by the ſurrender they were about to make. He enumerated the ſeveral nations that, ſince captain Cook's diſcovery of theſe iſlands, had occaſionally reſorted hither, each of which was too

powerful

powerful for them to reſiſt; and, as theſe viſitors had come more frequently to their ſhores, and their numbers ſeemed to increaſe, he conſidered, that the inhabitants would be liable to more ill treatment, and ſtill greater impoſitions than they had yet endured, unleſs they could be protected againſt ſuch wrongs, by ſome one of the civilized powers with whoſe people they had become acquainted; that at preſent they were completely independent, under no ſort of engagement whatever, and were to make choice of that ſtate which in their opinion was moſt likely, by its attention to their ſecurity and intereſts, to anſwer the purpoſe for which the propoſed ſurrender was intended. For his own part, he did not heſitate to declare the preference he entertained for the king of Great Britain, to whom he was ready to acknowledge his ſubmiſſion; and demanded to know who had any objection to follow his example.'

Several other chiefs likewiſe ſpoke. In all their ſpeeches,

'Their religion, government, and domeſtic economy, were noticed; and it was clearly underſtood, that no interference was to take place in any of theſe reſpects. That the chiefs and prieſts were to officiate with the ſame authority as before, and that no alteration in theſe particulars was in any degree thought of or intended.'—'Theſe preliminaries being fully diſcuſſed, the king repeated his former propoſition, which was now unanimouſly approved, and the whole party declared their aſſent by ſaying, that they were no longer *Tanato no Owhyhee*, but *Tanato no Brittannee*. (That they were no longer men of Owhyhee, but men of Britain.) This being made known to the people in the ſurrounding canoes, the ſame expreſſions were repeated by them.'

Some officers were then ſent on ſhore, who 'diſplayed the Britiſh colours, and took poſſeſſion of the iſland in the name of his majeſty.' The ſhips now fired a ſalute, and the following inſcription on copper was depoſited at the royal reſidence:

'On the 25th of February, 1794, Tamaahmaah, king of Owhyhee, in council with the principal chiefs of the iſland, aſſembled on board his Britannic majeſty's ſloop, Diſcovery, in Karakakooa bay, and in the preſence of George Vancouver, commander of the ſaid ſloop; lieutenant Peter Puget, commander of his ſaid majeſty's armed tender, the Chatham; and the other officers of the Diſcovery; after due conſideration, unanimouſly ceded the ſaid iſland of Owhyhee to his Britannic majeſty, and acknowledged themſelves to be ſubjects of Great Britain.'

On the 14th of March, the ſhips left the Sandwich Iſlands, and ſtood to the northward towards the American coaſt, for the third ſeaſon. Early in April they entered Cook's Inlet; and, by the middle of May, their examination of it was finiſhed. No branch, nor river, communicating with this inlet, which in appearance promiſed ſo fair, was found to penetrate more than a very few miles beyond what, on the firſt entrance, had been diſcovered by captain Cook. Several Ruſſian ſettlements were ſeen, and ſome of them were viſited. In a converſation with the Ruſſians, captain Vancouver obſerves, 'they ſeemed to uſe every endeavour to impreſs us with an idea, that the

American

American continent, and adjacent iſlands, as far to the eaſtward as the meridian of Kaye's Iſland, belonged excluſively to the Ruſſian empire.' As the ſhips quitted the inlet, they met a party of Indians in 200 canoes, each canoe carrying two perſons, 'almoſt all men grown,' ſo that this muſt have been one of the moſt conſiderable tribes of Americans that they had ſeen. The natives in the neighbourhood of the Ruſſian ſettlements were remarkably civil; and the behaviour of the Ruſſians to the natives is repreſented as mild and friendly.

From Cook's Inlet they continued their ſurvey, examining Prince William's Sound; the different branches of which were all found to terminate at no great diſtance from the Sound. At Port Etches, near the eaſtern point of the entrance into Prince William's Sound, was a ſettlement, conſiſting of 100 Ruſſians. This was ſaid to be their eaſternmoſt eſtabliſhment, 'but their boats make excurſions along the exterior coaſts as far as Cape Suckling, and their galliots much farther.' A party of ten Ruſſians, with no fewer than 900 of the natives from Cook's Inlet and its neighbourhood, were met by the ſhips at Port Mulgrave, a diſtance of more than 100 leagues. Their object was to collect ſkins. They had very few articles of trade except beads; and it is not very probable that ſo large a party ſhould confine themſelves to ſuch means only as traffic afforded, for which they were ſo indifferently provided, in order to procure what they wanted. The Ruſſians, it appears, had, a ſhort time before, been involved in a ſerious diſpute with the eaſtern natives: but with the circumſtances our people did not become acquainted. When the ſhips arrived near Croſs Sound, the natives who viſited them were very differently diſpoſed towards ſtrangers, from thoſe who had been ſeen in Cook's Inlet and Prince William's Sound. From a canoe which came off, no one would venture into the ſhips without a hoſtage being firſt ſent into the canoe.

On the 19th of Auguſt, the voyagers had completed their ſurvey from Cook's Inlet, to the part of the coaſt at which they broke off in the preceding year. To the harbour in which the ſhips lay at this time, was given the name of Port Concluſion. It is obſervable of this ſeaſon, that the ſurvey was commenced more early, and that a greater range of coaſt was examined, than in either of the former years.

'I have conſidered it eſſential (ſays captain V.) to the illuſtration of our ſurvey, to ſtate very exactly not only the track of the veſſels when navigating theſe regions, but likewiſe thoſe of the boats when ſo employed, as well when I was preſent myſelf, as when they were conducted by Mr. Whidbey or Mr. Johnſtone, on whom the execution of that laborious and dangerous ſervice principally fell, and to whom I feel myſelf indebted for the zeal with which they engaged in it on all occaſions. The peruſal of theſe parts of our voyage to perſons not particularly intereſted, I am conſcious, will afford but little entertainment; yet I have been induced to give a detailed account, inſtead of an abſtract, of our proceedings, for the purpoſe of illuſtrating the charts accompanying this journal; of ſhewing the manner in which our time day by day

had been employed; and, for the additional purpoſe, of making the hiſtory of our tranſactions on the north-weſt coaſt of America, as concluſive as poſſible, againſt all ſpeculative opinions reſpecting the exiſtence of a hyperborean or mediterranean ocean within the limits of our ſurvey.'

The ſhips now ſteered for Nootka Sound, where they found a new governor, Sen. Alava; who informed them "that his appointment to this government had taken place, for the particular purpoſe of finiſhing the pending negociation, reſpecting the ceſſion of theſe territories."——'The preſent governor, however, was ſtill unprovided with the neceſſary credentials: but on his departure from St. Blas, in June, theſe documents were hourly expected, and a veſſel was kept waiting there in readineſs to be diſpatched, provided they arrived in time for her reaching Nootka before the 19th of October.' No credentials appeared during captain Vancouver's ſtay at Nootka: but, while the ſhips were at Monterey, to which place they went from Nootka, diſpatches arrived from the viceroy of Mexico. As no part of what was communicated to captain Vancouver required his preſence at Nootka, he determined on making the beſt of his way towards England.

In proceeding to the ſouthward from Monterey, they kept near enough to the continent to determine the latitudes and longitudes of ſome of the principal capes: but no part of the American coaſt, ſeen to the ſouthward of 30° N. latitude, appears in any of the charts accompanying the account of the voyage. At the iſlands called Maria's Iſlands, between Cape St. Lucas and Cape Corientes, their boats landed. Theſe iſlands produce great quantities of the Lignum vitæ: 'ſome, which was cut cloſe to the beach and brought on board, worked up full eight inches in diameter at the heart. This wood was very ponderous, of a cloſe black grain, and extremely hard.' At the iſland of Cocos, the ſhips procured wood and water. The geographical deſcriptions of former navigators differ ſo widely in the accounts both of the ſituation and extent of this iſland, that captain Vancouver thinks it probable that there exiſts another iſland not far from this, to which ſome of the deſcriptions belong.

After having left Cocos Iſland, the Diſcovery ſprang her mainmaſt; in conſequence of which it was determined to ſteer for Valparaiſo, on the coaſt of Chili. About the ſame time, captain Vancouver diſcovered, to his utter aſtoniſhment and ſurpriſe, that the ſcurvy began to make its appearance among ſome of the crew: which is attributed to the cook's having, contrary to orders, given the ſkimmings of the boiled ſalted meat to the ſhip's company, to mix with their peaſe. The firſt ſkimming of meat generally contains a conſiderable mixture of filth, and it is probable that the cook was not very nice in keeping the fat clear of the dirt: but it is not to be concluded that the fat of meat, which has been long ſalted, has a greater tendency to produce ſcurvy than the lean, the juices of which commonly decay the ſooneſt. They had at this time been four years from England, and four months from Monterey, the laſt place at which they had obtained

tained freſh proviſions; and notwithſtanding this appearance of the ſcurvy, they arrived in port without its occaſioning any ſerious miſchief, and they did not loſe a ſingle man by that diſeaſe during the whole voyage.

On the 25th of March, 1795, the ſhips anchored in Valparaiſo bay. The governor, on being made acquainted with the occation of their arrival, ſo far from expreſſing any jealouſy or uneaſineſs, received them in a friendly manner, and gave directions for their being accommodated with every aſſiſtance that the place would afford. Don Amb. Higgins de Vallener, the preſident and captain-general of the province of Chili, likewiſe honoured the commanders with an invitation to St. Jago de Chili, the capital.

Not being able to obtain a new mainmaſt at Valparaiſo, the voyagers repaired the ſprung maſt as well as circumſtances would admit. The main yard was likewiſe diſcovered to be ſprung. On account of theſe defects, and of the ſouthern winter ſeaſon being far advanced, captain Vancouver did not think it prudent to navigate near the coaſt towards Cape Horn. The ſurvey of this part was therefore not attempted.

The ſhips left Valparaiſo on the 6th of May. After having ſailed round Cape Horn, a ſearch was made for Iſle Grande, ſaid to be in 45° 30′ S. latitude, but without ſucceſs. July 3, they anchored at St. Helena. 'I had the inexpreſſible happineſs (ſays captain Vancouver) of ſeeing all my officers and men return to a Britiſh ſettlement, after an abſence from England of more than four years and a quarter, perfectly well in health, and with conſtitutions apparently unimpaired by the extremely laborious ſervice in which they had been ſo long employed, and to which without a murmur they had, at all times, and in all climates, uniformly ſubmitted with great zeal and alacrity.' The Chatham being much ſmaller than the Diſcovery, and not ſo well able to encounter the roughneſs of a winter's paſſage round Cape Horn, her crew had not fared ſo well: but ſhe did not, in the courſe of the whole voyage, loſe a ſingle man, 'either in conſequence of ill health, or from any accident whatever.'

A ſcarcity of rain, for three ſucceſſive years, had cauſed great miſchief and want at St. Helena. Several of the bread-fruit plants, which had been left by captain Bligh, on his return from the South Seas, had fallen to decay.—While the ſhips remained here, a Dutch Eaſt Indiaman, not knowing that we had commenced hoſtilities againſt them, ſtood into the bay, and captain Vancouver ſent his boats and took poſſeſſion of her as a prize.

The remaining part of the voyage contains little that is peculiar, or worthy of remark.

In October (1795) both the veſſels arrived ſafely in the Thames, after an abſence of four years and a half.

The labours of this voyage have much leſſened the grounds of reaſonable hope that any navigable water-communication exiſts, between the Atlantic and Pacific oceans, through the continent of America:—but that they are, 'as concluſive as poſſible,' will not, by many, be readily admitted. Whatever contempt may be ſhewn for cloſet diſcoveries, they have certainly ſome

ſupport

ſupport, while there remain openings without any aſcertained termination, for the indulgence of ſpeculative fancies concerning a N. W. paſſage. It may likewiſe be argued that, as the river Columbia and Port des Français were paſſed by captain Vancouver, if not without being noticed, without being thought worthy of examination, ſo might other openings equally have eſcaped obſervation; and this may ſeem the more probable, as the entrances both into Columbia river and Port des Français are ſo narrow, that, at a very moderate diſtance from the land, their appearance would be too inconſiderable to attract notice. The river Columbia was found navigable, and appeared to continue ſo, at the moſt advanced ſtation to which it was explored; and ſeveral navigable branches, or rivers, which fell into it, were ſeen; for the examination of which there was no opportunity. That this river may have communication with ſome of the lakes already known, is not very improbable. The natives reported that it extended to a great diſtance inland. There is, however, very little proſpect, even if a depth of water ſufficient ſhould be found to continue, that it would be practicable for ſhips to navigate upwards, againſt ſo ſtrong and conſtant a current.

The arm of the ſea within Croſs Sound, named Lynn Canal, though not navigable for large ſhips, had the appearance of continuing much farther navigable for ſmall veſſels; which, with the circumſtance of its ſituation, ('approaching nearer,' captain Vancouver obſerves, 'to thoſe interior waters of the continent, which are ſaid to be known to the traders and travellers from the oppoſite ſide of America, than we had found the waters of the North Pacific penetrate in any former inſtance,') makes it an object of conſideration. In the mention of unexamined openings, Port St. Franciſco muſt not be omitted; and this, if we may judge from the account given in the narrative, is not among the leaſt promiſing.

The ſtrongeſt circumſtances againſt the probability of a communication by water, through North America, is the following, noticed in the concluding paragraph of captain Vancouver's account:

'In all the parts of the continent on which we landed, we no where found any roads or paths through the woods, indicating the Indians on the coaſt having any intercourſe with the natives of the interior part of the country, nor were there any articles of the Canadian or Hudſon's bay traders found amongſt the people with whom we met, on any part of the continent or external ſea-ſhores of this extenſive country.'

On the whole, we muſt be allowed to repeat, that the proſpect is conſiderably leſſened, but, that, it is by no means yet proved that a N. W. paſſage does not exiſt.

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CONTENTS.

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ERRATA TO HISTORY OF EUROPE.

Page 9, Col. 2, Line 9, *after* "one," *insert* fide.
15, 2, 15, *for* lend, *read* bend.
32, 1, *last line*, *for* Glani, *read* Glaris; and *for* Un, *read* Uri.
37, 1, 20, *for* national, *read* natural.
42, 1, 3, *f. b. after* utmoſt, *insert* efforts.
47, 1, 7, *f. b. for* preſident, *read* precedent.
65, 2, 1, *for* improprieties, *read* impropriations.
76, 1, 11, *for* commended, *read* commanded.
78, 1, 3, *f. b. for* fœdal, *read* fœderal.
99, 1, 12, *f. b. dele* not.
117, 2, 21, *before* conſtitution, *insert* Ligurian.
148, 1, 3, *after* whole, *insert* fle

MVSEVM
BRITAN
NICVM

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